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THE
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

- ART. I.—1. *Leben des Erasmus von Rotterdam*. Von Adolf Müller. Hamburg, 1828.
2. *Nouvelle Biographie Universelle*. Tome xvi. Art. Erasme. Paris, 1856.

ALMOST all remarkable events, wonderful discoveries, mighty revolutions, have had their heralds, their harbingers, their prophets. The catastrophe, seemingly the most sudden, has been long in silent preparation. The earthquake has been nursing its fires, its low and sullen murmurs have been heard by the sagacious and observant ear, the throes of its awful coming have made themselves felt; significant and menacing movements are remembered as having preceded its outburst. The marked, if we may so say, the epochal man is rarely without his intellectual ancestors: Shakespeare did not create the English Drama; how long and noble a line, Galileo, Copernicus, Kepler, foreshowed Newton! The Reformation, above all, had been long pre-shadowed in its inevitable advent. It was anticipated by the prophetic fears and the prophetic hopes of men; the fears of those who would have arrested or mitigated its shock, the hopes of those who would have precipitated a premature and, it might be, unsuccessful collision with the established order of things. More than one book has been written, and written with ability and much useful research, on the 'Reformers before the Reformation;' but we will pass over the more remote, more obscure, or at least less successful, precursors of the great German, the English, and the French antagonists of the mediæval superstitions and the Papal Despotism. We will leave at present unnamed those who would have evoked a pure, lofty, spiritual, *personal* religion from the gloom and oppression of what we persist in calling the Dark Ages. There are two names, however, of surpassing dignity and interest, the more immediate and acknowledged harbingers of that awful crisis which broke up the august but effete Absolutism dominant over Western Christendom, and at once severed, and for ever, Northern and Southern, Latin

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and Teutonic Christianity. These two were Savonarola and Erasmus.

We have but recently directed the attention of our readers to the life and influence of Savonarola. Since that time, we have been informed, some important documents have been brought to light, and a life is announced by an Italian, who has devoted many years to researches among archives either neglected or unexhausted; and hopes are entertained, among some of his more intelligent countrymen, that, in this work, even more full and ample justice will be done to the great Florentine Preacher. Still, however interesting it may be to behold Savonarola in a more clear and distinct light, our verdict on his character and his influence as a Reformer is not likely to be materially changed. With all his holiness, with all his zeal, with all his eloquence, with all his power over the devout affections of men, with all his aspirations after freedom, with all his genial fondness for art, with all his love of man, and still higher love of God, Savonarola was a Monk. His ideal of Christianity was not that of the Gospel; he would have made Florence, Italy, the world one vast cloister. The monastic virtues would still have been the highest Christian graces; a more holy, more self-sacrificing, but hardly more gentle, more humble, less domineering sacerdotalism would have ruled the mind of man. Even if Savonarola had escaped the martyr stake, to which he was devoted by Alexander VI. (Savonarola and Alexander VI.!!), it would have been left for Luther and the English Reformers to reinstate the primitive Christian family as the pure type, the unapproachable model of Christianity, the scene and prolific seedplot of the true Christian virtues.

Erasmus was fatally betrayed in his early youth into the trammels of monkhood, on which he revenged himself by his keen and exquisite satire. A deep and for a long time indelible hatred of the whole system, of which he was never the votary, and refused to be the slave, though in a certain sense the victim, had sunk into his soul; and monkhood at that time, with some splendid exceptions, as of his friend Vitruvius, of whom he has drawn so noble a character, was at its lowest ebb as to immorality, obstinate ignorance, dull scholasticism, grovelling superstition. The Monks and the Begging Friars were alike degenerate; the Jesuits as yet were not. But both Monks and Friars were sagacious enough to see the dangerous enemy which they had raised; their implacable hostility to Erasmus during life, and to the fame of his writings after death, is the best testimony to the effect of those writings, and of their common inextinguishable hostility.

Erasmus has not been fortunate in his biographers; much has
been

been written about him ; nothing, we think, quite worthy of his fame. His is a character to which it is difficult to be calmly just, and the difficulty, we think, has not been entirely overcome. He is of all men a man of his time ; but that time is sharply divided into two distinct periods, on either side of which line Erasmus is the same but seemingly altogether different ; a memorable instance how the same man may exercise commanding power, and yet be the slave of his age. The earlier lives, to one of which Erasmus furnished materials, are of course brief, and strictly personal. Le Clerc is learned, ingenious, candid, but neither agreeable nor always careful : Bayle, as usual, amusing, desultory, malicious, unsatisfactory. Knight is most useful as to the visits and connexions of Erasmus in England, to which he almost entirely confines himself. It is impossible not to respect, almost as impossible to read, the laborious Burigny ; of which the late Charles Butler's miniature work is a neat and terse, but meagre and unsatisfactory, abstract. If we could have designated the modern scholar, whose congenial mind would best have appreciated, and entered most fully into the whole life of Erasmus, it would have been Jortin. Jortin had wit, and a kindred quiet sarcasm. From no book (except perhaps the '*Lettres Provinciales*') has Gibbon drawn so much of his subtle scorn, his covert sneer, as from Jortin's '*Remarks on Ecclesiastical History.*' In Jortin lived the inextinguishable hatred of Romanism, which most of the descendants of the Exiles, after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, cherished in their inmost hearts, and carried with them to every part of Europe ; that hatred which in Bayle, Le Clerc, and many others, had an influence not yet adequately traced on the literature, and through the literature, on the politics and religion of Christendom. It was this feeling which gave its bitterness to so much of Jortin's views of every event and dispute in Church history. In these he read the nascent and initiatory bigotry which in later days shed the blood of his ancestors. He detected in the fourth or fifth century the spirit which animated the Dragonnades. Jortin was an excellent and an elegant scholar ; his Latinity, hardly surpassed by any modern writer, must have caused him to revel in the pages of Erasmus ; he was a liberal Divine, of calm but sincere piety, to whose sympathies the passionless moderation of Erasmus must have been congenial ; nor was there one of his day who would feel more sincere gratitude to Erasmus for his invaluable services to classical learning and to biblical criticism. We cannot altogether assent to the brief review of Jortin's book growled out by the stern old Dictator of the last century, 'Sir, it is a dull book.' It is not a dull book ; it contains much lively and pleasant

remark, much amusing anecdote, many observations of excellent sense, conveyed in a style singularly terse, clever, and sometimes of the finest cutting sarcasm. But never was a book so ill composed: it consists of many rambling parts, without arrangement, without order, without proportion; it is no more than an abstract and summary of the letters of Erasmus, interspersed with explanatory or critical comments, and copious patches from other books. It is in fact 'Remarks on the Life of Erasmus;' no more a biography than the 'Remarks on Ecclesiastical History' are a history of the Church. Of the later writers there is a laborious but heavy work by Hess, in two volumes, Zürich, 1790; a shorter by Adolf Müller, Hamburg, 1828, with a long, wearisome, and very German preface on the development of mankind, and of the individual man. The life, however, has considerable merit; but Müller labours so hard not to be partial to Erasmus, as to fall into the opposite extreme. Perhaps the best appreciation, on the whole, of the great Scholar is in an article in Ersch and Gruber's *Cyclopædia*. M. Nisard has a lively and clever sketch, which originally appeared in the '*Revue des Deux Mondes*,' and was reprinted in his '*Etudes sur la Renaissance*,' but, as is M. Nisard's wont, too showy, and wanting in grave and earnest appreciation of a character like Erasmus.

Erasmus was born in the city of Rotterdam, October 28, 1467. Even before his birth he was the victim of that irreligious and merciless system which showed too plainly the decay and degeneracy of the monastic spirit. It blighted him with the shame of bastardy, with which he was taunted by ungenerous adversaries. His father before him was trepanned against his inclinations, against his natural disposition and temperament, into that holy function, of which it is difficult enough to maintain the sanctity with the most intense devotion of mind and heart. If we did not daily witness the extraordinary influence of a strong corporate spirit, we might imagine that it was the delight of the monks of those days, and their revenge upon mankind, to make others as miserable as they found themselves. In the words applied by Erasmus himself, they might seem to compass heaven and earth to make proselytes, such proselytes usually fulfilling the words of the Scripture. That strange passion for what might be called, in a coarse phrase, crimping for ecclesiastical recruits,—a phrase, unless kidnapping be better, often used by Erasmus,—without regard to their fitness for the service, lasted to late times, and became extinct, if it be extinct (which we sadly doubt), with monkhood itself. Our readers may recollect how the Jesuits laid their snares for promising youths, and nearly caught Marmontel

montel and Diderot ; though perhaps it was easier to make clever Jesuits of clever boys, than devout or even decent monks of those who had no calling for cloistral austerities or ascetic retreat. In the days of Erasmus the system was carried on without any scruple. 'What boy was there of hopeful genius, of honourable birth, or of wealth, whom they did not tempt with their stratagems, for whom they did not spread their nets, whom they did not try to catch by their wiles, the parents often being ignorant, not rarely decidedly adverse. This wickedness, which is more wicked than any kidnapping (plagio), these actors dare to perpetrate in the name of piety.' * This was intelligible when they sought to enlist sons of family or wealth, who might fill their coffers, or extend their influence ; or men of very high promise, who might advance or extend their cause. But Gerard, the father of Erasmus, was one of ten sons, born of decent but not opulent parents, at Gouda (Tergau) in Holland. One, at least, of that large family (the desire to disembarass themselves of the charge and responsibility of troublesome younger brothers was ever unhappily conspiring with the proselytizing zeal) must be persuaded or compelled to enter into holy orders or the cloister. Gerard might seem by temperament and disposition the least suited to a life of mortification and sanctity. He was gay and mirthful ; even in later life he bore a Dutch name, best rendered 'the facetious.' But there was a graver disqualification, of which neither his parents nor the monks were ignorant ; he had formed a passionate attachment to the daughter of a physician. The opposition of his parents to the marriage, fatal to their design of driving him into the cloister, did not break off, but rendered the intimacy too close ; he fled from his home. Margarita, who should have been his wife, retired to Rotterdam, where she gave birth to a son destined to a world-wide fame. Gerard, after many wanderings, had found his way to Rome. There he earned his livelihood by transcribing works, chiefly those of classical authors, the office of transcriber not being yet superseded by the young art of printing. He is said to have acquired a strong taste for those writers, and a fair knowledge of their works. A rumour was industriously spread, and skilfully conveyed to his ears, that his beloved Margarita was dead. In his first fit of desperation he severed himself from the world, and took the irrevocable vows. On his return to his native Gouda he found the mother of his son in perfect health. But he took the noblest revenge on the fraud which had beguiled him into Holy Orders : he was faithful to his vows. He was presented by the Pope with

* Epist. ad Grunniūm.

a prebend,

a prebend, a decent maintenance, in his native country. No suspicion seems from this time to have attached to his conduct, though he still preserved his animal spirits and wit, and the lighter appellation of his youth still clung to him. The mother, too, from that time lived with unsullied fame. It was said of her—

‘Huic uni potuit succumbere culpæ.’ *

Gerard, the son of Gerard (the name was fancifully, it does not appear by whose fancy, Latinized into Desiderius, and Desiderius again repeated in the Greek Erasmus), was sent to the school at Gouda, kept by a certain Peter Winkel. Winkel held him for a dunce; but the dullness may have been in the teacher, not in the pupil. He is said to have profited as little by the scanty instruction which he received as a chorister at Utrecht. At nine years old he was sent to the school at Deventer, accompanied by his mother, seemingly an accomplished woman, who, in addition to his ordinary studies, obtained him lessons in design and drawing. Deventer was a school kept by a religious brotherhood, not bound by vows. The ‘brothers of the common life’ were the latest, and not the least devout and holy effort of monachism to renew its youth. The Order was founded by Gerard Groot, no unworthy descendant of the monks of Clugny, of St. Bernard, or St. Francis; they were rivals of the mystic school of Tauler, Rysbroeck, and De Suso, in the south of Germany. Their monastery of Zwoll, near Brunswick, had nursed in its peaceful shades Thomas of Kempen (near Cologne), in our judgment the undoubted author of the last, most perfect, most popular manual of monastic Christianity, the ‘*De Imitatione Christi*.’ And now, as ever, in less than a century, among the brothers of Deventer, few hearts beat in response to the passionate, quivering ejaculations of that holy book,—they had become low, ignorant, intriguing, worldly friars. The light of the new learning was, however, struggling at Deventer against the old scholastic system. At the head of the school was Alexander Hegius, a pupil of the celebrated Greek scholar Rudolph Agricola, the

* Was there another son three years older than Erasmus? The earlier lives, those of which Erasmus himself furnished the materials, are silent about him: but if the narrative, in the celebrated Epistle to Grunnius, be the early life of Erasmus himself—and this cannot be reasonably doubted—there was; and a passage in another letter, indicated by Jortin, seems conclusive. If so, the elder was a dull, coarse boy, who, having determined with Erasmus to resist, deserted his more resolute brother, and became a monk—a stupid and profligate one, whom Erasmus might be glad to forget, and for whose death he felt no very profound sorrow. But this makes the case of the deception practised on the father even worse. Dupin, a sound authority, and M. Nisard, admit the existence of the elder brother as certain.

first who brought the Italian learning over the Alps. Of Hegius Erasmus ever spoke with profound respect. But Sinheim, the sub-rector, was his chief instructor; he was too young, perhaps too poor, to come under the former. Sinheim was the first to discern the promise of Erasmus. On one occasion he addressed him: 'Go on as thou hast begun; thou wilt before long rise to the highest pinnacle of letters.' Agricola himself, on a visit to Hegius, was so much struck by an exercise of the boy that, having put a few questions to him, and looked 'at the shape of his head and at his eyes,' he dismissed him with the words, 'You will be a great man.' Erasmus himself says that at Deventer he went through the whole course of scholastic training, logic, physics, metaphysics, and morals,—with what profit may be a question; but he had learned also Horace and Terence by heart. What a step for one to whom Latin was to be almost his vernacular language! Yet even at Deventer he was exposed to those trials, with which inveterate monkish proselytism had determined to beset him. 'There was no youth of candid disposition and of good fortune whom they (the monks and friars) did not study to break and subdue to their service. They spared neither flatteries, insults, petty terrors, entreaties, horrible tales, to allure them into their own, or to drive them into some other, fold. I myself was educated at Deventer. When I was not fifteen, the President of that Institution used every endeavour to induce me to enter into it. I was of a very pious disposition; but though so young, I was wise enough to plead my age and the anger of my parents if I should do anything without their knowledge. But this good man, when he saw that his eloquence did not prevail, tried an exorcism. "What do you mean?" He brought forth a crucifix, and, while I burst into tears, he said, with a look as of one inspired, "Do you acknowledge that He suffered for you?" "I do fervently." "By Him, then, I beseech you that you suffer Him not to have died in vain for you; obey my counsels, seek the good of your soul, lest in the world you perish everlastingly."'

* But the boy was obliged to leave Deventer. The plague bereft him of his mother; the widowed father pined away with sorrow, and died at forty years of age. Erasmus was cast upon the world an orphan, worse than friendless, with faithless friends.

His father appointed three guardians not of his own family; he may have still cherished a sad remembrance of their unkindly conduct. Of these, one was Peter Winkel, master of the boy's first school. There was property—whence it came appears not, but sufficient for his decent maintenance, and for an University

* De Pronunciatione. Opera, vol. i. p. 121-2.

education; sufficient, unhappily, to tempt these unscrupulous guardians. It was squandered away, or applied to their own uses: all the money was soon gone, but there remained certain bonds or securities. And now, like the father, the youth must be driven by fair or foul means into the cloister. The ambition of the promising scholar, in whom the love of letters had been rapidly growing, and had been fostered by the praise of distinguished men into a passion, was to receive an education at one of the famous Universities of Europe. But the free and invigorating studies of the University were costly, and might estrange the aspiring youth from the life of the cloister. He was sent to an institution at Herzogenbusch (Bois le Duc) kept by another brotherhood, whose avowed object it was to train and discipline youth for the monastic state. The two years of his sojourn there were a dreary blank: years lost to his darling studies. These men were ignorant, narrow-minded, hard, even cruel: they could teach the young scholar nothing—they would not let him teach himself. The slightest breach of discipline was threatened with, often followed by, severe chastisement. He was once flogged for an offence of which he was not guilty; it threw him into a fever of four days. The effect of this system was permanently to injure his bodily health, to render him sullen, timid, suspicious. It implanted in his heart a horror of corporal punishment. Rousseau himself did not condemn it more cordially, more deliberately. It was one of his few points of difference in after-life with his friend Colet, who still adhered to the monkish usage of severe flagellation. One foolish, but well-meaning zealot, Rumbold, tried gentler means—entreaties, flatteries, presents, caresses. He told him awful stories of the wickedness of the world, of the lamentable fate of youths who had withstood the admonitions of pious monks, and left the safe seclusion of the cloister. One had sate down on what seemed to be the root of a tree, but turned out to be a huge serpent, which swallowed him up. Another had been devoured, so soon as he left the monastery walls, by a raging lion. He was plied with incessant tales of goblins and devils. He was at length released, having shown stedfast resistance, from this wretched petty tyranny, and returned to Gouda. At Gouda he was exposed to other persecutions, to the tricks and stratagems of the indefatigable Winkel, who seems (one of his colleagues having been carried off by the plague) to have become sole guardian; his zeal no doubt for the soul of his pupil being deepened by the fear of being called to account for the property entrusted to his care. To admonitions, threats, reproaches, persuasions, even to the offer of an advantageous opening in the monastery of Sion, near Delft, the youth offered

offered a calm but determinate resistance. He was still young, he said with great good sense — he knew not himself, nor the cloister, nor the world. He wished to pursue his studies; in riper years he might determine, but on conviction and experience, upon his course of life. A false friend achieved that which the interested importunity of his guardians, the arts, the terrors, the persuasions of monks and friars had urged in vain. Later in life Erasmus described the struggles, the conflict, the discipline, and its melancholy close, under imaginary names, it may be, perhaps, under circumstances slightly different. He mingled up with his own trials those of his brother, whose firmness, however, soon broke down; he not only deserted but entered into the confederacy against Erasmus, then but sixteen, who had to strive against a brother of nineteen. He threw over the whole something of the license of romance, and carried it on to an appeal to the Pope; from whom he would even in later life obtain permission not to wear the dress of the order. No doubt in the main the story is told with truth and fidelity in this singularly-interesting letter to Lambertus Grunnius, one of the scribes in the Papal Court.* He had formed a familiar attachment to a youth at Deventer. Cornelius Verden was a few years older than himself, astute, selfish, but high-spirited and ambitious. He had found his way to Italy; on his return he had entered into the cloister of Emaus or Stein, not from any profound piety, but for ease and self-indulgence, as the last refuge of the needy and idle. Erasmus suspected no treachery; and the tempter knew his weakness. Verden described Stein as a quiet paradise for a man of letters: his time was his own; books in abundance were at his command; accomplished friends would encourage, and assist his studies: all was pure, sober enjoyment; pious, intellectual luxury. Erasmus listened, and after some resistance entered on his probation. His visions seemed to ripen into reality; all was comfort, repose, indulgence, uninterrupted reading, no rigid fasts, dispensations from canonical hours of prayer, nights passed in study with his friend, who took the opportunity of profiting (being very slow of learning, and with only some knowledge of music) by the superior attainments of Erasmus. The pleasant peace was only broken by light and innocent pastimes, in which the good elder brothers condescended to mingle. So glided on the easy months; but, as the fatal day of profession arrived, suspicions darkened on the mind of Erasmus. He sent for his guardians; he entreated to be released; he appealed to the better feelings of the monks. 'Had they been,' he wrote at a later period, 'good

* This letter may be read among his Epistles, and also in the Appendix of Jortin.

Christian religious men, they would have known how unfit I was for their life. I was neither made for them, nor they for me.' His health was feeble; he required a generous diet; he had a peculiar infirmity, fatal to canonical observance—when once his sleep was broken he could not sleep again. For religious exercises he had no turn; his whole soul was in letters, and in letters according to the new light now dawning on the world. But all were hard, inexorable, cunning. He was coaxed, threatened, compelled. St. Augustine himself (they were Augustinian friars) would revenge himself on the renegade from his Order. God would punish one who had set his hand to the plough and shrunk back. Verden was there with his bland seemingly-friendly influence. He would not lose his victim, the sharer in his lot for good or evil, the cheap instructor. Erasmus took the desperate, the fatal plunge. Ere long his eyes were opened; he saw the nakedness, the worse than nakedness, of the land. The quiet, the indulgence, the unbroken leisure were gone. He must submit to harsh, capricious discipline; to rigid but not religious rules; to companionship no longer genial or edifying. He was in the midst of a set of coarse, vulgar, profligate, unscrupulous men, zealots who were debauchees; idle, with all the vices the proverbial issue of idleness. Erasmus confesses that his morals did not altogether escape the general taint, though his feeble health, want of animal spirits, or his better principles, kept him aloof from the more riotous and shameless revels. He was still sober, quiet, studious, diligent. Did any of these men ever read the bitter sarcasms, the bright but cutting wit of the 'Praise of Folly' and the 'Colloquies?' If they did read them, had they no compunctious visitings as to the formidable foe they had galled and goaded beyond endurance?

The youth's consolation was in his books. His studies he still pursued, if with less freedom and with more interruption from enforced religious ceremonies, with his own indefatigable zeal and industry. Either within or without the cloister he found friends of more congenial minds. William Herman of Gouda, with whom he entered into active correspondence, indulged in Latin verse-making, which in that age dignified itself, and was dignified by Erasmus, with the name of Poetry. Erasmus wrote a treatise, like other voluntary or enforced ascetics, on the 'Contempt of the World.' But while he denounced the corruption of the world, it was in no monastic tone; he was even more vehement in his invective against the indolence, the profligacy, the ignorance of the cloister. This dissertation did not see the light till much later in his life. Among the modern authors who most excited his admiration was Laurentius Valla. Not only by his manly
and

and eloquent style, but by the boldness and originality of his thoughts, Valla had been the man who first assailed with success the monstrous edifice of fiction, which in the Middle Ages passed for history. His Ithuriel spear had pierced and given the death-blow to the famous donation of Constantine.

So passed about five years, obscure but not lost. He was isolated except from one or two congenial friends. With his family, who seem hardly to have owned him, he had no intercourse; he was a member of a fraternity, who looked on him with jealousy and estrangement, on whom he looked with ill-concealed aversion, perhaps contempt. He was one among them, not one of them. At that time the Bishop of Cambray, Henry de Bergis, meditated a journey to Rome, in hopes of obtaining a Cardinal's hat. He wanted a private secretary skilful in writing Latin. Whether he applied to the Monastery, which was not unwilling to rid itself of its uncongenial inmate, and so commended him to the Bishop, or whether the fame of Erasmus had reached Cambray, the offer was made and eagerly accepted. He left his friend Herman alone with regret: and Herman envied the good fortune of his friend, who had hopes of visiting pleasant Italy.

'At nunc sors nos divellit, tibi quod bene vortat,
Sors peracerba mihi,
Me sine solus abis, tu Rheni frigora et Alpes
Me sine solus adis,
Italiam, Italiam lætus penetrabis amœnam.'

But as yet Erasmus was not destined to breathe the air of Italy: the ambitious Prelate's hopes of the Cardinal's hat vanished. Erasmus remained under the protection of the Bishop at Cambray. He was induced to enter into Holy Orders. He continued his studies; and as a scholar made some valuable friendships. At length, after five years, not wasted, but still to him not profitable years, he hoped to obtain the one grand object of his ambition—residence and instruction at one of the great Universities of Europe. Paris, the famous seat of theologic learning, seemed to open her gates to him. The Bishop not only gave permission but promise of support. The eager student obtained what may be called a pensionate or bursary in the Montagu College. But new trials and difficulties awaited him. The Bishop was too poor, too prodigal, or too parsimonious to keep his word. His allowance to Erasmus was reluctantly and irregularly paid, if paid at all. The poor scholar had not wherewithal to pay fees for lectures, or for the purchase of books: but he had lodging, and such lodging!—food, but how much and of what quality! Hear his college reminiscences:*

* See the Colloquia, 'Ichthyophagia.'

'Thirty years since I lived in a College at Paris, named from vinegar (Montaceto).' "I do not wonder," says the interlocutor, "that it was so sour, with so much theological disputation in it: the very walls, they say, reek with Theology." *Er.* "You say true; I indeed brought nothing away from it but a constitution full of unhealthy humours, and plenty of vermin. Over that College presided one John Standin, a man not of a bad disposition, but utterly without judgment. If, having himself passed his youth in extreme poverty, he had shown some regard for the poor, it had been well. If he had so far supplied the wants of the youths as to enable them to pursue their studies in credit, without pampering them with indulgence, it had been praiseworthy. But what with hard beds, scanty food, rigid vigils and labours, in the first year of my experience, I saw many youths of great gifts, of the highest hopes and promise, some who actually died, some doomed for life to blindness, to madness, to leprosy. Of these I was acquainted with some, and no one was exempt from the danger. Was not that the extreme of cruelty? . . . Nor was this the discipline only of the poorer scholars: he received not a few sons of opulent parents, whose generous spirit he broke down. To restrain wanton youth by reason and by moderation, is the office of a father: but in the depth of a hard winter to give hungry youths a bit of dry bread, to send them to the well for water, and that foetid and unwholesome or frost-bound! I have myself known many who thus contracted maladies which they did not shake off as long as they lived. The sleeping-rooms were on the ground-floor, with mouldy plaster walls, and close to filthy and pestilential latrine."

He goes on to dwell on the chastisements to which we presume from his age he was not exposed; but in truth even in this respect monastic discipline was not particular; and here it ruled in all its harshness—a further exemplification of the law of nature that those who are cruel to themselves are cruel to others; that the proscription of the domestic affections is fatal to tenderness and to humanity.*

But Erasmus was forcing his way to celebrity. Even at Paris the young scholar's name began to make itself known in that which in those days had a real and separate existence, the republic of letters. This republic had begun to rival, to set itself apart from, the monastic world, and even from the Church. It hailed with generous welcome, and entered into friendly communication with young aspirants after literary distinction. Erasmus, the parentless, without fortune, without connexions,

* Rabelais' reminiscences of the Collège Montaigu were not more pleasing. Ponocrates says to Grandgousier, 'Seigneur, ne penses que je l'aye mis au Collège de pouillierie qu'on nomme Montaigu; mieux l'eusse voulu mettre entre les gueux de St. Innocent, pour l'enorme cruauté et villenie que j'y ai cognue; car trop mieulx sont traictés les forcés entre les Maures et Tartares, les meurtriers en la prison criminelle, voyre certes les chiens en vostre maison, que sont ces malautrus au dit Collège.'

without corporate interests, even without country, began to gather around himself a host of friends, which gradually comprehended almost all the more distinguished names in Europe. In Paris he began to supply his failing resources by what in our modern academical phrase is called taking private pupils. Paris was crowded with youth from all countries. At a later period we find Erasmus superintending the education of the son of a rich burgher of Lubeck; but England offered the wealthiest and most generous youth. A member of the almost royal family of Grey, and the Lord Mountjoy, placed themselves under the tuition of Erasmus. So with Mountjoy began a life-long friendship, which had much important influence, and might have had even more, on his career. It opened England to him, in which, had he chosen, he might have obtained an honoured domiciliation and a secure maintenance. Mountjoy's first act was to remove him from the pestilential precincts of the college to purer air and doubtless more costly diet. Some time after he settled on his master a pension, which Erasmus held for life. He had an offer of a more promising pupil; he was to *cram* an unlettered noble youth, the son of James Stanley Earl of Derby, and so son-in-law to the King's mother, for a bishopric: a bishopric, that of Ely, was ere long obtained. The tutor was to receive 100 crowns for a year's drudgery, the promise of a benefice in a few months, and the loan of 300 crowns till the benefice fell in. But Erasmus, from independence, or thinking that he might employ his time better than in this dull office of teaching perhaps an unteachable youth, declined the flattering proposal.*

From Paris Erasmus was more than once driven by the plague to the Low Countries and to Orleans. During one of these excursions he made an acquaintance, through Battus, a man of letters, with Anna Bersala, Marchioness of Vere, who lived in the Castle of Tornhoens. The Marchioness, an accomplished woman, settled a pension upon him, and more than once assisted him in his necessities. In his turn Erasmus instructed her son, Adolphus de Vere, and wrote for him the treatise '*De Arte conscribendi Epistolas*.' The pension was somewhat irregularly paid, and Erasmus remonstrated on being left to starve, while his patroness wasted her bounty on illiterate fellows who wore cowls. The allowance ceased at length, the lady, after having refused the noblest offers, having contracted a low and almost servile marriage. At Orleans he was received in the house of a wealthy canon and treated with generous kindness. He visited his native Holland too—the air agreed with him; but he could

* See Knight, p. 19.

not endure the Epicurean banquets, the sordid and rude people, the stubborn contempt of all polite studies, the total want and the mean jealousy of learning.*

The first visit of Erasmus to England was in 1598.† He came at the invitation of Mountjoy. Even now the scholar found himself welcomed by some of the highest and most gifted of the land; presents, which became more free and bountiful as he became better known, were showered upon him; he was an object of general respect and esteem. Already began his life-long friendship with More and with Colet, afterwards Dean of St. Paul's. His first impressions on his arrival and reception in England were flattering, even to the atmosphere and climate of the island. He had just emerged, be it remembered, from the unwholesome air of the French capital, and, till rescued by Mountjoy, from the most wretched quarter, and the most wretched lodging in that most wretched quarter of Paris, under frequent visitations too of what was called the plague. He had but exchanged that dreary domicile, still pursued by the plague, for Orleans, for Louvain, and some of the cities of the Low Countries and of Holland. No wonder that he was delighted with the pure, and not yet smoke-laden air of London and its neighbourhood. 'You ask,' he writes to Piscator, an Englishman at Rome, 'how I am pleased with England. If you will believe me, my dear Robert, nothing ever delighted me so much. I have found the climate most agreeable and most healthful, and so much civility (*humanitas*, a far wider term), so much learning, and that not trite and trivial but profound and accurate, so much familiarity with the ancient writers, Latin and Greek, that, except for the sake of seeing it, I hardly care to visit Italy.' 'When I hear Colet, I seem to hear Plato. Who would not admire Grocyn's vast range of knowledge? What can be more subtle, more deep, more fine than the judgment of Linacer? Did Nature ever frame a disposition more gentle, more sweet, more happy, than that of Thomas More?' Of his host Mountjoy, Erasmus is gratefully eloquent: 'Whither would I not follow a youth so courteous, so gentle, so amiable, I say not to England, I would follow him to the infernal regions.' In another letter, addressed to the so-called Poet Laureate, Andrelini‡ of Forlì (he read

* He called Holland 'beer and butter land.'—*Müller*, p. 232.

† The short visit, supposed in the older lives to have taken place in 1597, and which rested on erroneous dates in some of the letters, is now given up. The letters want a careful editor, such as Luther's have found in *De Wette*. See *Müller's Life*, p. 168; *Ersch and Gruber*; and the article in *Diderot's new 'Dictionnaire Biographique'*.

‡ The Latin poetry of Andrelini is of moderate merit; but, according to Dr. Strauss (in his excellent *Life of Hutten*, vol. i. p. 102), Andrelini was the author of

read lectures on Poetry and Rhetoric in Paris), Erasmus takes a lighter tone. He talks of his horsemanship—'he had almost become a hunter. He had learned to be a successful courtier, and taken up the manners of the great. How could Andrelini linger in the filth of Paris? If the gout did not hold him by the foot, let him fly to England.' Then follows a passage which has given rise to much solemn nonsense. It seems that in the days of Henry VII., our great-great-great-grandmothers, at meeting and at parting, indulged their friends and even strangers with an innocent salute. On this usage Erasmus enlarges to his poetic friend in very pretty Latin, and rather pedantically advises him to prefer the company of these beautiful and easy nymphs to his cold and coy muses. Such writers as Bayle and Gibbon, of course, made the most of this; absurdly enough, but not with half the absurdity of the grave rebuke with which many a ponderous and cloudy wig was shaken among ourselves at this wicked calumny on British matrons.

Yet, it should seem that Erasmus, at his first visit to England, was a pupil rather than a teacher. He was already a perfect master of Latin. In Oxford he found that instruction in Greek, which if Paris could furnish (and this may be doubted, for his friend and rival Budæus had not yet begun to teach) Erasmus was too poor to buy. But in the constant intercourse of England with Italy, some of her scholars had studied under the Greeks, who had fled after the taking of Constantinople and taught Italy, and, through Italy, Europe, their peerless language. Among these were W. Grocyn, probably also Linacer and Latimer. Under Grocyn Erasmus made rapid progress, and soon after became sufficient master of Greek to translate parts of Libanius, Lucian, Euripides. Gibbon's pointed sentence that Erasmus learned Greek in Oxford to teach it in Cambridge is undeniably true.

Erasmus had an opportunity of expressing his admiration of England in verse; and this is the most curious, and perhaps the most trustworthy, relation of his adventures during his first visit. When he was at Lord Mountjoy's country-seat near Greenwich, More, inviting him to a pleasant walk, conducted him to the Royal Palace at Eltham, where all the royal children, except

of the famous 'Julius Exclusus,' the most powerful satire of his day, which abounded in such satire. Jortin, we would observe, who knew well Andrelini's writings, thinks him quite incapable of such a work; but More, in his letter to Lee (Jortin, Appendix, ii. p. 686), says positively that it first appeared at Paris, and was attributed by Stephen Poncher, bishop of Paris, to Faustus Andrelinus. The calm, cutting sarcasm, and the spirited Latinity of the 'Julius Exclusus' are equally masterly. The satire may be read in the Appendix to Jortin, and in the sixth volume of Munch's edition of Hutten, which contains the 'Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum.' It was repeatedly disclaimed by Erasmus.

Prince

Prince Arthur, were under education. Prince Henry was then nine years old, and, even in his boyhood, according to the words of Erasmus, blended high majesty with singular courtesy. On his right was the Princess Margaret, aged eleven, afterwards the wife of James of Scotland; on his left the Princess Mary, aged four, at play: the Prince Edward was still in arms. Prince Henry, whom More had accosted with some compliment in Latin, addressed during dinner a short Latin letter to the foreign scholar, who, as he complained to More, was taken by surprise, and was not ready with a reply. Three days after Erasmus sent him in return a copy of verses of some length. Of this effusion England's assertion of her wealth and fertility is no unfavourable example:—

‘At mihi nec fontes nec ditia flumina desunt,
Sulcive pingues, prata nec ridentia,
Fœta viris, fœcunda feris, fœcunda metallis,
Ne gloriæ, quod ambiens largas opes
Porrigit Oceanus, nec quod nec amicus ulla
Cœlum, nec aura dulcius spirat plaga.’

But the king, Henry VII., is the chief glory of the glorious realm.

‘Rex unicum hujus sæculi miraculum,
* * * * *
Hoc regnum ille putat, patriæ carissimus esse,
Blandus bonis, solis timendus impiis.’

And so on through many lines of classic adulation, in which Decius, Codrus, Numa, Æneas, and we know not who, are eclipsed by the iron Henry VII. The children have each their meed of flattery, Prince Arthur, Henry, and “the pearl” Margarita. It is curious that the poet Skelton, who had not yet fallen upon his proper vein,—inexhaustible, scurrilous, Swift-anticipating, doggerel,—and was only known by his grave verses on the fall of the House of York, and had been crowned with the poetic laurel by the University of Louvain, is described as directing Prince Henry’s poetic studies—

‘Monstrante fontes vate Skeltono sacros.’

In the dedication, Skelton is named even with higher praise, as the one light and glory of British letters. Erasmus of course spoke from common report, for he knew nothing of English. His conversation with the royal family must have been in Latin.*

The first visit of Erasmus to England was closed by an amusing, to him by no means pleasant, incident. Henry VII.’s political

* Erasmus had heard of Dante and Petrarch, though, as we shall hereafter see, he knew nothing of Italian: but England, he said, had vernacular poets who rivalled those celebrated Italians.

economy had rigidly prohibited the exportation of coined money. The rude Custom House officers seized twenty pounds, which poor Erasmus was carrying away, the first-fruits, and in those days to him of no inconsiderable value, of English munificence. There is a bitterness in his natural complaints, not quite accordant with the contempt of money which he often affects, but was too needy to maintain.*

Before the second visit of Erasmus to England (nearly seven years after, 1505-6) he had become, not in promise only, but in common repute, the greatest Transalpine scholar. Reuchlin was now his only rival; but Reuchlin's fame, immeasurably heightened by his persecutions and his triumph over his persecutors, and by his vindication through the anonymous authors of the '*Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*,' was chiefly confined to Hebrew learning, to which Erasmus had no pretence. Budæus, no doubt, surpassed him in Greek, not one in Latin. The first, very imperfect, edition of his '*Adagia*,' at the vast erudition of which the world wondered, had appeared in 1500. In 1504 he had been summoned to deliver a gratulatory address at Brussels, in the name of the Estates of the Low Countries, to their sovereign, Philip the Fair, on his return to that city from Spain.

The second English visit, like the first, was short. He was introduced by Grocyn to Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury. On that occasion he presented Warham with a copy of his translation of the '*Hecuba*' of Euripides into Latin verse, with an iambic ode and a dedicatory epistle. Warham received him with great kindness, and made him a present; but as Grocyn and he returned across the Thames, the present, on examination, turned out to be but of moderate amount. The wary archbishop had been too often imposed upon by needy students, and thought it not unlikely that the same work, with the same dedication, had been offered to others before himself. After his return to Paris, Erasmus, rather indignant, and to exculpate himself from such base suspicion, sent the work, in print, to the archbishop, and added to it a version of the '*Iphigenia*.' Under the patronage of Bishop Fisher of Rochester, Chancellor of the University, Erasmus now visited Cambridge, but at present only for a short time. He is said, on doubtful authority, to have received a degree. It is not improbable that this visit to England was connected with the hope of raising funds for that which had been the vision of his youth, the day-dream of his manhood—a journey to Italy. To Italy accordingly, during the next year, he

* His earlier letters are full of his pecuniary difficulties. He was not seldom reduced to a kind of sturdy literary mendicancy: later in life, by pensions, presents, dedications, his counsellor's place in the Imperial court (not from the profits of his works), he had a fair income. We cannot enter into details.

set out from Paris. He had undertaken the charge of two sons of Boyer, a Genoese, physician to Henry VII.: they were gentle, manageable youths,—but their attendant, who had the care of their conduct, was rude, troublesome, impracticable. The connexion soon came to an end. Erasmus, no doubt, had hoped to find Italy the pleasant and peaceful sanctuary of arts, letters, religion; in every city scholars pursuing their tranquil avocations under the patronage of their princes, quiet universities opening their willing gates to students from every part of Christendom, the wealth of the church lavished on well-stocked libraries, the higher Churchmen, the Chief Pontiff especially, in a court of enlightened men, whose whole thought was the encouragement of letters, and by letters the advancement of sound religion. He found Italy convulsed, ravaged, desolated with war, and at the head of one of the most ferocious, most rude, most destructive of the predatory armies, was the Pope himself. Turin was his first resting-place; and at the University of Turin, after a residence of some months, he obtained, what was then a high honour, the degree of Doctor. He passed to Bologna. Hardly had he arrived there when he heard the thunders of the Pope's forces, with Julius himself at their head, around the beleaguered city. He retired to Florence. He returned to Bologna in time to see the triumphant entrance of the Pope into the rebellious city. He made an excursion, for a third time, to Rome, where he again (in March, 1508) beheld the gorgeous ovation of the martial Pontiff. The effect of this spectacle on the pacific mind of Erasmus, as he poured it forth in a dissertation added to his '*Adagia*' (printed at Venice during the next year), will hereafter demand our attention. On the more restless and turbulent mind of another reformer, himself not averse to the glorious feats of war, its revolting incongruity with the character of the Vicar of the Prince of Peace wrought with more fatal and enduring influence. Read Hutten's vigorous verses *In tempora Julii* :—

'Hoc mens illa hominum, partim sortita Deorum,
Et pars ipsa Dei, patitur se errore teneri?
Ut scelere iste latro pollutus Julius omni
Cui velit occludat cælum, rursusque recludat
Cui velit, et possit momento quemque beatum
Efficere, aut contra, quantum quisunque bene egit
Et vixit bene, si lubeat, detrudere possit
Ad Stygias penas, et Averni Tartara ditis,
Et quod non habet ipse, aliis divendere cælum.

* * * * *
'Et nunc ille vagus spargit promissa per orbem,
Qui cædem et furias, seclerataque castra sequantur,
Se Duce, ut his cælum pateat. Qua fraude tot urbes,

Et

Et tot perdidit ille Duces, tot millia morti
Tradidit, et pulsa induxit bella acria pace,
Tranquillumque diu discordibus induit armis
Et scelere implevit mundum, fasque omne nefasque
Miscuit, inque isto caneret cum classica motu
Naufraga direpti finxit patrimonia Petii
Vindice se bello asserere atque ulciscier armis,' &c. &c.
Oper. Hutteni, Munch. 1, 267.

At Bologna Erasmus remained nearly a year. There is only one incident preserved of his pursuits ; about his friends not much is recorded. The plague broke out, the physicians and watchers of the infected persons were ordered to throw a white cloth over their shoulders, to distinguish them. The white scapular of his order, which Erasmus wore, caused him twice to be mistaken for one of these officials. As the scholar took pride in not knowing a word of Italian, he was mobbed, and once narrowly escaped with his life. From Bologna he removed to Venice, to print a new edition of his 'Adagia' at the famous Aldine Press. He became very intimate with the Aldi: his enemies afterwards reproached him as having degraded himself (such were the strange notions of literary dignity in those days) to the menial office of corrector of the Press for some of the splendid volumes issued by the Venetian typographers. At Venice and at Padua he found himself in the centre of many men, then of great distinction, but whose names we fear would awaken no great reverence, or might be utterly unknown to our ordinary readers. At Padua a natural son of James, King of Scotland, a youth of twenty years old, but already Archbishop of St. Andrews, was pursuing his studies. Both at Padua and afterwards when they met at Sienna, Erasmus charged himself with the young Scot's instruction. He was a youth of singular beauty, tall, of sweet disposition. The juvenile archbishop was a diligent student of rhetoric, Greek, law, divinity, music.* He fell afterwards at his father's side, at Flodden. Erasmus at length descended again to Rome, to make, it might be, a long, a lifelong sojourn. Those of the cardinals who were the professed patrons of letters received him with open arms—the Cardinal St. George, the Cardinal of Viterbo, the Cardinal de Medici, so soon to ascend the Papal throne as Leo X. He describes in one of his letters his interview with the Cardinal Grimani, who displayed not only the courtesy of a high-born and accomplished churchman, but a respect, almost a deference, for the poor adventurous scholar, which showed at once the footing on which men of

* See his character in the 'Adagia,' or in 'Knight,' p. 96. He is mentioned also in the letter to Botzemius.

letters stood, and what Erasmus might have become, had he devoted his transcendent learning and abilities to the Roman court and to the service of the Papacy. Pope Julius himself, unconscious of the unfavourable impression which he had made on the peaceful Teuton, condescended to notice him; he was offered the rank, office, and emoluments of one of the Penitentiaries. Julius put the scholar to a singular test. He commanded him to declaim one day against the war which he was meditating against Venice; on another, in favour of its justice and expediency. Erasmus either thought it not safe to decline, or was prompted by his vanity, in the display of his powers and of his Latinity, to undertake the perilous office, or probably treated it merely as a sort of trial of his skill in declamation after the old Roman fashion. By his own account he did not flatter the Pope by arguing more strongly on the warlike side; but the weaker oration, being in favour of the war, and recited before Pope Julius, could not fail of success. After his departure from Rome, however, he disburthened himself of his real, heart-rooted sentiments; he wrote his '*Antipolemo*,' a bold tract, which at that time did not see the light, but was afterwards embodied in his '*Querela Pacis*,' and proclaimed to the world all his intense and cherished and ineffaceable abhorrence of war.

Erasmus was not destined nor, indeed, disposed to bask away his life in the calm sunshine of papal favour, or under the sky of Italy. Intelligence from England summoned him back to our shores.

In April, 1509, Henry VIII. acceded to the throne.* During the preceding year the Prince Henry had addressed a flattering letter to Erasmus with his own hand, in his own Latin, acknowledging one which he had received from Erasmus, 'written with that eloquence which, as well as his erudition, was famous throughout the world.' Lord Mountjoy wrote from the Court at Greenwich, urging his friend to return to England; holding out the certain favour of the King, who had done him the unwonted honour of corresponding with him with his own hand, promising him the patronage of Archbishop Warham, who sent him five pounds towards the expense of his journey, and as an earnest of future favours. Erasmus set forth without much delay: he crossed the Rhetian Alps, by Coire, to Constance, the Brisgau, and Strasburg; then down the Rhine to the Low Countries, from whence, after a short rest in Louvain, he crossed to England. He beguiled his time on his journey by meditating his famous satire on the Pope and on the Cardinals, for which in Rome itself, and all the way from Rome, he had found ample food—'The

* See Mountjoy's Letter, epist. x.

Praise of Folly.' He finished it in More's house, who enjoyed the kindred wit, nor as yet took alarm at the bitter sarcasms against the Church of Rome and her Head. It was on this journey from the coast that he saw all the sacred treasures of the church of Canterbury. The stately grandeur of the fabric impressed him with solemn awe; he admired the two lofty towers, with their sonorous bells; he remarked among the books attached to the pillars the spurious Gospel of Nicodemus. He mentions, not without what reads clearly enough like a covert sneer, the immense mass of reliques, bones, skulls, chins, teeth, hands, fingers, arms, which they were forced to adore and to kiss; but he was frightened (an ominous circumstance) at the profaneness of his companion, Gratian Pullen, a secret Wickliffite, who, notwithstanding the presence of the Prior, could not restrain his mockery, handled one relique, and replaced it with a most contemptuous gesture, and instead of a reverential kiss, made a very unseemly noise with his lips. The Prior, from courtesy or prudence, dismissed his guests with a cup of wine. At the neighbouring Hospital of Harbledon, Erasmus duly kissed the shoe of Thomas à Becket, an incident not forgotten in his pleasant 'Colloquy on Pilgrimages.' Already had he gazed in wonder at the inestimable treasures of gold and of jewels, which the veneration of two centuries had gathered round the tomb of Becket; even Erasmus ventured to hint to himself, that such treasures had been better bestowed on the poor. He was sufficiently versed in Church History to know how immeasurably the sacerdotal power was strengthened in England by the death and saintship of Thomas à Becket. Little did he foresee how soon that power, with the worship of the Saint, should pass away; that sumptuous tomb be plundered, and its wealth scattered abroad, too little, it is to be feared, to the poor. Yet while he contemplated these treasures, these superstitions, and meditated on the character of Becket and of his worship, he seems to have had some prophetic foresight of the religious troubles of England.*

In London Erasmus took up his lodging in the Augustinian convent, with Bernard Andreas, the tutor of Prince Arthur, and

* He appears to have seen the reliques of Thomas à Becket on another occasion, in company with Colet. 'I myself saw, when they displayed a torn rag with which he is said to have wiped his nose, the Abbot and other standers-by fall on their knees and lift up their hands in adoration. To Colet, for he was with me, this appeared intolerable; to me these things seemed rather to be borne with, till they could be corrected *without tumult*.'—'Erasmi Modus Orandi,' Oper. v. p. 933. A critic of Jortin's Life (Additions, ii. p. 706), to whom Jortin seems inclined to bow, supposes only one visit, and that Gratian Pullen was Colet; but the *Wickliffian* and rather coarse behaviour seem out of character with that devout man.

Royal Historiographer, in which character he wrote his *Life of Henry VII.** A quarrel arose about the expenses of the great scholar's maintenance, which was set at rest by the liberality of Lord Mountjoy. King Henry, however, whether too busy on his accession to the throne, and too much absorbed in European politics, hardly appears to have sustained the promise of welcome and patronage to the stranger whom he had allured into his realm: we hear but little of the royal munificence. Erasmus ever wrote with the highest respect of Henry; propitiated him by dedications, in one of which he dexterously reminded him of their early intimacy; he afterwards vindicated the King's authorship of the famous answer to Luther; and Henry was certainly jealous of the preference, shown by Erasmus in his later life, of the Imperial patronage. King Henry appreciated Erasmus more highly when he had lost the fame which he might have conferred upon his realm by his denizenship. The great Cardinal, of whose splendid foundations at Oxford Erasmus writes with honest admiration, condescended to make noble promises to Erasmus, first of a canonry at Tournay (that see was one of Wolsey's countless commendams), which, as his friend Lord Mountjoy was governor of the city, would have been peculiarly acceptable—afterwards of nothing less than a Bishopric. But his hopes from Wolsey turned out, in the words of his friend Ammonius, dreams. He more than once betrays some bitterness towards a patron, whose patronage was only in large words, and contemplated his fall, at least with equanimity.† At this period Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, seems to have been his most active and zealous advocate. Even Fisher was an avowed friend of the new learning; as Chancellor of Cambridge it was his deliberate design to emancipate the University from the trammels of scholasticism: himself, at an advanced age, had studied Greek. Through his influence Erasmus, who, as we have seen, had visited Cambridge in 1506, was appointed first Margaret Professor of Divinity, afterwards Professor of Greek. He had lodgings in Queen's College; in the time of Knight his rooms were still shown; a walk is even now called by his name. His scholars were at first but few, his emoluments small, and he did not scruple to express his disappointment at Cambridge. He had spent sixty nobles, and got barely one from his lectures. His friends were obliged to solicit aid, chiefly from Fox, Bishop

* This, the only contemporary biography of Henry VII., has appeared, exceedingly well edited, among the publications for which we are indebted to the Master of the Rolls.

† His Epistles to Henry VIII. and to Wolsey are couched in a kind of respectful familiarity. The scholar is doing honour even to the haughty King, as well as receiving it, and to his 'alter ego,' as Erasmus describes Wolsey.

of Winchester, and Tunstall of Durham. He became, however, better reconciled to Cambridge, and preferred it, but for the society of two or three dear friends, probably Mountjoy, no doubt More and Colet, to London. After two or three years the Archbishop Warham took him by the hand (his dedications of his translated Greek plays had not been wasted on the accomplished and liberal Prelate), and from that time Warham's liberality was free and unintermitting, and the gratitude of Erasmus in due proportion. There are several long passages in which, during the life and after the death of Warham, he describes his character with equal eloquence and truth.* Warham presented him to the living of Adlington, near Ashford, in Kent, to which he was collated March 22, 1511. Before the end of the year he resigned it, from scruples which did him honour: 'he could not pretend to feed a flock of whose language he was ignorant.' Erasmus disdained English, as he did all modern languages. The Archbishop accepted his resignation, assigning him a pension on the living. Erasmus still remonstrated, but the Archbishop argued that Erasmus was so much more usefully employed in instructing preachers than in preaching himself to a small country congregation, that he had a right to remuneration from the Church. To the 20l. from the living the Archbishop added another 20l. Knight justly mentions, as a very curious circumstance, that Adlington was the parish in which, some years after, appeared the Holy Nun of Kent, whose history is so admirably told by Mr. Froude. The successor of Erasmus, Robert Master, was, if not the author, deeply implicated in that for a time successful, but in the end most fatal, imposture. Even Warham, to say nothing of More and Fisher, listened with too greedy or too credulous ears to this monstrous tale.

During the whole of this visit, his longest sojourn in England, his intimacy increased with the two Englishmen who obtained the strongest hold on his admiration and affections—More and Colet. The genial playfulness of More, his as yet liberal views on the superstitions and abuses of the Church, and as yet unquestioned tolerance, qualified him beyond all men to enjoy the quiet satire, the accomplishments, the endless learning of Erasmus. To Colet he was bound by no less powerful sympathies; the love of polite letters, the desire of giving a more liberal and

* See especially the préface to the 3rd edition of Jerome, and the note to 1 Thessal. ii. 7, quoted at length by Jortin, i. 612, Epist. 922, 1234:—"The contrast of the pious, enlightened, and unworldly Warham with Wolsey is very striking. Compare the preferments and possessions of Wolsey on his fall, with Warham's dying demand of his steward, what money he had. "Thirty pounds;"—"Satis viatici ad celum"—Enough to carry me to Heaven."

elegant tone to education, the aversion to scholastic teaching, the avowed determination to supersede St. Thomas and Duns Scotus by lessons and sermons directly drawn from St. Paul and the Gospels, the contempt for much of the dominant superstition. Whatever made Colet an object of suspicion and jealousy, of actual prosecution as a heretic by Fitzjames, Bishop of London, against which he was protected by the more enlightened Warham—all, in short, which justified to him and may justify to the latest posterity the elaborate, most eloquent, and affectionate character which he drew of the Dean of St. Paul's, with Vittrarius, the Franciscan, his two model Christians—all conspired to unite the two scholars in the most uninterrupted friendship. Erasmus did great service to Colet's school at St. Paul's, that most remarkable instance of a foundation whose statutes were conceived with a prophetic liberality, which left the election of the students and the course of studies absolutely free, with the avowed design that there should be alterations with the change of times and circumstances. He composed hymns and prayers to the Child Jesus, and grammatical works, the '*De Copia Verborum*,' for the institution of his friend. Erasmus remained in England during this visit about four years—from the beginning of 1510 to 1514. Either disappointment, or restlessness, or ambition, the invitations of Charles of Austria, afterwards the Emperor, now holding his court at Brussels, or sanguine hopes, on account of the elevation of Cardinal de Medici, who had shown him so much favour at Rome, to the Papal throne as Leo X., drew him forth again into the world. From Charles he received the appointment of honorary counsellor, to which was attached a pension of 200 florins. A bishopric in Sicily was held out as a provision for the northern scholar; but the bishopric turned out not to be in the gift of Charles, but of the Pope. His old convent of Stein began to covet the fame of the great scholar whom they had permitted to leave their walls. His friend Servatius had become prior, and endeavoured to induce Erasmus to join again the brotherhood from which he had departed. The answer of Erasmus is among the most remarkable of his letters; free, full, fearless on the degeneracy of the monastic life, of which he acknowledges the use and excellence in former times, but of which he exposes in the most uncompromising language the almost universal abuses. 'What is more corrupt and more wicked than these relaxed religions? Consider even those which are in the best esteem, and you shall find in them nothing that resembles Christianity, but only I know not what cold and Judaical observances. Upon this the religious Orders value themselves, and by this they judge and despise others. Would it not be better, according to the doctrines
of

of our Saviour, to look upon Christendom as one house, one family, one monastery, and all Christians as one brotherhood? Would it not be better to account the Sacrament of Baptism the most sacred of all vows and engagements, and never trouble ourselves where we live so we live well?''* For the six or seven following busy years Erasmus himself might seem to care little where he lived; and, if indefatigable industry, if to devote transcendent abilities to letters, and above all to religious letters, be to live well, he might look back to those years of his life as the best spent, and, notwithstanding some drawbacks, some difficulties from the precariousness of his income, much suffering from a distressing malady, which enforced a peculiar diet and great care, as the happiest.

But no doubt the frequent change of residence during this period of the life of Erasmus arose out of his vocation. Books and manuscripts were scattered in many places: if he would consult them, far more if he would commit the works of ancient authors to the press, he must search into the treasures of various libraries, most of them in disorder, and very few with catalogues. The printers, too, who would undertake, and to whom could be intrusted, the care of printing and correcting voluminous works in the ancient languages, were rare to be found. The long residence of Erasmus at Basil was because he there enjoyed not only the courtesy of the Bishop and Clergy and many learned men, but because the intelligent and friendly printer Frobenius was boldly engaged in the most comprehensive literary enterprises.† He had, of course, no domestic ties; in fact, no country. His birth precluded any claim of kindred; his brother, if he had a brother, was dead; his family had from the first repudiated him. After his death Rotterdam might take pride in her illustrious son, and adorn her market-place with his statue; but it never had been and never was his dwelling-place. Once free, and now released by Papal authority from his vows of seclusion in the monastery of his Order, he would not submit to the irksome imprisonment of a cloister. He had refused all preferment which bound him to residence; his home was wherever there were books, literary friends, and printers. He was, in truth, a citizen of the world; and the world welcomed him wherever he chose

* Jortin's Translation, p. 61.

† This was the motive which led him so often to meditate a retreat to Rome. 'Decretum erat hyemare Romæ, cum aliis de causis, tum ut locis nonnullis Pontificiæ bibliothecæ præsiidiis uteretur. Apud nos sacrorum Voluminum Græcorum magna penuria. Nam Aldina officina nobis præter profanos auctores adhuc non ita multum dedit. Romæ ubi bonis studiis non solum tranquillitas verum etiam honos.'—Epist. DCLVII.

In other letters he expresses his determination to live and die in England.

for a time to establish himself, in any realm or in any city. It was the pride of the richest or most famous capital in Europe to be chosen even as the temporary residence of Erasmus.

Up to the year 1520 (the 54th of his life) Erasmus thus stood before the world, acknowledged and honoured as the greatest scholar, in a certain sense as the greatest Theologian, not only on this side of the Alps, but fairly competing with or surpassing the greatest in Italy. Reuchlin, now famous for his victory, extorted even in Rome herself from his stupid and bigoted persecutors, was chiefly strong in Hebrew and Oriental learning—knowledge more wondered at than admired; and to which Erasmus, as we have said, made no pretension.* Budæus alone (in Paris) was his superior in Greek, and in his own province of more profound erudition, but that province was narrow and limited. Some of the Italian scholars, Sadolet and Bembo and Longolius, might surpass him in the elegance and purity of their Latinity; but he was hereafter to give a severe shock to these purists in his ‘Ciceronianus,’ and had already shown himself at least their equal, if not their master, in his full command of a vigorous, idiomatic, if less accurate style. In his wit and pungent satire he stood almost alone; he was rivalled only by the inimitable ‘*Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*,’ and the ‘*Julius Exclusus*,’ which in its lofty and biting sarcasm, its majestic rebuke, and terrible invective, soars above anything in the more playful and genial ‘*Colloquies*.’ Of the authorship of both of these, indeed, Erasmus, notwithstanding his reiterated protestations, could hardly escape the honours and the perils. But the ‘*Praise of Folly*,’ and the ‘*Colloquies*,’† in which the surprised and staggered Monks hardly had discovered, what they afterwards denounced as the impiety, even the atheism, ran like wildfire through Europe. They were in every house, every academy, every school, we suspect in almost every cloister. The first indignant remonstrances of the Ecclesiastical censure only acted,

* Erasmus is accused of doing scanty honour to Reuchlin, of having timidly stood aloof from the contest with Pfefferkorn and the Cologne Divines. One of the Letters (*‘Obscurorum Virorum’*) rather taunts him with this, ‘*Erasmus est homo pro se*.’ But Erasmus could not, from his acknowledged ignorance of Hebrew, mingle in the strife with any authority. ‘He was not only ignorant,’ he writes himself, ‘but he had no interest in the dispute.’ ‘*Cabala et Talmud quicquid hoc est, mihi nunquam arrisit*,’ *Epist. Albert. Mogunt.* But he made ample compensation after Reuchlin’s death by his Apotheosis. Reuchlin is received into heaven, placed by the side of St. Jerome, and duly installed as the patron Saint of Philologists—‘*O sancta anima! sis felix linguarum cultoribus, faveto linguis sanctis, perditio malas linguas, infectas veneno Gehennæ*.’

† The ‘*Colloquies*’ were first printed by Erasmus in 1522, but there had been two imperfect and surreptitious editions in 1518, 1519, which compelled Erasmus to publish a more accurate and complete copy.

as in our days, as an advertisement. On the intelligence of their proscription, a bold printer in Paris is said to have struck off above 20,000 copies of the 'Colloquies,' thus implying a demand for which the publishers of Scott, and almost of Macaulay, might hesitate to provide, in our days of universal reading. It is difficult, indeed, for us to comprehend the fame, the influence, the power, which in those times gathered around the name of a scholar, a writer in Latin. Thus far he had ridden triumphant through all his difficulties, and surmounted all obstacles. He was the object, no doubt, of much suspicion, much jealousy, but still more of fear. There had been many attacks upon him, especially on his Theological works, but they had not commanded the public ear; he had rejoined with dauntless and untiring energy, and in general carried the learned with him. Through him Scholasticism was fast waning and giving place to polite letters, to humanities as they were called: the cloisters, and more orthodox Universities, might seem almost paralyzed; it might appear as if the world—we might certainly say it of England—was ERASMIAN.

There was one other name, indeed, destined shortly to transcend, in some degree to obscure, that of Erasmus. But as yet men had only begun to wonder and stand appalled at the name of Luther; it had not yet concentrated on itself the passionate indelible attachment of his countless followers, nor the professed implacable animosity of his more countless foes. Luther had denounced Tetzel and his Indulgences; he had affixed to the walls his famous Theses; he had held his disputations with Eck at Leipsic: but it was not till this year that the declaration of war startled Christendom—the issuing of the Papal Bull against Luther, the burning the Bull in the streets of Wittenberg.

Nothing can show more fully the position held up to this time in Europe by Erasmus, than that all the great Potentates of the Christian world had vied, or might seem to be vying, for the honour of his residence in their dominions. Even in their strife for the empire Charles V. and Francis might appear to find time for this competition. Men of letters are often reproached with adulation to men of high rank and station; it is more often that men of letters are objects of flattery by great men. Erasmus has been charged, perhaps not altogether without justice, with this kind of adulation; but we ought in fairness to take into consideration his poverty, his dependence for subsistence and for the means of promoting his studies, the usages of the time, and the language with which it was almost the law to address princes, prelates, and sovereigns, as may be seen even in Luther's language to the Elector

Elector of Saxony, to the Archbishop of Mentz, to the Emperor and the Pope. If Erasmus flattered, he received ample returns in the same coin: he was called the light of the world, the glory of Christendom, and other such titles. We have seen that he was tempted from England to the Court of Brussels by encouragement from Charles when Archduke of Austria. As Emperor, Charles by no means cast off the illustrious scholar whom he had favoured as Archduke. Erasmus ventured after the battle to Pavia, to urge the Emperor, flushed as he was with his victory, to generous and magnanimous treatment of his captive. Before this Francis I., through Budæus, and with the sanction of Stephen Poncher, Bishop of Paris, had endeavoured to secure him for his rising University of Paris. From time to time these invitations were renewed: Paris, notwithstanding the hostility of the Sorbonne, was jealous of his preference of Germany. Henry VIII. had allowed him to depart from England with reluctance, and would have welcomed him back on almost any terms. The Emperor's brother, the Archduke Ferdinand, paid him the highest court. The Elector of Bavaria made him splendid offers to undertake the Presidency of the University of Ingolstadt. There may be some ostentation in the Epistle of Erasmus, in which he recounts the intimate footing on which he stood with all the Sovereigns of Europe; the letters, the magnificent presents which he had received from princes, from prelates, and from sovereigns :*

'From the Emperor Charles I have many letters, written in a tone of as much affection as esteem (*tam honorifice tam amanter*); that I prize them even more than his kindness to me, to which nevertheless I owe great part of my fortune. From King Ferdinand I have as many, not less friendly, and never without some honorary gift. How often have I been invited, and on what liberal terms, by the King of France! The King of England by frequent letters and unsolicited presents is always declaring his favour and singular goodwill. The best of women in this age, his Queen Catherine, vies in this respect with the King her husband.† Sigismund, the King of Poland, sent me a letter with a gift of truly Royal value. The Duke of Saxony often addresses letters to me, never without a present—*οὐκ ἄδωρος καὶ αὐτὸς*.'

Then follows a list of prelates, including the Archbishops of Canterbury, Mentz, and Toledo, Tunstall of Durham, Sadoleit of Carpentras, the Bishops of Breslau and Olmutz. Pope Leo in one way gave him important countenance. Whether it was that the polite Italian retained some covert scorn for the barbarous Transalpine scholar, or that he was immersed in his business, his

* Epist. 1132.

† Queen Catherine was a great reader of Erasmus; he dedicated to her his tract 'De Matrimonio.'

fine arts, and his luxury, he had failed to realise the sanguine hopes of favour towards Erasmus, whom he had encouraged when Cardinal de Medici. Nevertheless he accepted the dedication of Erasmus's New Testament, a privilege of inestimable value, as a shield behind which the editor retreated from all the perilous and jealous charges of heterodoxy, which were showered upon him by the Lees, the Stunicas, the Caranzas, the Hoogstratens, the Egmonts, and from more bigoted and dangerous adversaries, who, trembling at the publication of the New Testament itself, would have suppressed its circulation by calling in question its accuracy and fidelity. Pope Adrian had been the schoolfellow of Erasmus at Deventer; how far the timid and cold old man would have had the courage to befriend him, was scarcely tried during the few months of his pontificate. Adrian indeed offered him a deanery, which he declined; but the pontiff was supposed not to take in good part a letter,* in which Erasmus, most highly to his credit, urged toleration to the followers of Luther, and a wide and spontaneous reformation of the Church. Clement VII. sent him a present of 200 florins, and made him more splendid promises. Paul III. (but this was after his writing against Luther, and after he had been harassed and frightened, and lured into a timid conservatism) had serious thoughts of promoting him to the Cardinalate. He offered him the Provostship of Deventer, worth 600 florins a year.

Had Erasmus departed from the world at this time, it had been happier perhaps for himself, happier, no doubt, for his fame. The world might have lost some of his valuable publications, but it might have been spared some, which certainly add nothing to his glory. His character, in spite of infirmities, would have been well-nigh blameless. Though not himself, strictly speaking, to have been enrolled in the noble and martyr band of the assertors of religious freedom and evangelical religion, he would have been honoured as the most illustrious of their precursors and prophets, as having done more than any one to break the bonds of scholasticism, superstition, ignorance, and sacerdotal tyranny, to restore the Scriptures to their supremacy, and to advance that great work of Christian civilisation, the Reformation.

How then had Erasmus achieved his lofty position? What were the writings on which Christendom looked with such unbounded admiration? which made princes and kings, and prelates and universities, rivals for the honour of patronising him? If we can answer this question, we shall ascertain to a great extent the

* In the same letter Erasmus urges restrictions on the Press, by which, as Jortin justly observes, he would have been the first to suffer; but he had been sorely pelted by personal and malicious libels.

claims of Erasmus to the honour and gratitude of later times. Erasmus may be considered from four different points of view, yet all his transcendent qualities, so seen, may seem to converge and conspire to one common end: I. As the chief promoter of polite studies and of classical learning on this side of the Alps. II. As the declared enemy of the dominant scholasticism and of the superstitions of the Middle Ages, which he exposed to the scorn and ridicule of the world both in his serious and in his satirical writings. III. As the parent of biblical criticism, and of a more rational interpretation of the sacred writings, by his publication of the New Testament, and by his Notes and Paraphrases. IV. As the founder of a more learned and comprehensive theology, by his editions of the early Fathers of the Church. In each of these separate departments, the works of Erasmus might seem alone sufficient to occupy a long and laborious life; and to these must be added the perpetual controversies, which he was compelled to wage; the defensive warfare in which he was involved by almost every important publication; his letters, which fill a folio volume and a half of his Works, and his treatises on many subjects all bearing some relation to the advancement of letters or of religion.

I. Consider Erasmus as one of those to whom the world is mainly indebted for the revival of classical learning. Here we may almost content ourselves with rapidly recounting his translations and his editions of the great authors of antiquity. Nor shall we confine ourselves strictly to those which he published before 1520, as it is our object to give a complete view of his literary labours. His Translations from the Greek were made for the avowed purpose of perfecting his knowledge of that language: they comprehend several plays of Euripides, some orations of Libanius, almost the whole of Lucian, most of the moral works of Plutarch. His Editions, besides some smaller volumes, were of Seneca the Philosopher, Suetonius, with the Augustan and other minor historians, Q. Curtius, the Offices and Tusculan Disputations of Cicero, the great work of Pliny; at a later period, Livy, Terence with the Commentary of Donatus, the works of Aristotle and of Demosthenes. These editions have indeed given place to the more critical and accurate labours of later scholars, but they are never mentioned by them without respect and thankfulness. If we duly estimate the labour of reading and, even with the best aid, carrying through the press such voluminous works, without the modern

* The list of his writings to a certain period is given in a letter to Botzemiun. The bibliography of the works of Erasmus is elaborately wrought out at the end of the article in Ersch and Gruber.

appliances of lexicons, indices, commentaries, and annotations, the sturdiest German scholar of our day might quail beneath the burthen. Erasmus composed some valuable elementary and grammatical works, chiefly for Dean Colet's school; but perhaps among his dissertations that one which exhibits the scholar in the most striking and peculiar light, is his '*Ciceronianus*,' a later work. This too prolix dialogue is a bold revolt against the Italian scholars, who proscribed in modern Latin every word which had not the authority of Cicero. There is some good broad fun in the *Ciceronian*, who for seven years had read no book but Cicero, had only Cicero's bust in his library, sealed his letters with Cicero's head. He had three or four huge volumes, each big enough to overload two porters, in which he had digested every word of Cicero, every variation of every sense of every word, every foot or cadence with which Cicero began or closed a sentence or clause of a sentence. Erasmus not only laughed at but argued with force against this pedantry. The perfection of Latin would be to speak as Cicero would have spoken had he lived in the present day. He dwells on the incompatibility of Ciceronian Latin with Christian ideas and terminology; describes with humour the strange paganisation of Christian notions which the Italians had introduced. It never occurred to Erasmus that Christianity would outgrow the Latin language, and have its own poets, orators, historians, in Christian languages. The close is very curious as bearing on the literary history of the time. It is a long criticism, which of course gave much offence, of all the Latin authors of the day throughout Europe, of their writings, and of their style; and as almost everybody wrote in Latin, it is a full survey of the men of letters of his age. Alas! how many sonorous names, terminating in the imposing and all-honoured '*us*,' have perished from the memory of man, a few perhaps undeservedly, most of them utterly and for ever! Longolius was the only Barbarian admitted to the privilege of Ciceronianism. The tract closes with a ludicrous account of the reception of a *civis Romanus*, by a club or society of Ciceronians at Rome.

But the work which displayed to the utmost the unbounded erudition of Erasmus was his '*Adagia*.' The clever definition of a proverb, erroneously attributed to a statesman of our day, '*the wisdom of many and the wit of one*,' does not answer to the '*Adagia*' of Erasmus. This book is a master-key to all the strange and recondite sayings scattered about in the classic writers, and traces them to their origin. They are arranged under different heads, in alphabetical order; as '*absurdities*,' '*arrogance*,' '*avarice*.' Sometimes he takes one of these sayings for

for the text of a long dissertation. The 'Adagia' is thus a rich and very curious storehouse of his opinions. On 'Festina Lentè,' he discusses the whole question of printing and the abuses of the Press; on 'Simulation and Dissimulation,' the Church, the wealth and pomp of the clergy; on 'Monacho Indoctior,' he brands the ignorance and immorality of the monks; on 'Dulce Bellum Inexpertis,' the folly and wickedness of war. Nothing displays in a more wonderful degree the vast, multifarious, and profound erudition of Erasmus than this work. Even in the present day, with all our subsidiary aids to learning, the copiousness, variety, and extent of his reading move our astonishment. Not the most obscure writer seems to have escaped his curiosity. In the first edition he complained of the want of Greek books, in the later the Greeks of every age are familiarly cited; the Latin are entirely at his command. Some proverbs were added by later writers; some of his conjectural interpretations of abstruse sayings have been corrected, but with all its defects it remains a monument of very marvellous industry. The reception of this work displays no less the passion for that kind of learning, and the homage paid in all quarters to its author. The first edition, avowedly imperfect, was printed at Paris in 1500. It was followed by two at Strasburg; it was reprinted by Erasmus himself, in a more full and complete form at Venice, in 1508. This edition was imitated without the knowledge of Erasmus, by Frobenius, afterwards his dear friend, at Basil. Seven editions followed with great rapidity, bearing the fame of the author to every part of Christendom, which was now eager for the cultivation of classical learning.

II. Erasmus was no less the declared opponent, and took great part in the discomfiture of scholasticism, and of the superstitions of the middle ages.

'At length Erasmus, that great injured name
(The glory of the priesthood and the shame),
Stemmed the wild torrent of a barbarous age,
And drove those holy Vandals off the stage.'

Pope's 'wild torrent' is not a very happy illustration of the scholasticism which had so long oppressed the teaching of Europe—a 'stagnant morass' or an 'impenetrable jungle' had been a more apt similitude. Few, however, did more to emancipate the human mind from the Thomism and the Scotism, the pseudo-Aristotelism, which ruled and wrangled in all the schools of Europe. Erasmus fell in, in this respect, with the impatience and the ardent aspirations of all who yearned for better days. In Italy the yoke was already broken: the monks, especially on this
side

side of the Alps, fought hard in their cloistral schools and in the universities, in which they had still the supremacy. But the new universities, the schools founded especially in England out of the monasteries suppressed by Wolsey, or out of ecclesiastical wealth, as by Bishop Fox, or by Colet, who hated scholasticism as bitterly as Erasmus, were open to the full light of the new teaching. Erasmus served the good cause in two ways; by exposing its barrenness and uselessness in his serious as well as in his satirical writings, and by supplying the want of more simple, intelligible, and profitable manuals of education. Against the superstitions of the age, the earlier writings of Erasmus are a constant grave or comic protest, though he was not himself always superior to such weaknesses. In his younger days he had attributed his recovery from a dangerous illness to the intercession of St. Genoveva, to whom he addressed an ode. The saint, it is true, was aided by William Cope, the most skilful physician in Paris. When at Cambridge he made a pilgrimage—it may have been from curiosity rather than faith—to our Lady at Walsingham. But his later and more mature opinions he either cared not, or was unable to disguise. The monks, the authors and supporters of these frauds, are not the objects of his wit alone, but of his solemn, deliberate invective. Severe argument, however, and bitter, serious satire had been heard before, and fallen on comparatively unheeding ears; it was the lighter and more playful wit of Erasmus which threw even the most jealous off their guard, and enabled him to say things with impunity which in graver form had awakened fierce indignation. Even the sternest bigots, if they scented the danger, did not venture to proscribe the works which all Christendom, as yet unfrightened, received with unchecked and unsuspecting mirth. Let the solemn protest as they will, there are truths of which ridicule is the Lydian stone. The laughter of fools may be folly, but the laughter of wise men is often the highest wisdom. Perhaps no satire was ever received with more universal applause, in its day, than the ‘Praise of Folly.’ Let us remember that it was finished in the house of More, and dedicated to one who was hereafter to lay down his life for the Roman faith. To us, habituated to rich English humour and fine French wit, it may be difficult to do justice to the ‘*Moriæ Encomium*;

but we must bear in mind that much of the classical allusion, which to us is trite and pedantic, was then fresh and original. The inartificialness and, indeed, the inconsistency of the structure of the satire might almost pass for consummate art. Folly, who at first seems indulging in playful and inoffensive pleasantry, while she attributes to her followers all the enjoyments of life, unknown to the moroser wise, might

even, without exciting suspicion, laugh at the more excessive and manifest superstitions—the worship of St. Christopher and St. George, St. Erasmus and St. Hyppolytus; at indulgences; at those who calculated nicely the number of years, months, hours of purgatory; those who would wipe off a whole life of sin by a small coin, or who attributed magic powers to the recitation of a few verses of the Psalms. But that which so far is light, if somewhat biting, wit, becomes on a sudden a fierce and bitter irony, sometimes anticipating the savage misanthropy of Swift, but reserving its most merciless and incisive lashes for kings, for the clergy, for the cardinals and the popes. Folly, from a pleasant, comic merry-andrew, raising a laugh at the absurdities of the age, is become a serious, solemn, Juvenalian satirist, lashing their vices with the thrice-knotted scourge, drawing blood at every stroke, and, as it were, mocking at its prostrate victims. And yet of this work twenty-seven editions were published during the lifetime of the author, and it was translated into many of the languages of Europe. The ‘Colloquies’ were neither less bold nor less popular; they were in every library, almost in every school. We have alluded to the edition of above 20,000 copies said to have been struck off by one adventurous printer; and yet in these ‘Colloquies’ there was scarcely a superstition which was not mocked at, we say not with covert, but with open scorn; and this with a freedom which in more serious men, men of lower position in the world of letters, would have raised an instant alarm of deadly heresy, and might have led the hapless author to the stake.

In the ‘Shipwreck,’ while most of the passengers are raising wild cries, some to one saint, some to another, there is a single calm person, evidently shown as the one true Christian, who addresses his prayers to God himself, as the only deliverer. In the ‘Ichthyophagia,’ the eating of fish, there is a scrupulous penitent, whom nothing, not even the advice of his physician, will induce to break his vow, and eat meat or eggs, but who has not the least difficulty in staving off the payment of a debt by perjury. In the ‘Inquisition concerning Faith’ there is a distinct assertion, that belief in the Apostles’ Creed (which *many at Rome do not believe*) is all-sufficient; that against such a man even the Papal anathema is an idle thunder, even should he eat more than fish on a Friday. ‘The Funeral’ contrasts the deathbed and the obsequies of two men. One is a soldier, who has acquired great wealth by lawless means. He summons all the five Orders of mendicants, as well as the parish priest, to his dying bed. There is a regular battle for him: the parish priest retires with a small share of the spoil, as also do three of the
mendicant

mendicant Orders. Two remain behind: the man dies, and is magnificently buried in the church in the weeds of a Franciscan; having forced his wife and children to take religious vows, and bequeathing the whole of his vast wealth to the Order. The other dies simply, calmly, in humble reliance on his Redeemer: makes liberal gifts to the poor, but bequeaths them nothing; leaves not a farthing to any one of the Orders; receives extreme unction and the Eucharist without confession, having nothing on his conscience, and is buried without the least ostentation. Which model Erasmus would hold up as that of the true Christian, cannot be doubted. In 'The Pilgrimage,' not only is pilgrimage itself held up to ridicule, but reliques also; and even the worship of the Virgin. In the letter, which, by a fiction not without frequent precedent, he ascribes to the blessed 'Deipara,' there is a strange sentence, in which the opinion of Luther, denying all worship of the saints, is slyly approved of, as relieving her from a great many importunities and troublesome supplications. The 'Franciscan Obsequies' is perhaps the finest and most subtle in its satire, which, while it openly dwells only on those who, to be sure of Paradise,

'Dying, put on the weeds of Dominic,
Or in Franciscan think to pass disguised,'

in its covert sarcasm, was an exposure of the whole history of the Order, and, with somewhat contemptuous respect for the holy founder, scoffs even at the Stigmata, and lashes the avarice and wealth of this most beggarly of the begging fraternities. He thus galled to the quick this powerful brotherhood, who had provoked him by their obstinate ignorance, and became still more and more his inveterate and implacable foe. We could fill pages from his various writings of denunciations against these same enemies of sound learning and true religion.

III. Erasmus was the parent of biblical criticism. His edition of the New Testament first opened to the West the Gospels and the Epistles of St. Paul in the original Greek. Preparation had been made for the famous Complutensian Edition, but it had not yet appeared to the world. For its age, in critical sagacity, in accuracy, in fidelity, in the labour of comparing scattered and yet unexplored manuscripts, the New Testament of Erasmus was a wonderful work: the best and latest of our biblical scholars—Tischendorf, Lachmann, Tregelles—do justice to the bold and industrious pioneer who first opened the invaluable mines of biblical wealth.

It was no common courage or honesty which would presume to call in question the impeccable integrity, the infallible authority, of the Vulgate, which had ruled with uncontested sway the

Western mind for centuries, to appeal to a more ancient and more venerable, as well as more trustworthy, canon of the faith. To dare in those days to throw doubt on the authenticity of such a text as that of the 'Three Heavenly Witnesses,' implied fearless candour, as rare as admirable. Such a publication was looked upon, of course, with awe, suspicion, jealousy. Some with learning, some, like Lee, with pretensions to learning, fell upon it with rabid violence; but Erasmus had been so wise, or so fortunate, as to be able to place the name of the Pope, and that Pope Leo X., on the front of his work; and under that protecting ægis fought manfully, and with no want of controversial bitterness on his side, against his bigoted antagonists. The names of these adversaries have sunk into obscurity, though Lee became Archbishop of York, and was, according to his epitaph—we fear his sole testimony,—a good and generous man.* But to the latest times theological learning acknowledges the inestimable debt of gratitude which it owes to Erasmus.

But it was not only as editor, it was as interpreter also, of the New Testament that Erasmus was a benefactor to the world. In his Notes, and, in his invaluable Paraphrases, he opened the sense, as well as the letter, of the long-secluded, if not long-sealed, volume of the New Testament. He was the parent also of the sound, and simple, and historical exposition of the sacred writings. He struck boldly down through the layers of mystic, allegoric, scholastic, traditional lore, which had been accumulating for ages over the holy volume, and laid open the vein of pure gold—the plain, obvious, literal meaning of the Apostolic writings. Suffice it for us to say, that Erasmus is, in a certain sense, or rather was in his day, to the Church of England the recognised and authenticated expositor of the New Testament. The translation of the Paraphrases, it is well known, was ordered to be placed in all our churches with the vernacular Scriptures. Nor was there anything of the jealousy or exclusiveness of the proud scholar in Erasmus. His biblical studies and labours were directed to the general diffusion, and to the universal acceptance of the Scriptures as the rule of Faith. Neither Luther nor the English Reformers expressed themselves more strongly or emphatically on this subject than Erasmus—'the sun itself should not be more common than Christ's doctrines.'

* Compare More's letters to Lee upon his attack on Erasmus. More had known Lee's family, and Lee himself in his youth; but he scrupled not to castigate the presumption of Lee in measuring himself against the great Scholar. In the last letter, after alluding to Pope Leo's approbation of the New Testament, he adds, *Quod ex arce religionis summus ille Christiani orbis princeps suo testimonio cohonestat, id tu Monachus et indoctus et obscurus ex antro cellulæ tuæ putulenti lingua conspurcas.*—Jortin, Appendix, ii. p. 689.

'I altogether

‘I altogether and utterly dissent from those who are unwilling that the Holy Scriptures, translated into the vulgar tongue, should be read by private persons (idiotis), as though the teachings of Christ were so abstruse as to be intelligible only to a very few theologians, or as though the safety of the Scripture rested on man’s ignorance of it. It may be well to conceal the mysteries of kings; but Christ willed that his mysteries should be published as widely as possible. I should wish that simple women (*mulierculæ*) should read the Gospels, should read the Epistles of St. Paul. Would that the Scripture were translated into all languages, that it might be read and known, not only by Scots and Irishmen, but even by Turks and Saracens.’—(Paraclesis in Nov. Testamentum.)

IV. If the amazement was great with which we surveyed the labours of Erasmus as editor of the classical authors, as compared with those of the most industrious of scholars in our degenerate days, what is it when we add his editions of the early Fathers? It is enough to recite only the names of these publications, and to bear in mind the number and the size of their massy and close-printed folios, some of them filled to the very margin. They were—St. Jerome, his first and favourite author; Cyprian; the pseudo-Arnobius; Hilary, to which was affixed a preface of great learning, which excited strong animadversion; Irenæus, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine; some works of Epiphanius, Lactantius; some treatises of St. Athanasius, St. Chrysostom, and others; St. Chrysostom, St. Basil (not the complete works). At his death Erasmus had advanced far in the preparation for the press of the whole works of Origen.

But in the fatal year of 1520–21 the awful disruption was inevitable: from the smouldering embers of the Papal Bull burned at Wittenberg, arose the Reformation. The great Teutonic revolt, which at that time seemed likely to draw with it even some nations of Latin descent, France, with Italy and Spain, was now inevitable; the irreconcilable estrangement between the two realms of Western Christendom was to become antagonism, hostility, war. On which side was Erasmus, on which side was the vast Erasmian party to be found—that multitude of all orders, especially of the more enlightened, whose allegiance to the established order of things, to Papal despotism, to scholasticism, to monkery, to mediæval superstition, had been shaken by his serious protestations, by his satires, by his biblical studies? Both parties acknowledged his invaluable importance by their strenuous efforts to enrol him among their followers; both used every means of flattery—one of bribery—of persuasion, of menace, of compulsion, to compass the invaluable proselyte. Could he maintain a stately neutrality? approve each party so far

far as it seemed right, condemn it where it seemed wrong? Could he offer a friendly mediation, soften off the fierce asperities, mitigate the violence of the collision? Alas! such days were passed. Those terrible texts, 'Who is on the Lord's side, who?' 'Cursed be he that doeth the work of the Lord deceitfully,' were become the battle words on either banner. On the application of that other text, 'Thou canst not serve Christ and Belial,' there was perfect agreement; the two parties only differed as to which cause was Christ's, which Belial's. There was no escape from the conscription, exercised with as little scruple or mercy on one side as the other; he must take up arms; he must provoke fierce unforgiving hostility; he must break ties of friendship; he must embrace a cause, while he was firmly convinced that neither cause had full justice on its side—that, according to his views, there were errors, faults, sins on both, that neither was in possession of the full, sincere, unalloyed truth. And this terrible alternative was forced upon Erasmus in the decline of life, when the mind usually, especially a mind vigorously exercised, yearns for repose; and when a constitution naturally feeble had been tried by a painful, wasting, in those days irremediable, malady. The man of books, who had thought to devote the rest of his days to his books, must be dragged forth, like a gladiator, to exhibit his powers, himself with no hearty interest on either side. It is true that he had been involved in much controversy, and was not wanting in the gall of controversy—but it had been in self-defence; his was personal resentment for personal attacks. He had not spared the Lees and the Stunics, or the Louvain divines, who had set upon him with malignant rancour—rancour which he retorted without measure and without scruple.

The Utopian vision of Erasmus, no doubt, had been a peaceful Reformation. He had fondly hoped that the progress of polite letters would soften and enlighten the general mind; that the superstitions of the middle ages would gradually be exploded by the diffusion of knowledge; that biblical studies would of themselves promote a pure and simpler religion; that obstinate monkhood would shrink into its proper sphere, the monasteries become retreats for literary leisure. He had imagined that Leo X., the patron of arts, letters, and whose reign of peace had not yet yielded to the inextinguishable Medicean passion for political intrigue, whose golden age had not yet become an age of brass, an age of fierce and bloody warfare, would be the great reformer of Christendom.* One of his bitterest complaints of the progress

* Read the splendid passage in the 'Adagia,' where he contrasts the Italy and Rome of Leo with Italy and Rome under Julius II., under the title, 'Dulce Bellum Inexpertis.'

of Lutheranism was its fatal influence on the cultivation of polite letters. 'They are weighing down polite letters by the jealousy which they are exciting against them. What has the cause of letters to do with Reuchlin and Luther, but they are artfully mingled together by man's jealousy, that both may be oppressed.'*

Up to this time he had stood well with the heads of both parties. The Pope (Leo X.), the Cardinals, the most distinguished prelates, still treated him with honour and respect. His enemies—those who cared not to disguise their suspicions, their jealousies, their animosities; who assailed him as a covert, if not an open heretic, who called for the proscription of his books, who branded him as an Arian, a profane scoffer—were men of a lower class, some manifestly eager to make themselves a fame for orthodoxy by detecting his latent heterodoxy, some moved by sheer bigotry, into which the general mind had not been frightened back; monks and friars who were still obstinate Thomists or Scotists. The pulpits were chiefly filled by Dominicans and Carmelites—and from the pulpits there was a continual thunder of denunciation, imprecation, anathematisation of Erasmus.†

Of Luther he had hitherto spoken, if with cautious reserve (he professed not to have read his writings, and had no personal knowledge of him), yet with respect of his motives and of his character. Of him Luther still wrote with deference for the universal scholar, of respect for the man. In Luther's letters up to 1520 there are many phrases of honour, esteem, almost of friendship, hardly one even of mistrust or suspicion.

Even after this time Erasmus ventured more than once on the perilous office of mediation. In his famous letter to the Archbishop of Mentz, which was published by the Lutherans before his signature had been affixed to it, there were sentences which made them rashly conclude that he was entirely on their side.‡ In a letter to Wolsey, he asserted the truth of many of Luther's opinions and deprecated the unyielding severity with which they had been proscribed at Rome.§ But the most full, distinct,

* Bonas literas degravarunt invidia.—*Epist. ad Bilibald.* Quid rei bonis studiis cum fidei negotio? Deinde quid mihi cum causa Capnionis et Lutheri? Sed hæc arte commiscuerunt, ut communi invidia gravarent omnes bonarum literarum cultores.—*Alberto, Episc. Mogunt.*

† *Epist. ad Campegiun.*

‡ De Wette, i. p. 247, 396. Where he speaks of the letter to the Archbishop of Mentz: *Egregia epistola Erasmi ad Cardinalem Moguntinum, de me multum sollicita . . . ubi egregie me tutatur, ita tamen ut nihil minus quam me tutari videatur, sicut solet pro dexteritate sua.* ii. 196. He has discovered hostility in Erasmus, but this is in 1522. See also Melancthon's Letter, 378.

§ Not the less did Wolsey proceed to prohibit them in England. Erasmus even then protested against burning Luther's books, *Epist.* 513.

and manly avowal of his opinions is comprised in a letter addressed to Cardinal Campegius. It contains some remarkable admissions:—

‘He had himself, he said, not read twelve pages of Luther’s writings, and those hastily, but even in that hasty reading he had discerned rare natural qualities, and a singular faculty for discerning the intimate sense of the sacred writings. I heard excellent men of approved doctrine and tried religion, congratulate themselves that they had met with his writings. I saw that in proportion as men were of uncorrupt morals, and nearer approaching to Evangelic purity, that they were less hostile to Luther; and his life was highly praised by those who could not endure his doctrine.’

He had endeavoured to persuade Luther to be more gentle and submissive, to mitigate his vehemence against the Roman Pontiff. He had admonished the other party to refute Luther by fair argument, and from the Holy Scriptures. ‘Let them dispute with Luther; let them write against Luther. What had been the course pursued? A judgment of two universities came forth against Luther. A terrible Bull, *under the name* of the Roman Pontiff, came forth against Luther. His books were burned: there was a clamour among the people. The business could not be conducted in a more odious manner. Every one thought the Bull more unmerciful than was expected from Leo, and yet those who carried it into execution aggravated its harshness.’

On the accession of his schoolfellow at Deventer, Adrian of Utrecht, to the Papal throne, Erasmus commenced a letter urging concessions to Luther, and a gentler policy to his followers; he urges the possibility, the wisdom of arresting the course of religious revolution by timely reform. The letter broke off abruptly, as if he had received a hint, or from his own sagacity had foreseen, how unacceptable such doctrines would be even to a Teutonic Pope. Still later he broke out in indignant remonstrance on the burning of the two Augustinian monks at Brussels. On their fate, and on their beautiful Christian fortitude, Luther raised almost a shout of triumph, as foreseeing the impulse which their martyrdom would give to his cause. Erasmus veiled his face in profound sorrow at the sufferings of men so holy and blameless, and not less clearly foreboded that these were but the first-fruits of many and many bloody sacrifices to Him whom Erasmus would have worshipped as the God of mercy; and that, as of old, the martyr’s blood would be the seed of the New Church.*

But

* Quid multis? Ubique fumos excitavit Nuncius, ubique sævitiam exercuit Carmelita, ibi diceret fuisse factam hæreseon sementem, Epist. 1163. The whole

But neither, on the other hand, was he prepared either by his honest and conscientious opinions, by his deliberate judgment on Christian truth, we will not say to go all lengths with Luther; though he could not but see their agreement on many vital questions, but to encourage him in disturbing the religious peace of the world. In truth, of men embarked to a certain extent in a common cause,* no two could be conceived in education, temperament, habits, character, opinions, passions, as far as Erasmus had passions, so absolutely antagonistical; and add to all this the age and infirmities of Erasmus, as compared with the robust vigour and yet unexhausted power of Luther.

Erasmus had a deep, settled, conscientious, religious hatred of war: not Penn or Barclay repudiated it more strongly or absolutely, as unevangelic, unchristian. He had declared these opinions in the teeth of the warlike Pontiff Julius. The triumph of truth itself, at least its immediate triumph, was not worth the horrors of a sanguinary war;—he disclaimed all sympathy with truth which was seditious; he had rather surrender some portion of truth than disturb the peace of the world. He feared, as he said later, if tried like Peter, he might fall like Peter.†

'Tis well that the world had men of sterner stuff—men who would lay down their own lives for the truth, and would not even shrink from the awful trial of imperilling the lives of others. But let us not too severely judge those whom God had not gifted with this sublimer virtue; let us not wholly attribute the temporising and less rigid conduct of Erasmus to criminal weakness, or more justly, perhaps, to constitutional timidity—still less to the sordid fear of losing his favours and appointments. Erasmus, from his point of view, could not fully comprehend the awful question at issue,—that it was the great question of Christian liberty or the perpetuation of unchristian tyranny; that it was a question on which depended the civilisation of mankind, the final emancipation of one-half of the world from the sacerdotal yoke, the alleviation of that yoke even to those who would still choose to bear it. Compare the most Papal of Papal countries, even in our own days of strange reaction, with Papal

whole of this most remarkable letter, in which he describes the course of events, should be read. He speaks out about the still more offensive and obtrusive pride, pomp, and luxury of the clergy, especially of the Bishops. 'It does not become him to speak of the Pope.' But how has Clement treated Florence!!

* *Nam videor mihi fere omnia docuisse, quæ doce. Lutherus, nisi quod non tam atrociter, quodque abstinui a quibusdam ænigmatibus et paradoxis.* So wrote Erasmus to Zuinglius. The paradoxes were no doubt the denial of Free Will, and the absolute sinfulness of all human works before grace, and justification by faith without works.

† Epist. 654, repeated later.

Christendom

Christendom before the days of Luther, and calmly inquire what the whole world owes to those whom no human considerations—not even the dread of unchristian war, could withhold from the bold, uncompromising, patient assertion of truth. Let us honour the martyrs of truth; but let us honour—though in a less degree—those who have laboured by milder means, and much less fiery trials, for the truth, even if, like Erasmus, they honestly confess that they want the martyr's courage.

Nothing can more clearly show how entirely Erasmus misapprehended the depth and importance of the coming contest, and his own utter disqualification for taking an active part in it, than a fact upon which no stress has been laid. It was to be a Teutonic emancipation; not but that there was to be a vigorous struggle among the races of Latin descent for the same freedom. In France, in Italy, even in Spain there were men who contended nobly and died boldly for the reformation of Christianity. But it was to be consummated only in Teutonic countries,—a popular revolution, wrought in the minds and hearts of the people through the vernacular language. But Erasmus was an absolute Latin—an obstinate, determined Latin. He knew, he would know, no languages but Latin and Greek. We have seen him in Italy, almost running the risk of his life from his disdainful refusal to learn even the commonest phrases. To French he had an absolute aversion—‘It is a barbarous tongue, with the shrillest discords, and words hardly human.’* He gave up his benefice in England because he would not learn to speak English. We know not how far he spoke his native Dutch, but Dutch can have been of no extensive use. He more than once declined to speak German.† Of the Swiss-German, spoken at Basil, where he lived so long, he knew nothing. In one passage, indeed, he devoutly wishes that all languages, except Greek and Latin, were utterly extirpated; and what bears more directly upon our argument, we think that we remember a passage in which he expresses his deep regret that Luther condescended to write in any tongue but Latin.

We, according to our humour, may smile with scorn or with compassion at the illusion which, as we have before said, possessed the mind of Erasmus of a tranquil reformation, carried out by princes, and kings, and popes. Yet it was his fond dream that Churchmen, as Churchmen then were, might be persuaded to

* A German child will learn to speak French—*Quod si id fit in lingua barbarâ et abnormi, quæ aliud scribit quam sonat, quæque suos habet stridores et voces vix humanas, quanto id facilius fieret in lingua Græcâ seu Latinâ.*—*De Pueris educandis.* Compare Hess, i. 133.

† *Epist.* 635. See also Jortin, i. p. 246.

forego all the superstitions and follies on which rested their power and influence, and become mild, holy, self-denying pastors ; *—that sovereigns, like Charles, and Francis, and Henry—each a bigot in his way ; Charles a sullen, Francis a dissolute, Henry an imperious bigot—should forget their feuds, and conspire for the re-establishment of a pure and apostolic church in their dominions ;—that Popes, like the voluptuous Leo ; the cold and narrow Adrian of Utrecht ; the worldly, politic, intriguing Medici, Clement VII., should become the apostles and evangelists of a simple creed, a more rational ritual, a mild and parental control ;—that the edifice of sacerdotal power, wealth, and authority, which had been growing up for centuries, should crumble away before the gentle breath of persuasion. We, who have read the whole history of the awful conflict for emancipation, the strife of centuries downwards from the Thirty Years' War, for emancipation not yet nearly won, may pity the ignorance of mankind, the want of sagacity and even of common sense in Erasmus ; we may shake our knowing heads at the argument which he propounded in simple faith, 'that it was not a greater triumph than that achieved at the first promulgation of Christianity.'

Yet blinded—self-blinded, it may be—for a time by this, dare we say pardonable, hallucination, Erasmus stood between the two parties, and could not altogether close his eyes. He could not but see on one side the blazing fires of persecution, the obstinate determination not to make the least concessions, the monks and friars in possession of pulpits, new enemies springing up in all quarters against himself and against polite letters, which were now openly branded as the principal source of all heresy ; the dogs of controversy—the Sorbonne, men of rank and station, like Albert, Prince of Carpi, Frenchmen, Germans, Spaniards, Italians,—let loose upon himself, or bursting their leashes, and howling against him in unchecked fury. On the other hand, tumult, revolt, perhaps—and too soon to come—civil war ; the wildest excesses of language, the King of England treated like a low and vulgar pamphleteer, the Pope branded as Antichrist ; excesses of conduct, at least the commencements of iconoclasm ; threatening schisms, as on the Eucharist ; polite letters shrinking back into obscurity before fierce polemics ; the whole horizon darkened with things more dark, more awful, more disastrous.

But the man of peace, the man of books, could not be left at

* *Optabam illuc sic tractare Christi negotium, ut ecclesiæ proceribus, aut probaretur aut certe non reprobaretur.*—Jodoco Joun, Epist.

At ego libertatem ita malebam temperatam, ut Pontifices etiam et monarchæ ad hujus negotii consortium pellicerentur.—Melancthonii, Epist.

rest. The unhappy conflict with Ulric Hutten, forced upon him against his will, not merely made him lose his temper, and endeavour to revenge himself by a tirade, which we would most willingly efface from his works, but committed him at least with the more violent of the Lutheran party. Erasmus, in more than one passage of his letters, deplores the loose morals, as well as the unruly conduct, of many who called themselves Lutherans. All revolutions, especially religious revolutions, stir up the dregs of society; and most high-minded and dauntless Reformers, who find it necessary to break or loosen the bonds of existing authority, must look to bear the blame of men who seek freedom only to be free from all control—

‘Who licence mean when they cry liberty.’

Of a far higher cast and rank than such men, but of all the disciples of Luther the one in some respects most uncongenial to Erasmus, was Ulric Hutten. Of Hutten’s literary labours, his free, bold, idiomatic Latinity; his powers of declamation, eloquence, satire; his large share in the famous ‘*Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*’* (now, thanks to Sir W. Hamilton and to Dr. Strauss, ascertained with sufficient accuracy), no one was more inclined to judge favourably, or had expressed more freely that admiring judgment, than Erasmus. He had corresponded with him on friendly terms. But Hutten’s morals certainly were not blameless. He was a turbulent, as well as a dauntless man—restless, reckless, ever in the van or on the forlorn hope of reform; daring what no one else would dare, enduring what few would endure, provoking, defying hostility, wielding his terrible weapon of satire without scruple or remorse, and ready, and indeed notoriously engaged, in wielding other not bloodless weapons. The last that was heard of him had been in one of what we fear must be called the robber-bands of Franz Sickingen. Already Ulric Hutten had taken upon himself the office of compelling Erasmus to take the Lutheran side. In a letter written (in 1520), under the guise of the warmest friendship, he had treated him as an apostate from the common cause.† In the affair of Reuchlin, Erasmus, in Hutten’s judgment (a judgment which he cared not to conceal), acted timidly and basely. He had at first highly lauded the ‘*Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*,’ afterwards treacherously condemned them. He had endeavoured to

* Erasmus is said to have owed his life to this publication. He laughed so violently while reading the letters, as to break a dangerous imposthume. He, however, not only disclaimed, but expressed strong disapprobation of the tone and temper of the book.

† This letter, recently published in two theological journals in Germany, we know only as cited by Dr. Strauss; it is addressed *Des. Erasmo Rot. Theologo, amico summo.*

persuade

persuade the adversaries of Luther that the Reformation was a business in which he (Erasmus) had no concern. In a second letter, Hutten had endeavoured to work on the fears of Erasmus. He urged upon his 'adorable friend' that 'he could not be safe, since Luther's books had been burned: will they who have condemned Luther, spare you? Fly, fly and preserve yourself for us! Fly while you can, most excellent Erasmus, lest some calamity, which I shudder to think of, overtake you. At Louvain, at Cologne, you are equally in peril.' He suggests to Erasmus to take refuge in Basil.* Erasmus did retire to Basil, but retired to place himself in connexion with his printer. Two years after, Ulric Hutten, in wretched health, in utter destitution, almost an outlaw, hunted down, it might seem, as one of Franz Sickingen's disbanded soldiers, who could find no refuge in Germany, appeared in Basil. The intercourse between Hutten and Erasmus took place, unfortunately, through the busy and meddling, if not treacherous, Eppendorf. This man, by some said to have been of high birth, was studying theology at Basil, at the cost of Duke George of Saxony, the determined enemy of Lutheranism. The unpleasant quarrel which afterwards took place between Eppendorf and Erasmus, in which Eppendorf tried to extort money from Erasmus on account of an imprudent and ungenerous letter of Erasmus to the disadvantage of Eppendorf, gives but a mean opinion of this man. On the instant of his arrival, Hutten sent Eppendorf to Erasmus, it might seem expecting to be received with open arms, if not taken under his hospitable roof. But Erasmus was by no means disposed to commit himself with so unwelcome a guest, who was still suffering under a loathsome malady; or to make his house the centre, in which Hutten would gather round him all the most turbulent and desperate of the Lutherans. He shrunk from the burthen of maintaining him. Hutten, if we are to believe Erasmus, was not scrupulous in money matters, ready to borrow, but unable to pay. Erasmus repelled his advances with cold civility, but there is a doubt whether even his civil messages reached Hutten. There were negotiations, no doubt insincere on both sides. One could not bear the heat of a stove, the other could not bear a chill room without one.† In short, they did not meet. The indefatigable Hutten employed his time at Basil, sick and broken down as he was, in his wonted way, in writing two fierce pamphlets; one against the Elector Palatine, one against a certain physician, who probably had been guilty of not curing

* Opera Hutteni, Munch. 4. 49. 53.

† The account in Dr. Strauss's 'Life of Hutten' is on the whole fair and candid.
him,

him, to distract his mind, as Eppendorf said, from his sufferings. After two months Hutten received cold but peremptory orders from the magistrates to quit Basil. He retired to Mulhausen, to brood over the coolness and neglect of one from whom a man of calmer mind would hardly have expected more than coolness and neglect. A letter from Erasmus to Laurentius, Dean of St. Donatian at Bruges, fell in his way. In this letter Erasmus endeavoured still to maintain his stately neutrality, disclaimed all connexion with Luther, did honour to Luther's merits, to the truth of much of his censures, and to his services to true religion, but reproved his vehemence and violence; and at the same time he protested against being enrolled among the adversaries of reform. This letter contained a hasty, and not quite accurate account of Hutten's visit to Basil. The busy Eppendorf rode to and fro between Basil and Mulhausen, and was not the mediator to conciliate men irreconcilably opposed in views and temper. The conclusion, the melancholy conclusion, was the 'Expostulation' of Hutten, in which in fury of invective, in bitterness of satire, in the mastery of vituperative Latin, Hutten outdid himself: only, perhaps, to be outdone in all these qualities by the 'Sponge' of Erasmus. Luther himself stood aghast, and expressed his grave and sober condemnation of both.*

This unseemly altercation was not likely to maintain Erasmus in his dignified position of neutrality; it rendered his mediation next to impossible, if it had ever been possible to stem or to quiet two such furious conflicting currents. But worse trials followed; worse times came darkening over the man of books, the man of peace. The Peasant war broke out, desolating Southern Germany with atrocities, only surpassed, and far surpassed, by the atrocities perpetrated in their suppression † The Peasant insurrections were not religious wars; they were but the last, the most terrible in a long succession of such insurrections, to which the down-trodden cultivators of the soil had, from time to time, been goaded by the intolerable oppressions of their feudal lords. Luther denounced them with all his vehement energy. Luther held, according to his views of Scripture, the tenet of absolute submission to the higher powers in all temporal concerns. Some of the most abject of the English clergy under the Stuarts might have found quotations from the writings of Luther, to justify the extremest doctrines of passive obedience. Still, with the des-

* He writes in a lighter tone, *Equidem Huttenum nollem expostulasse, multo minus Erasmus extersisse.*—*Epist. ad Hausman*; *De Wette*, ii. 411.

† A.D. 1523. In one of the letters of Erasmus it is said that 100,000 human beings had perished in these wars. See *Epist.* 803. See also Luther's letters; *De Wette*, iii. 22.

perate struggles for social freedom were now unavoidably mingled aspirations after religious freedom. Among the articles exhibited by the insurgents was a demand for the free choice of their religious pastors.* Some of the Reformed Clergy were among the fautors, some perhaps more deeply concerned in the revolt; many more were the victims of the blind, savage, indiscriminating massacre which crushed the rebellion. How to the quiet Erasmus might seem to be accomplished his gloomy and fearful forebodings, that the tenets of Luther, breaking loose from authority, must lead to civil tumults! The Peasant war had not ended, or hardly ended, when the Anabaptists,† the first Anabaptists, arose, threw off at once all civil and religious obedience, with a fanaticism which had all the excesses, the follies, the cruelties, the tyranny of popular insurrection, without any of the grandeur, the noble self-sacrifice, the patriotic heroism of a strife for freedom. The voice of Luther was heard louder and louder, protesting, denouncing the monstrous wickedness, the monstrous impiety, the monstrous madness of these wild zealots; he repudiated them in the name of Christian faith and Christian morals, and called on all rulers and magistrates to put down with the severest measures, as they did without remorse, those common enemies of Christ and of mankind. Still these frantic excesses, notwithstanding this just and iterated disclaimer, could not but have some baneful effect on the progress of religious freedom; they affrighted the frightened, raised a howl of triumph from the extreme bigots, and, on those who, like Erasmus, loved peace above all things, seemed to enforce the wisdom of their cautious and prophetic timidity.

During all this time every influence, every kind of persuasion, was used to induce Erasmus to take the part of the established order of things—flatteries, promises, splendid offers, gifts; prelates, princes, kings, the Pope himself condescended to urge, to excite, almost to implore. Would the most learned man in Christendom stand aloof in sullen dignity? would he whose voice alone could allay the tumult, maintain a cold and suspicious silence? Would he who had received such homage, such favours, such presents, persist in ungrateful disregard for the cause of Order? Would the lover of peace do nothing to promote peace? His silence would be more than suspicious; it would justify the worst charges that could be made against him; irrefragably prove his latent heresies, and show the just sagacity of his most violent adversaries, according to whom Luther had but hatched the egg

* See Sartorius. *Bauern Krieg*, Berlin, 1795.

† The great outburst of Anabaptism under John of Leyden was later, 1529.

which

which Erasmus had laid. Erasmus protested, but protested in vain, that he might have laid an egg, but that Luther had hatched a very different brood. From both sides came at once the most adulatory invitations and the most bitter reproaches. The extreme Reformers taunted him as a cowardly apostate, the Romanists as a cowardly hypocrite.* Neither party would believe that a man might with reason condemn both. There was no longer an inch of ground on which the moderate could be permitted to take his stand. Even now it is thought almost impossible that a wise, sincere, and devout Christian may deprecate the excesses of both parties in this great controversy, and strive to render impartial justice to the virtues as well of Luther and of some of his adversaries; still less of those who hovered, in their time, in the midway over the terrible conflict. Erasmus, too, suffered one of the inevitable penalties of wit: his sharp sayings were caught up, and ran like wildfire through the world—such sayings as are not only galling for the time, but are ineffaceable, and rankle unforgotten and unforgiven in the depth of the heart. In his interview with the Elector of Saxony he threw out carelessly the fatal truth—after all, Luther's worst crime is, that he attacked the crown of the Pope and the belly of the Monks. At a later period, after Luther's marriage, he gave as deep offence to the Reformers—So the Tragedy has ended like a Comedy, in a wedding.†

It is doubtless right, it is noble, it is Christian to lay down life for faith; but it was hard upon Erasmus to be called upon to hazard his comfort, his peace, even his life, for what he did not believe. That the Monks would have burned him, who doubts? he expresses once and again fear of the more fanatic Lutherans.‡ Is it absolutely necessary, is it the undeniable duty of every Christian man, not only to have made up his mind on the essential truths of the faith, but on all the lesser and subsidiary truths, especially in a period of transition? That religious truths are revealed with different degrees of clearness, revealed differently perhaps to different minds, who can question? The theory of Erasmus (and who shall persuade us that Erasmus was not a sincere Christian?) rested in a simpler faith (he would have been contented, as Jeremy Taylor after him, with the Apostles' creed),

* *Romæ quidem me faciunt Lutheranum, in Germaniâ sum Anti-Lutheranissimus, nec in quenquam magis fremunt quam in me, cui uni improbant, quod non triumphant.*—Epist. 667. See, among many other passages, Epist. 824. 6.

† Erasmus was on the whole favourable to the marriage of the clergy.—Epist. 725.

‡ Epist. 586, 657. In 660, 715, 718, he says no printer dares to print a word against Luther.

observances far less onerous and Judaical, superstitions cast aside, the Scriptures opened to the people, above all, more pure, more peaceful lives, which would have given time and tranquillity for the cultivation of letters. Some subjects, as the Eucharist, he had not profoundly investigated. On the supremacy of the Pope, on what is called the Consent of the Church, he acquiesced in the common opinions: how long was it that Luther had emancipated himself from the universal creed? But on this point all were agreed, who were agreed on nothing else, that Erasmus must take his line; set his hand to the plough in one furrow or the other, and never look back. He was paying a fearful penalty for his fame.

Slowly, with much hesitation, Erasmus screwed up his courage to the point of entering the arena. He was himself conscious of his own unfitness for such a conflict, embarrassed by his own former career, even by his hard-won fame. He had managed the defensive arms of controversy with skill—resentment at personal injuries had given dexterity to his hand; nor was he sparing, as his strife with Lee, with Stunica, with Egmont, and with Hutten, will show, in merciless recrimination. So important a resolution could not but transpire. Luther addressed a letter to him, a noble letter, with too much of that supercilious assumption of the exclusive and incontestable possession of Christian truth—without which he had not been Luther, nor had the Reformation changed the world—but in all other respects calm, dignified, Christian, not deigning to avert his assault, nor defying it with disdainful indifference:—

‘ Grace and peace from our Lord Jesus Christ. I have been long silent, most excellent Erasmus, and although I expected that you would first have broken silence, as I have expected so long, charity itself impels me to begin. I shall not complain of you for having behaved yourself as a man estranged from us, to keep fair with the papists, my enemies. Nor did I take it very ill, that in your printed books, to gain their favour or mitigate their fury, you censured us with too much acrimony. We saw that the Lord had not bestowed on you the courage and the resolution to join with us freely and confidently in opposing those monsters, nor would we exact from you that which surpasses your strength and your capacity. We have even borne with your weakness, and honoured the measure which God has given you; for the whole world cannot deny the magnificent and noble gifts of God in you, for which we should all give thanks, that through you letters flourish and reign, and we are enabled to read the Holy Scriptures in their purity. I never wished that, forsaking or neglecting your own measure of grace, you should enter into our camp. You might have aided us much by your wit and by your eloquence, but since you have not the disposition and courage for this, we would have you serve God

in your own way. Only we feared lest our adversaries should entice you to write against us, and that necessity should compel us to oppose you to the face. We have held back some amongst us, who were disposed and prepared to attack you; and I could have wished that the "Complaint" of Hutten had never been published, and still more that your "Sponge" in answer to it had never appeared, from which you may see and feel at present, if I mistake not, how easy it is to say fine things about the duty of modesty and moderation, and to accuse Luther of wanting them, and how difficult and even impossible it is to be really modest and moderate, without a special gift of the Holy Spirit. Believe me, or believe me not, Christ is my witness, that from my very heart I condole with you, that the hatred and the zeal of so many eminent persons has been excited against you, a trial too great for mere human virtue like yours. To speak freely, there are amongst us who, having this weakness about them, cannot endure your bitterness and dissimulation, which you wish should pass for prudence and moderation. They have just cause for resentment, and yet would not feel resentment if they had more greatness of mind. I also am irascible, and when irritated have written with bitterness, yet never but against the obstinate and hardened. My conscience bears me witness, the experience of many bears witness, I believe, to my clemency and mildness towards many sinners and many impious men, however frantic and iniquitous. So far have I restrained myself towards you, though you have provoked me, and I promised, in letters to my friends, still to restrain myself, unless you should come forward openly against us. For although you think not with us, and many pious doctrines are condemned by you through irreligion or dissimulation, or from a sceptical turn, yet I neither can nor will ascribe stubborn perverseness to you. What can I do now? Things are exasperated on both sides: I could wish if it were possible to act as mediator between you, and that they would cease to assail you with such animosity, and suffer your old age to sleep in peace in the Lord; and thus they would act according to my judgment, if they either considered your weakness or the greatness of the cause, which has so long been beyond your capacity; more especially, since our affairs are so advanced, that our cause is in no peril, even should Erasmus attack it with all his might, with all his acute points and strictures. On the other hand, my dear Erasmus, you should think of their weakness, and abstain from those sharp and bitter figures of rhetoric; and if you cannot, and dare not assert our opinions, let them alone and treat on subjects more suited to you. Our friends, yourself being judge, do not easily bear your biting words, because human infirmity thinks of and dreads the authority and the reputation of Erasmus; and it is a very different thing to be attacked by Erasmus than by all the papists in the world.*

He further urges him to be only a spectator of the tragedy, not to write books against him and his friends, to think of the Lutherans as of brethren, who 'should bear,' according to St. Paul,

* This is mainly Jortin's version, slightly altered.

each other's burthens. 'It would be a miserable spectacle if both should be eaten up by their common foes. It is certain that neither party wishes anything but well to true religion. Pardon my childishness (*infantiam*), and farewell in the Lord.'*

But Erasmus was either too deeply committed, or too far advanced in his work, to be deterred from the fatal step. He chose what might seem an abstract question of high theology, or of abstruse philosophy; that question which philosophy had in vain attempted to solve, and on which revelation maintains an inscrutable mystery, the Freedom of the Will, that question not set at rest, we say it with due respect, by Sir W. Hamilton and Mr. Mansel. Later Romish controversialists, as Möhler in his able *Symbolik*, have, in like manner, endeavoured to represent the controversy of the Reformed Churches with Rome, as resting on that sole question, as if the Protestants uniformly denied the freedom of the will, which was asserted by the wiser Roman Catholics. But it has been said, and we think truly said, that all reformers and founders of sects are predestinarians; calmer established religions admit in some form the liberty of the will: the sterner doctrine is still that of sections or of sects. It survives and comes to life again under every form of faith, as with Augustine in the early Church, with Jansenius in the Church of Rome, with a powerful school among ourselves. To Luther, to men who work the works of Luther, the strong, firm, undoubting conviction of truth is the discernible voice of God within; it is the divine grace, which, as divine, must be irresistible, if not, the sovereignty of God is imperilled. This and this alone is the primal movement of justifying faith; without this, the will is servile—servile to sin, servile to Satan; and as this grace is vouchsafed only to the chosen, stern inevitable predestinarianism settled down over the whole, and Luther shrunk not from the desolating consequences. But Erasmus had learned and taught a different interpretation of the Scriptures; he had worked it out from his biblical studies; he was most familiar with the Greek Fathers who had eluded or rejected, as uncongenial with their modes of thought, all these momentous questions, stirred up by Pelagianism. He had a great distaste for Augustine, to whom he preferred Jerome, as little disposed or qualified to plunge into those depths as himself.

Erasmus doubtless did not fully perceive, but Luther did, how this question lay at the root of his whole system. 'You struck at the throat of my doctrine,† and I thank you for it from my

* The letter is most correct in De Wette, ii. p. 498.

† *Deinde et hoc in te vehementer laudo et prædico, quod solus præ omnibus rem ipsam es aggressus, hoc est, summam causæ, nec me fatigaris alienis illis causis*

my heart,'—so Luther closed his book on the Slavery of the Will. Luther spoke out his 'paradox,' as Erasmus called it, in the most paradoxical form; for not only was it his own profound conviction, but he intuitively felt, he knew by daily experience among his followers, that in this lay the secret of his strength; that less than this would not startle mankind from the obstinate torpor, the dull lethargy, the ceremonial servitude, of centuries. This alone would concentrate the whole of Christianity on Christ, or on God through Christ; would make a new religion, not vicarious through the priesthood, but strictly personal; would break for ever the sacerdotal dominion, which had disposed so long, at its despotic arbitrement, of the human soul, and had become a necessity of the religious nature; would inaugurate the manhood of the mind, which must outgrow the period of tuition, and think and act for itself, and bear its own responsibility. Some of the best and most pious of the Romanists, Contarini, Sadolet, even for a time Pole, as Ranke has well shown, had embraced justification by faith, but they could not go farther and so be treacherous to their order; they did not see that this doctrine, to be efficacious, must stand alone, and must be severed from priestly authority. Luther was not a man to shrink from any extreme; he saw his way, as far as it went, clearly, and would not be embarrassed, even by inevitable and most repulsive difficulties, let what would follow even by logical inference. This doctrine magnified the sovereignty of God, therefore to him it was irrefragable; it was scepticism, impiety, atheism in others to call it in question. Yet even in his own day Melancthon did not follow him to his stern conclusion. Melancthon wrote at first with undissembled praise of the treatise of Erasmus. The later Lutherans have in general on this point deserted their master. It was accepted only in a very mitigated form by the Church of England. Wrought out with more fearless and unhesitating logic by his stern Genevan successor, it prevailed among the Puritans. Later, almost all the most learned, very many of the most pious of our Church, including John Wesley and his disciples, repudiated it. Erasmianism, as soon as the religious world calmed down, and so long as it is not in a state of paroxysmal struggle, usually renews its sway.

Erasmus and Luther therefore in this controversy were as little likely to come to a mutual understanding, as if each had written in a language unknown to the other. On the ear of Luther and the Lutherans the calm, cool philosophy of Erasmus, the plain and perspicuous but altogether passionless scriptural arguments, fell

de Papatu, Purgatorio, Indulgentiis ac similibus nugis, potius quam causis in quibus me hactenus omnes fere venati sunt frustra. Unus tu et solus cardinem rerum vidisti et ipsum jugulum petiisti, pro quo ex animo tibi gratias ago.

utterly

utterly dead. Even to us it must be acknowledged that there is something cold even to chillness, in the treatise of Erasmus—the nice balance of the periods, the elaborate finish of the style, the very elegance of the Latinity, seem to show that the heart of Erasmus had no part in the momentous question. There is something dubious, too, in the prudence with which he chose the subject, and so eluded all those other questions, indulgences, purgatory, pilgrimages, worship of saints, monkery, the power of the clergy and of the Pope, on which he might have been cited against himself, and in which he was the undoubted forerunner of Luther. And all this contrasts most unfavourably with the bold, the vehement, the honest, the profoundly religious tone of his adversary. With all its coarseness, almost its truculence, with all its contemptuous and arrogant dogmatism, with what might seem the study to present everything in the most alarming, almost repulsive, form, the treatise on the Servitude of the Will, though it leaves us unconvinced, rarely leaves us unmoved; there is an infelt and commanding religiousness which by its power over ourselves reveals the mystery of its wonderful power over his own generation. At all events the cold smooth oil of Erasmus had only made the fire burn more intensely; the intervention of the great scholar, of the first man of letters, of the oracle of Transalpine Christendom, instead of answering the sanguine expectation of the one side, or the awe on the other, was absolutely without effect: many Lutherans may have been exasperated, it may be doubted if one was changed in sentiment by the treatise on the Freedom of the Will. Erasmus, in his *Hyperaspistes*, or rather his two Treatises, answered Luther.* He had lost much of his serene temper, but gained neither fame nor authority. There is a kind of consciousness, which involuntarily betrays itself, that he had not improved his position. In truth he had estranged still further his natural allies, the Reformers; the Papalists, who at first hailed their champion with noisy acclamation, revenged their disappointment at his want of success, by the unmitigated rancour with which they fell upon his former works.†

Yet still while Erasmus grew older and more infirm, the world darkened around him. Event after event took place, which threw him back more forcibly upon the tide of reaction. To all who

* The Lutherans bitterly complained of its tone; they called it the *Aspis*, for its venom; but its wearisome prolixity must even in its own day have checked its malice.

† There is a most remarkable admission in a late Letter of Erasmus—all these questions ought only to be discussed, and temperately, by learned men—*et quæ Lutherus urget, si moderatè tractentur, meâ sententiâ propius accedunt ad vigorem Evangelicū.*—*Epist.* 1053, June 1, 1529.

were not yet disenchanted from the ancient, traditionary, almost immemorial majesty of the Papal See, who still honoured the Pope as the successor of St. Peter, as the Vicar of Christ, as the Head of the august unity of the Church*—and this was the case with Erasmus, the friend of more than one pope—what was the effect of the taking of Rome by the Constable Bourbon, with all its unspeakable horrors†—the flight, the imprisonment, the abasement of the Pope himself? It is true that in that act of high treason against the spiritual sovereign, with all its insults and cruelties, the Catholic Spaniards of the Constable were as deeply concerned as the Lutheran Germans of George Frondsberg.

But while at Basil Erasmus was sacrificing his peace at the bidding of the Papalists, at Paris his books were proscribed, his followers burned at the stake. Of all the martyrs who suffered for the Reformation, none was more blameless, more noble, more calm and devout in his death, than Louis Berquin. The crime of Berquin was the translation, the dissemination, the earnest recommendation of the writings of Erasmus. His powerful adversary was the enemy of Erasmus—Noel Bedier, or, as he affected to call himself after our venerable bishop, Beda. Berquin was arrested, cast into prison, and the Sorbonne proceeded to issue an edict condemnatory of the writings of Erasmus. But the Queen-Mother, Louisa of Savoy, protected Berquin, and on the return of the king to Paris a royal mandate was issued for his release. He remained in Paris for three years (from 1526 to 1529), still openly disseminating the works of Erasmus. It was another of his crimes that he boldly asserted the duty of publishing the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, also a tenet of Erasmus, to whom he was personally unknown, but to whom he wrote, and received a reply urging him to prudence, to flight, and this not only on his own account, for it must be confessed that the selfish fear of Erasmus, lest he too should be imperilled by his manly disciple, seems to be his ruling motive. Unfortunately the profane mutilation of an image of the Virgin, in which Berquin was not even charged as in any way concerned, exasperated the impetuous and versatile Francis. Berquin was abandoned to his persecutors. He was scourged, condemned to see his books publicly

* How deeply this awe was rooted in the mind of Christendom, may be best conjectured from the profoundly-reverent tone with which Luther himself wrote of the Pope, but a year or two before his final revolt. See his two letters in De Wette, in 1518 (p. 1119) and 1519 (p. 233).

† See Epist. 968. Among all its horrors (this is characteristic) Erasmus is most wrathful at the destruction of Sadolet's noble library—O barbariem inauditam! Quæ fuit unquam tanta Scytharum, Quadorum, Wandalorum, Hunnorum, Gothorum immanitas, ut non contenta quicquid erat opum diripere, in libros, rem sacratissimam, sæviret incendio.

burned,

burned, to make an abjuration in the Place de Grève, to have his tongue pierced with a hot iron, and to imprisonment for life. Berquin refused to abjure; he aggravated his offence by an appeal to the Pope and to the King. A vain appeal! He was sentenced to the flames. Nothing could surpass the holy serenity of his martyrdom. He seemed, as was reported by an eye-witness to Erasmus, as he marched to the stake, like one in his library absorbed in his studies, or in a church meditating on heavenly things. His mien and gestures, when he went to his death, were easy and quick, with nothing of defiance or sullen obstinacy. Six hundred soldiers were ordered out to prevent tumult, and, by the noise they made, to prevent his dying words being heard by the populace. No one dared murmur the name of Jesus as he was suffocated by the flames. We wish that there had been more generous sympathy at his fate, more righteous indignation against his persecutors, in the cold letter of Erasmus which describes his death. It is sad to see the growing perplexity of the gentle scholar, as age and infirmities more and more enfeeble him, in those distracted times.* He still shrinks with natural and conscientious abhorrence from the burning of heretics, but he has begun to draw nice distinctions between the forms of heresy. He cannot, after the death of Berquin, quite approve of the stern severity of the French government, and their subservience to the papal see. 'But perhaps it is better to err in this way, than to permit the unbridled licence, which prevails in some German cities, in which the Pope is Anti-Christ, the cardinals the creatures of Anti-Christ, the Bishops monsters, the clergy swine, monasteries conventicles of Satan, princes tyrants. The Evangelical populace were in arms, more ready to fight than to be instructed.'

But still worse days were to come. While France was thus recoiling towards the Papacy, England, Erasmian England, was making rapid strides in the opposite direction. Nowhere had the writings of Erasmus met with such universal acceptance as in England.† The King, the Queen, even Wolsey, Archbishop Warham, as we have seen, Fisher, More, were his patrons or dear friends. Lee had been almost his only English assailant; and Lee was then an obscure man, but had been growing into favour, and was suspected by Luther as having a chief hand in

* *Epist.* *MLX.* p. 1206. Si non commeruit supplicium doleo, si commeruit his doleo: satius est enim innocentem mori quam nocentem!!! Erasmus rather softens away how much his own works had to do with the fate of Berquin. Compare Berquin's letter, *ccccxv.* p. 1712. Erasmus concludes with this: Qui si decessit cum bonâ conscientia, quod admodum spero, quid eo felicius? . . . Varia sunt hominum judicia. Ille felix qui, iudice Deo, absolvitur.

† He complains, in 1527, that he had been preached against at Paul's Cross, before the Lord Mayor.—*Epist.* 882.

the King's attack upon him. First came the Divorce — Queen Catherine had been a diligent reader of the writings of Erasmus; she had accepted the dedication of his treatise on 'Matrimony.' But on the Divorce, however it might grieve him, he might maintain a prudent and doubtful silence.* Before his death, however, Erasmus must hear the terrible intelligence of the execution of Fisher and of More. If the passionless heart of Erasmus was capable of deep and intense love for any human being, it was for More. Of all his serious writings, nothing approached in beauty, in life, in eloquence, to his character of his two models of every Christian virtue—the recluse Franciscan Abbot of St. Omer, Vittrarius, and Sir Thomas More. Of these, one had been, by what might well be thought in these troubled times the divine mercy, early released from life. With the other, Erasmus had still maintained close and intimate correspondence: his writings teem with passages bearing testimony to the public, and especially to the domestic virtues, of More. No two men could have had more perfect sympathy in character and in opinion. No man had laughed so heartily at the wit of Erasmus: the 'Praise of Folly,' as it has been said, came from the house of More. More's eyes were as open to the abuses of the Church, to the vulgar superstitions, to the inveterate evils of scholasticism and monkery as those of Erasmus. The biblical studies, the calm reasoning piety of the serious writings of Erasmus were as congenial as his wit to More. More, like Erasmus, had a premature revelation of the wisdom and of the virtue of religious toleration. The reaction seized them both: they were shaken with the same terror; they recoiled at the same excesses of some among the Reformers; each had the most profound love of peace. But from his position, and from his more firm and resolute character, the Chancellor of England was either driven or drove himself much further back. Erasmus was a reluctant, tardy, controversialist; More a willing, a busy, a voluminous one: this is not generally remembered. In his answer to Tyndale and Frith, in his answer to Barnes, above all, in his 'Supplication of Souls,' in reply to the celebrated 'Supplication of Beggars,' More is the determined thorough-going apologist of all the abuses of the old system, of those at which he had freely laughed with Erasmus—Pilgrimages, Image-worship, Purgatory, the enormous wealth of the clergy, and of the monks. No one can know who has not read the latter work,

* Nullus unquam mortalium ullam syllabam ex me audivit, approbantem aut improbantem hoc factum. Præterea nemo mortalium me super hoc interpellavit negotio. He gives his reasons, his being counsellor to the Emperor, gratitude to Henry VIII., friendship to Sir Thomas Boleyn.—Epist. 1253.

with what reckless zeal More combated the new opponents, with what feeble arguments he satisfied his perspicuous mind. No one who has not read the 'Supplication of Souls' can estimate More's strength and his weakness. No one can even fairly judge how far the native gentleness of his character, that exquisitely Christian disposition, which showed itself with all its tenderness in his domestic relations, and gave to his ordinary life, still more to his death, such irresistible attraction, was proof against that sterner bigotry in defence of their faith, which hardens even the meekest natures, deadens the most sensitive ears to the cries of suffering, makes pitilessness, even cruelty, a sacred duty. We leave to Mr. Froude and to his opponents the difficult, to us unproven, questions of the persecutions, the tortures, which More is accused as having more than sanctioned.* But the general tone, and too many passages in these works, as we must sadly admit in those of Erasmus, show that both had been driven to tamper at least with the milder and more Christian theoretic principles of their youth; both branded heresy as the worst of offences, worse than murder, worse than parricide; and left the unavoidable inference to be drawn as to the justice, righteousness, even duty of suppressing such perilous opinions by any means whatever. Mourn over but refuse not merciful judgment even to the merciless; obscure not the invaluable services of Erasmus to the cause of intellectual light and of Christian knowledge; obscure not the inimitable virtues, the martyr death, of More for conscience sake, the life put off even with playfulness, we say not resignation, and in full, we doubt not justifiable hope of the robes of a glorified Saint.

Only a few words more, after this last fatal blow, may close the life of Erasmus. He had already, on the legal establishment of the Reformation at Basil, not altogether without contention which had been overawed by the firmness of the Senate, taken up his residence at Friburg in the Brisgau, in the territories of Ferdinand of Austria.† Before the death of More he had returned to Basil. After More's execution he lived for nearly a year; his books were his

* It would be unpardonable to omit the testimony of Erasmus, but we must give the whole on this point. Porro, quod jactant de carceribus an verum sit nescio. Illud constat, virum naturâ mitissimum nulli fuisse molestum qui monitus voluerit a sectarum contagio respicere. An illi postulant ut summus tanti regni iudex nullos habeat carceres. Odit ille *seditiones* dogmata quibus nunc misere concutitur orbis. Hoc ille non dissimulat, nec cupit esse clam sic addictus pietati, ut si in alterutram partem aliquantulum inclinet momentum, superstitioni quam impietati vicinior esse videatur. Illud tamen eximie cujusdam clementiæ satis magnum est argumentum quod sub illo Cancellario, *nullus ob improbatâ dogmata cupitis panem* dedit, quum in utraque Germaniâ, Galliâque tam multi sunt affecti supplicio.—Epist. 526, additamenta. All the letter should be read.

† A.D. 1529. See Epist. 1048.

only true and inseparable friends, and in his books he found his consolation. To the last his unwearied industry pursued the labour of love. He was employed as editor of *Origen* when he was summoned to his account, we trust to his reward. So passed away a man with many faults, many weaknesses, with much vanity, with a want of independence of character, faults surely venial, considering the circumstances of his birth, his loneliness in the world, his want of natural friends, and even of country, and his physical infirmities; but a man who, in the great period of dawning intellect, stood forth the foremost: who in the scholar never forgot the Christian—he was strongly opposed to the new Paganism, which in Italy accompanied the revival of classical studies*—whose avowed object it was to associate the cultivation of letters with a simpler Christianity, a Christianity of life as of doctrine; who in influence at least was the greatest of the ‘Reformers’ before the Reformation.’

ART. II.—*Annals, Anecdotes, and Legends: a Chronicle of Life Assurance.* By John Francis, Author of ‘The History of the Bank of England,’ &c. London, 1853.

AMONGST the various indications of social progress which we see around us—the fruits of capital, credit, peace, and order—there are none more surprising to all who know their history than Assurance Societies. Next to clubs and gin-palaces, they have contributed the largest number of handsome buildings to the improvement of the metropolis. Next to railroads and the electric telegraph, they do most honour to science and enterprise; whilst far beyond those of any other invention or institution are their capabilities for correcting improvidence, for inculcating self-restraint, for warding off those ‘slings and arrows of outrageous fortune’ to which all of us—not excepting the best and wisest—are inevitably exposed.

Obvious as are their advantages, their origin is modern; and for nearly a century after the necessity for them was generally admitted, their increase was slow. There were only six or seven offices in the United Kingdom in 1800. There are now nearly 200; yet the principle on which they are based is only half developed and very imperfectly understood, as may be proved to demonstra-

* Unus adhuc scrupulus habet animum meum, ne sub obtentu prisce literarum renascentis caput erigere conetur Paganismus; ut sunt inter Christianos, qui titulo pene duntaxat Christum agnoscunt, ceterum intus Gentilitatem spirant. From an early Letter (207), but he maintained the same jealousy to the end.

tion by the unseemly eagerness with which they are competing for custom, and by the embarrassing uncertainty through which so many would-be customers are lost. If the average duration or value of life could be calculated with precision, puffing directors would be regarded as adventurers or quacks. If the soundness and fairness of the schemes or systems adopted by the leading companies were beyond dispute, thousands who now hold aloof would hasten to take out policies. Where then is the hitch, check, or error? Who is in fault? Are the required tables not forthcoming? Are the registries imperfect? Are the statistical inquirers at a standstill for want of reliable materials; or are the actuaries deficient in skill? These questions will be best answered by a sketch of the rise, progress, and present state of life assurance; which, with the aid of the book before us, we do not despair of making both interesting and instructive.

Mr. Francis's 'Chronicle' is equally remarkable for industry and discrimination. Considering the pains he must have taken in his search for authorities, and the number of curious books he must have consulted, he has been laudably sparing of his extracts; and his predilection for the marvellous in narrative seldom leads him astray from the main and grave subject of his work. Whilst others have been filling volumes with what they are pleased to term the Romance of the Aristocracy, he has been assiduously employed on the Romance of the Money Market; and, on a careful comparison, we incline to think that the spirit of adventure has been as daringly displayed on the Exchange as in the tiltyard: nor could the novelist who wished to produce something especially strong in the exciting line, do better than found his plot on one of the complicated frauds or startling crimes which form an essential part of the commercial history of England. Indeed, one eminent master of the art of prose fiction has already set the example by reproducing James Weathercock, alias Thomas Griffith Wainwright, as the Gabriel Varney of 'Lucretia.'

Arguing from analogy, we should infer that one species of assurance would naturally suggest another; and that the practice of granting annuities for life or a term of years would speedily lead to that of insuring lives for a premium. But, in point of fact, marine insurances were the subject of statutes or ordinances some centuries before it occurred to any class of speculators that the contingency of sudden death might be provided against—so far, at least, as pecuniary considerations were concerned—by the same description of guarantee or indemnity as the wreck or capture of a ship; and long after the purchase of annuities had grown into a well-understood and ordinary method
of

of extortion amongst money-lenders, the most inventive and daring of them did not venture to speculate more directly on the chances of human existence, though compelled to form some estimate of these, however vague, for the purposes of their traffic. Their profits were probably large enough to render accurate calculations needless. Thus the famous annuity-monger of the sixteenth century—'the great Audley,' as he was called—frankly told one of his clients, 'We moneyed people must balance accounts: if you don't pay me my annuity, you cheat me; if you do, I cheat you.' He said his deeds were his children, which throve by sleeping; and, when asked the value of an office he had purchased in the Court of Wards, replied: 'Some thousands to any one who wishes to get to heaven immediately; twice as much to him who does not mind being in purgatory; and nobody knows what to him who will adventure to go to hell.'

The closest approximation to life assurance of which we find any trace in the middle ages, was the practice in vogue at one period amongst crusaders and other travellers to the Holy Land. It was not every handsome youth that could calculate on being liberated, like Lord Bateman, by the only daughter of a Soldan, and the safer plan was obviously to deduct from the expenses of his outfit enough to secure the payment of his ransom in case of his being taken prisoner, an obligation for which some Jew or another was always ready to contract.

Mr. Francis attributes the reluctance of capitalists to engage in life assurance to the uncertainty which hung over human life in troublous times, when the population was periodically decimated by civil war, plague, or famine; and that such causes were in full operation till near the end of the seventeenth century, is undeniable. But the apparent anomaly may be sufficiently accounted for by the absence of trustworthy data for estimating the average duration of life. We may infer their paucity and imperfection from the difficulty which Lord Macaulay encountered in his attempt to compute and classify the population of England at the accession of James II.*

Parish Registers date from 1536, when they were established by Thomas Cromwell. But the entries were irregularly made; and it was not until after the plague of 1593, which carried off more than 30,000 inhabitants of London, that proper attention was paid to the Bills of Mortality, in the hope of quieting public apprehension, by checking exaggerated accounts of the effects of the visitation.† The practice of publishing the Bills weekly, with

* See the commencement of the celebrated third chapter of his History.

† See Haydn's Dictionary of Dates. But according to Graunt, the London Bills of Mortality began in 1592.

the respective causes of death, began in 1603, and they were commonly examined as matters of curiosity, or were consulted by the heads of families anxious to ascertain the healthiness of the City before repairing to it or selecting it as a place of abode. Thus Lord Salisbury, writing to Prince Henry, the son of James I., says, 'Be wary of Londoners, for there died here 123 last week.' But the first who thought of systematising the results, or of turning them to practical or scientific uses, appears to have been John Graunt, 'Citizen of London,' who, in 1662, published the fruits of long meditation and sedulous inquiry into the subject, under the title of 'Natural and Political Observations mentioned in a Following Index and made upon the Bills of Mortality.' He was born and bred within the sound of Bow-bells, with no advantages of education beyond such as were then common to his class, who entertained the wildest notions flattering to Cockney self-importance. They estimated the population of London, as we estimate that of Canton or Pekin, by millions, and believed it to have increased two millions in twenty-six years. It is no wonder, therefore, that he indulged in a few speculations which may now excite a smile, and so much the higher honour is due to him for having penetrated such a cloud of vulgar error, to arrive at or indicate truths of incalculable utility to mankind. A careful analysis of the London Bills of Mortality, and a comparison of them with those of two or three country parishes, led him to the following conclusions :—

'That seven per cent. died of age; that some diseases and casualties keep a constant proportion, whereas some others are very irregular; that not above one in four thousand are starved; that not one in two thousand are murdered in London; that not one in fifteen hundred dies lunatick; that the stone (1662) decreases; that the scurvy increases; that the gout stands at a stay.'

He also maintains that—

'Of 100, there die within the first six years	..	..	36
The next ten years, or decad	..	..	24
The second decad	..	..	15
The third	..	..	9
The fourth	..	..	6
The fifth	..	..	4
The sixth	..	..	3
The seventh	..	..	2
The eighth	..	..	1.'

This table is obviously inaccurate, for it would make out that only 6 in the 100 arrive at the age of 56, only 3 at 66, only 1 at 76, and none at 86; and in another place he lays down that 7
out

out of every 100 live in England (meaning, as the context shows, London) to the age of 70. Amongst a number of ingenious and suggestive theories are some which are equally untenable, mingled with remarks which may justify a doubt whether he understood the full merit of his own lucubrations. Thus, admitting that there is good reason why the magistrate should himself take notice of the number of burials and christenings, he adds:—

‘Why the same should be known to the people otherwise than to please them as a curiosity, I see not. Nor could I ever yet learn from the many I have asked, and those not of the least sagacity, to what purpose the distinction between males and females is inserted, or at all taken notice of; or why that of marriages is not equally given in. Nor is it obvious to everybody why the account of casualties is made.’

The importance of this work, however, must be estimated by its originality and its influence, which was immediate and widespread, especially as regards the scientific and statistical studies of his contemporaries. It was with some reluctance that Graunt brought himself to transgress the strict letter of the Scriptural prohibition against numbering the people, to the extent of determining the population of London to be about 384,000; and his fellow-citizens never forgave him for this offensive piece of heresy. During the Great Fire he was exposed to serious danger by the preposterous imputation of having cut off the supply of water from the reservoir of the New River Company. But ample justice was done him by more competent and less prejudiced judges. The royal pleasure that he should be elected a member of the Royal Society was conveyed to the fellows with the significant intimation that, ‘if they found any more such tradesmen, they should admit them all.’ Measures were also taken for perfecting the registers for the benefit of future calculators; though, strange to say, the ages of the dead were not regularly inserted till 1728. The diseases were fortunately specified, and Mr. Francis has selected several, which he thinks place us in an almost antediluvian world, and seem to belong to another sphere:—

‘In 1657, among the deaths are recorded 1162 “chrisomes and infants;” and few reading in 1853 would know that infants, until christened, wore a “chrisom” or cloth anointed with holy unguent, from which they were denominated chrisomes. “Blasted and planet” would puzzle the medical student of to-day; but the latter was simply an abbreviation of “planet struck,” both words indicating some wasting disease which the faculty failed to fathom. “Head-mould-shot” and “horseshoe-head” were meant for water on the brain, and were very expressive of the shape of the head in those who suffered from it.

Another

Another complaint was "calenture," a disease said to be similar to the *maladie du pays*, for it seized seamen with an irresistible desire to immerse themselves, the sea assuming in their eyes the appearance of green fields.'

Burnet asserts that Graunt's book was written by Sir William Petty. Lord Macaulay refers to it in a manner to confirm the Bishop's statement. Nicholson says that Petty was 'the main director and author' of the work. But the well-informed and able writer of the article 'Insurance,' in the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' states that the fifth edition only was revised by the founder of the House of Lansdowne, which is much more probable than that he should have employed Graunt as his medium for the enunciation of theories and opinions so strikingly and notoriously analogous to what he acknowledged as his own. That he did not shrink from the responsibility is shown by his 'Essay on Political Arithmetic concerning the Growth of the City of London, &c.,' published in 1686. Some of his propositions are quite as odd and hazardous as those of his alleged double or pseudonyme. For example, he labours to prove:—

'That London doubles in 40 years, and all England in 360 years.

That the growth of London must stop of itself before the year 1800.

That the world would be fully peopled within the next 2000 years.'

The same train of speculation is pursued in his other essays—four in number—on the same class of subjects; but the practical results were slow and unsatisfactory. In a tract published in 1780, which professes to state the received doctrine, the life of a healthful man of any age between twenty and forty was valued at seven years, and that of an aged or sickly person at from five to six years: all the minor degrees or shades of difference being left undefined. It was reserved for Halley to make the next great step in the forward direction; and in 1693 appeared his celebrated tables for estimating the probable duration of human life at any age, based on the bills of mortality of Breslau, the only place which, for any length of time, had recorded the ages of the dead. The trade in annuities was then in full vigour, but life insurance was in its infancy, and no sustained or general effort had been made to extend or systematize it. The first allusion to it in the law books arose out of a policy on the life of Sir Robert Howard for one year, from September 3rd, 1697. He died on the 3rd September, 1698; and the question was whether the policy had expired. Lord Holt ruled that the day of the date was excluded, and that the underwriter, a merchant, was liable. In the course of the next ten years it may be inferred that life policies were in general demand, and freely granted; for it must have been a conviction of their

their insecurity when resting on the private credit of individuals, that induced the Bishop of Oxford to obtain a charter for what is now known as the Amicable Life Assurance Society, founded in 1706, and justly claiming to be the oldest existing institution of the kind. We need hardly say that its terms, arrangements, and scheme of management have undergone an infinity of modifications since its rise. It started with a scale of payments which may be cited to prove how slowly useful knowledge circulates amongst the classes who boast of being practical.

The Company, according to its original charter, was to consist of shareholders, the number of shares not to exceed 2000. Age, from twelve to forty-five, made no difference in the subscription or premium, and the state of health was equally disregarded. The net income was divided annually amongst the representatives of the deceased, and the receipts necessarily varied with the seasons. According to the printed plan of the Amicable for the present year, 'Five subsequent Royal Charters and two special Acts of Parliament enable this Society to proceed upon principles equally calculated to meet the convenience of the public with those of other Life Assurance offices, but with some considerable advantages.'

Judicial astrology is known to have advanced astronomy, and chemistry is under equal obligations to alchemy. Few popular delusions, provided they compel experimental trials and set intellect at work, are barren as regards progress; and the mania for speculation which reached its culminating point in the famous South Sea bubble, certainly helped to correct the ignorance and check the credulity which led to it. From 1708 to 1720, people were invited to anticipate, by a trifling sacrifice, every imaginable eventuality, the fear of which might disturb their peace of mind. For 5*s.* a quarter a man might insure the payment to his representatives of 120*l.* on his decease. A marriage-portion would be provided for persons of either sex, marry when they would, who should contribute 2*s.* a quarter; and Mr. Francis records the case of a gentleman and lady who, having paid 2*s.* each, married each other, and claimed two marriage-portions from the assurers. The amount is sometimes left vague on the chance of its being exaggerated by fancy; but one prospectus engages that 'any persons, by paying 2*s.* at their entrance for a policy and stamps, and 2*s.* towards each marriage but their own, when the number is full, will secure to themselves 200*l.*: and, in the mean time, in proportion to the number of subscribers.' Another scheme of mutual assurance has been preserved, under which each member was to contribute 2*s.* 6*d.* towards each baptised infant of a co-assurer until he had one of his

his own, when he was to be entitled to 200*l.*, 'the interest of which is sufficient to give the child a good education, and the principal reserved until it comes to maturity.' The list of the assurance projects of the South Sea bubble era, thirty in number, concludes with the following:—

'William Helmes, Exchange Alley, Assurance of Female Chastity.
Insurance from housebreakers.
Insurance from highwaymen.
Assurance from lying.
Plummer and Petty's Insurance from death by drinking Geneva.
Rum Insurance.'

There was also an 'insurance office for horses dying natural deaths, stolen or disabled, Crown Tavern, Smithfield,' to which the public attention was invited in rhyme:—

'You that keep horses to preserve your ease,
And pads to please your wives and mistresses,
Insure their lives, and if they die we'll make
Full satisfaction, *or be bound to break.*'

Conjugal affection was invoked in aid of the more regular description of insurance offices:—

'Come all ye generous husbands with your wives,
Insure round sums on your precarious lives,
That, to your comfort, when you're dead and rotten,
Your widows may be rich when you're forgotten.'

The wits and essayists were equally alive with the poetasters to the necessity of humouring or taking advantage of the popular tendency, and both Steele and Addison amused themselves by satirising projectors and framing comic bills of mortality. A provincial bill of mortality, given in 'The Guardian,' No. 136, contains the following entries:—

'Of a six-bar gate	4
Of a quick-set hedge	2
Bewitched	13
Of an evil tongue	9
Crost in love	7
Broke his neck in robbing a hen-roost	1
Surfeit of curds and cream	2
Took cold sleeping at church	11
Of October	1
Broke a vein in bawling for a Knight of the Shire	1
By the parson's bull	1
Shot by mistake	1
Of a mountebank doctor	6
Old age	100.'

The hint is followed out and improved upon in Addison's paper, 'On Dying for Love.'

"T. S. wounded by Zelinda's scarlet stocking, as she was stepping out of a coach.

"Tim Tattle killed by the tap of a fan on his left shoulder by Coquetilla, as he talked carelessly with her at a bow-window.

"Samuel Felt, haberdasher, wounded in his walks to Islington, by Mrs. Susannah Cross Stitch, as she was clambering over a stile.

"John Pleadwell, Esq., of the Middle Temple, assassinated in his chambers, the 6th instant, by Kitty Sly, who pretended to come to him for advice."

At the head of the list of the creations of the bubble era stand 'The Royal Exchange' and 'The London Assurance' Companies. The second was the offshoot of the first on its not being able to admit all the claimants who flocked to it for shares. The primary cause of their foundation was the sense of insecurity resulting from the recent failure of private underwriters and assurers by the score; but whether from well-founded suspicion based on the condition of the money-market, or from a wish to make the most out of their rivalry with competing Companies, the law officers of the Crown were with difficulty prevailed on to sanction their application for charters. They were at first limited to fire insurance. Their charters extended to life assurance on the 29th of April, 1721; and Mr. Francis states that the earliest document (meaning, we presume, life policy) possessed by either of these companies is dated November 25th, 1721. It was granted by the London Assurance to Mr. Thomas Baldwin, on the life of Nicholas Bourne, for 100*l.*, five guineas being the premium for a year.

The first notorious fraud perpetrated through the instrumentality of assurance was in 1730. A man and woman of the semi-genteel class, the woman about twenty, and the man old enough to be her father, residents of St. Giles's, were the actors. Scene the first was the seeming deathbed of the lady, round which the neighbours were hastily summoned in the middle of the night by her male companion, who called her his daughter, and said that she had been suddenly seized with pains in the heart. Before the doctor could arrive she was to all appearance a corpse, and after feeling her pulse he solemnly pronounced that all was over. Her remains were enclosed in a coffin and buried. The man claimed the amount insured on her life and disappeared. Not long after, a couple who had come to reside in Queen Square began to disturb the gossips of that then not unfashionable quarter. They did not profess to be married or otherwise related, and yet were everywhere together; but they kept a pleasant house; and when that is the

the case, neighbours are commonly disposed to shut their eyes to all but undeniable indications of impropriety. When this mode of life had been continued long enough to pave the way for the catastrophe, it came in the same shape as before—a heart complaint, a death struggle, a desponding doctor, and a funeral. Again the insurers, individual and associated, bled to the tune of several thousands.

The same couple are supposed to be identical with an individual who figured some years later at Liverpool as a merchant, and his alleged niece who kept house for him. On this new arena he came out in the grave, decorous, and eminently respectable line, subscribing to charities, going regularly to church, and yielding to mundane vanities and indulgences only so far as to give good dinners. After a time he took the tone of one who had sustained unexpected reverses which compelled him to borrow money on the security of property depending on his niece's life. He effected policies accordingly; and the old game was played over again for the third time with similar success. So consummate was his acting, that when, after a decent delay, he left Liverpool under the pretence of escaping saddening reminiscences, he was not suspected; and it was only when the three adventures became known, and the circumstances were collated, that the truth broke upon the victims of the pair. Whether the medical men and the undertakers were bribed, or whether the lady possessed the power of simulating death, or whether she had discovered the secret of the draught compounded by Friar Lawrence for Juliet, remains a puzzle to this hour.

In the mean time science was unceasingly if not very effectively employed in solving the problem, or series of problems, touching the probabilities of life. It had made so little progress, however, or produced so faint an impression, when the Royal Exchange and the London Assurance began business, that, like their predecessor the Amicable, they made no difference between healthy and unhealthy lives, between youth and maturity, between 12 and 45. What, moreover, is equally remarkable, the next impulse in the right direction came from one whose first contribution to this branch of knowledge would hardly have lowered the dignity of philosophy, as understood by those sages of antiquity who contended that to produce what Bacon calls 'fruit' was beneath its high vocation. We allude to the mathematician whom Pope selects as the beau ideal of scientific accuracy:—

'Who made the spider parallels design,
Sure as Demoisre, without rule or line?'

It is related that Newton, when asked about doubtful points in his own productions, was wont to say, 'Go to Demoivre, he knows better than I do.' Alas for science! he was driven by need in the decline of life to attend daily at a coffee-house in St. Martin's Lane to be consulted by gamesters and speculators about odds and probabilities for such fees as he could pick up. His first work, published in 1718, was entitled 'The Doctrine of Chances,' and he apologises in the Preface for its presumed tendency to promote gambling. Pascal, however, had preceded him in the same line; and at all events he completely obviated the objection in his next work, 'The Doctrine of Chances applied to the Valuation of Lives,' published in 1624, in which he propounded his well-known theory that the decrements of human life are uniformly progressive; *i. e.*, that out of a given number of persons of the same age, a calculable per-centage die every year until they are all extinct. By way of corollary he goes on to show that, taking the average extreme of human life at 86, the probable duration of a life may be estimated by halving the difference between that age and the actual age of the person. Thus, a man of 40 has 23 years to live. The soundness of this hypothesis has been roughly impugned, but Sir Francis Bailey awards Demoivre the high praise of having invented 'the most simple and elegant formulæ' for solving questions of everyday occurrence, and says of his hypothesis that it 'will ever remain a proof of his superior genius and ability.'

Our limits do not admit of our giving a detailed account of the numerous works on the subject during the remainder of the century. Amongst the most useful were those which brought fresh materials to the existing stock in the shape of Tables; like Kerseboom's, taken from certain Dutch records; or De Parsieux's, deduced from the registries of religious houses in France; or Hodgson's, based on the renewed study of the London Bills of Mortality. Simpson, who, according to Mr. Francis, began life as a conjurer, and drove a pupil mad by raising or pretending to raise the Devil, is honourably conspicuous amongst the band; and in 1760 the famous Buffon published Tables based on the mortality of five French parishes. The pith of his discoveries is contained in a paragraph:—

“The age at which the longest life is to be expected is 7, because we may lay an equal wager, or 1 to 1, that a child of that age will live 42 years and 3 months longer. That at the age of 12 or 13 we have lived a fourth part of our life, because we cannot reasonably expect to live 38 or 39 years longer; that in like manner, at the age of 28 or 29, we have lived one-half of our life, because we have but 28 years more to live; and lastly, that before 50 we have
lived

lived three-fourths of our life, because we can hope but for 16 or 17 years more.”

From twenty to thirty other works on the same fertile topic are described or enumerated by the writer in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, who also calls attention to the tables of Ulpian, one of the commentators of Justinian, in which the value of life is carefully graduated according to age, and to the Report on life annuities drawn up by John de Witt for the use of the States General of Holland in 1671. But so unaccountably slow were the commercial world and the general public in appreciating or applying the conclusions of abstract science or the suggestions of inventive genius, that precisely the same custom of lumping together lives of any age, from twelve to forty-five, which had been blindly adopted by the Amicable in 1706, and by the Royal Exchange and London Assurance in 1721, was almost universal prior to the establishment of the Equitable in 1762.

‘In the year 1759,’ writes Mr. Morgan, ‘the business of assurance was but little understood and but little practised. Excepting the Society in Sergeant’s Inn (the Amicable), which assured lives at all ages under forty-five at the same annual premium, and never exceeded 300*l.* on the same life, and the Royal Exchange Office, which made a few assurances for a single year at the general premium, I believe, of 5*l.* per cent., the Equitable Society had no competitors, and were the only Society which varied their premiums according to the age of the person assured.’

The ‘Rise and Progress’ of the Equitable is the subject of a distinct work by Mr. Morgan, the ablest of its actuaries, and the principal author of its prosperity. Its *Deed of Settlement*, edited by him, fills an octavo volume. Its terms and rules have been subjected to a searching examination by many able writers, including Mr. Babbage and Mr. De Morgan. Some twenty years since we devoted the larger part of an article to them;* and we need hardly add that the establishment of this Society forms a memorable epoch in the annals of life insurance. Like most great undertakings, it had to win its way against a formidable array of obstacles, and so long as these could be successfully overcome, it was not over-scrupulous as to the means. Only four assurances were effected at the first meeting, and at the end of the next three months the number fell short of thirty. To rebut the apprehended influence on the public mind, the 25th policy was announced as the 275th; much as a modern pamphleteer arrives at his third or fourth edition *per saltum*, at the cost of a trifling change in his title-page. How credit can

* *Quarterly Review*, vol. xxxv., pp. 1-31. See also vol. lxiv., pp. 285-307.

be acquired or strengthened by the names of such lords and M.P.s as are frequently advertised as directors of companies, fairly passes our comprehension; but the practice is no modern innovation; for we find amongst the recorded proceedings of the Equitable a formal vote of thanks to Lord Willoughby of Parham 'for the use of his name in sustaining the reputation of the Society,' in which he did not risk a sixpence. The very directors were so apathetic that it was found necessary to stimulate them by promising five guineas to the first twenty-one who should arrive at a meeting before twelve. The Attorney-General had objected to granting the charter on the ground that the proposed terms, minutely specified in the Deed of Settlement, were not sufficiently high to guarantee solvency. They proved 30 per cent. too high, and the hasty distribution of the surplus profits subsequently introduced a new element of disorder into the finances of the Society. At length, under the able pilotage of Mr. Morgan, the Equitable cleared the shallows and made its way into untroubled waters, where it still floats, the leviathan of companies, like the Great Eastern amongst the small craft of the Thames.

If we may trust Mr. Francis, it is the boast of the Equitable that they were never driven into a court of law but once. The facts were these. A man named Innes had effected a policy for 1000*l.* on the life of his stepdaughter. She died under tragical and suspicious circumstances, and Innes produced a will, which appeared on the face of it to have been duly executed by her, declaring him executor and legatee. Its validity was contested, and he produced the two attesting witnesses, who swore boldly to all the required formalities, and would have gained their point, had not Innes insisted on calling a third to prove that he was present at the signature and attestation. This man's courage failed, or a feeling of compunction came over him at the last moment. Wan and ghastly he entered the witness-box, where his first words were, 'My Lord, my name is Borthwick: I am brother to the witness of the same name who has been examined. The will was not made on the Bridge Gate at Glasgow; it was forged by a schoolmaster in the Maze, in the Borough.'

Whilst the success of the Equitable was still doubtful, so large were the transactions of the existing offices that in 1765 the Government thought fit to demand all the unclaimed property lying in them. This demand was denounced as an attempt at confiscation, tantamount to the closing of the Exchequer by the Cabal under Charles II., and was eventually abandoned. The appropriation of unclaimed dividends to the public service obviously rests on different grounds.

The

The mania for speculating on the respective vitality of classes or individuals reached its acme about the middle of the eighteenth century, and twice compelled the interposition of the legislature. By 14 George III., c. 48., it is enacted that 'no insurance shall be made on the life of any persons, or on any event whatsoever, where the person on whose account such policy shall be made shall have no interest, or by way of gaming or wagering.' The state of things which induced this provision may be illustrated by a few well-known instances. Policies were regularly opened on the lives of all statesmen and warriors of eminence. When Sir Robert Walpole was mobbed during the Excise Bill agitation; when the Duke of Newcastle was threatened with an impeachment; when Lord North looked drowsier than usual; when Lord Chatham's gout got worse; when the Marquis of Granby left London for Germany; the premiums were proportionally raised. The trial and execution of Byng were a perfect godsend to this description of insurers; but the strongest example of the lengths to which people may be demoralised by cupidity and the spirit of gambling was afforded by the arrival of the German emigrants.

'In 1765,' says Mr. Francis, 'upwards of 800 men, women, and children, lay in Goodman's Fields in the open air, without food. They had been brought by a speculator from the Palatinate, Franconia, and Suabia, and then deserted by him. In a strange land, without friends, exposed by night and by day to the influences of the atmosphere, death was the necessary result. On the third day, when several expired from hunger or exposure, the assurance speculators were ready, and wagers were made as to the number who would die in the week. In the western part of the metropolis considerable feeling was exhibited for these unhappy creatures; in the country a charitable fervour was excited in their behalf; but indubitably the greatest interest was felt by those operators in the Alley and underwriters of Lloyd's Coffee-house, who had made contracts on their distresses, and speculated on their deaths. The benevolent spirit of England, however, soon put this speculation to an end, by providing the unfortunate Germans with food, shelter, and the means of emigration.'

It is by no means a pleasant reflection for a notability of our day that, the moment his health begins to fail, a biographical notice is got ready by each of the leading newspapers, to be let off the morning after the announcement of his decease—an event which, in their competitive eagerness, they do not always wait to verify. But it would be still more disagreeable to have one's chances of recovery quoted like the price of railway shares or consols. 'This inhuman sport,' says a well-informed writer, 'affected the minds of men depressed by long sickness; for when such persons,

sons, casting an eye over a newspaper for amusement, saw that their lives had been insured in the Alley at 90 per cent., they despaired of all hope, and thus their dissolution was hastened.'

The public opinion of the period sanctioned many modes of making money which would be indignantly repudiated by the high official personages of our day. When the first Lord Holland was amassing from the profits of a subordinate office (that of Paymaster) a fortune large enough to allow of his paying 120,000*l.* for a younger son in a single year, without lessening his expenditure, little scandal was created and no questions were asked. Still, it is startling to be quietly told that, 'of sham insurances, meaning insurances without property on the spot, made on places besieged, in time of war, foreign ministers residing with us have made considerable advantages;' and that it was a well-known fact that a certain ambassador insured 30,000*l.* on Minorca in the war of 1755, 'with advices at the same time in his pocket that it was taken.' Horace Walpole writes, 'I, t'other night at White's, found a very remarkable entry in our very remarkable wager-book. Lord — bets Sir — twenty guineas that Nash outlives Cibber. How odd that these two old creatures should live to see both their wagerers put an end to their own lives!' Another familiar instance was 'young Mr. Pigot's' bet of five hundred guineas with Lord March (afterwards Duke of Queensberry) that 'old Mr. Pigot,' his father, would die before Sir William Codrington. The dutiful son lost, but had the unblushing effrontery to contest the payment and bring the case before the Court of King's Bench, where it was decided against him.

The legislative restraint on direct gambling on lives gave a fresh impulse to the congenial trade in annuities, as the damming up of one channel simply turns the stream, whilst it continues to flow from the same abundant spring, into another. The frauds, we are assured, which now attend the loans of money to the spendthrift are nothing compared to the gigantic scale on which, under the name of annuities, they were then carried on. The consideration was rarely paid in money, and the dramatist was hardly guilty of an exaggeration when he represented a borrower as obliged to receive sundry hogsheads of treacle, a second-hand piano, ten chaldrons of coals, and a hundred tons of paving-stones. A piece of plate, belonging to a jeweller and moneylender named Salvador, obtained an historical celebrity by constantly returning, like the ring of Polycrates, to its owner. We read that into whatever transactions of the kind he entered the piece of plate was introduced; invariably valued at 600*l.* to the recipient, and as invariably bought back for 70*l.*

Such

Such were the practices which led to the Annuity Act of 1777, requiring the deed to be enrolled and the real consideration to be stated, as well as especially providing against the collusive or pretended payment of it in any shape. This Act could not and did not prevent the establishment of numerous annuity companies, which lasted just long enough to inveigle a number of unwary purchasers, and, judging from the suicidal liberality of their terms, were never meant to last longer. The eyes of the discerning portion of the public were opened to the true character of these undertakings by the celebrated Dr. Price, whose eminently successful efforts to place the entire range of transactions connected with the probabilities of life on a sound footing, may be accepted as an ample compensation for the mischief he worked as a promoter of popular discontent.

A list of all the Life Insurance Companies of England and Scotland in 1858, with the dates of their establishment, may be seen in the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' article Insurance. They are 200 in number; 185 English and 15 Scotch. Of the English, according to this list, there were established before 1762, 7; from 1763 to 1810, 11; from 1810 to 1822, 15—of these 15 two are described as Irish; from 1825 to 1835, 20; 1835 to 1845, 34; 1845 to 1850, 31; 1850 to 1855, 77.*

It is not apparent to a cursory observer why the progress was so slow prior to 1810, and so rapid since 1825, for the differences do not correspond with the increase of wealth and population at either of the resting points. The paucity of companies fifty years since was partly owing to the difficulty of obtaining a charter so long as the old-established societies were able to persuade governments that insurance business could not be conducted in a manner favourable to the national interests without a monopoly. Thus, in 1803, the Globe had a hard battle to fight against the Royal Exchange and the London Assurance, and was obliged to pay 100,000*l.* into the Treasury before their resistance was overcome. Another retarding cause was the high rate of premium exacted by all the early companies, not excepting those which were anxious to deal in a perfect spirit of good faith. Some took one set of tables, some another; but whether they used those of Breslau, Carlisle, or Northampton, it has since been made clear that the average value of life, as regards persons accepted after examination and inquiry by an insurance office, considerably exceeds any deduced or deducible from the mortality

* See also 'A Popular View of Life Assurance,' by John Hutchinson, B.A., Accountant, Glasgow, according to whom there were 117 in 1846. The Irish offices, branch or independent, cannot fall short of 100. Assurance offices are also abundant in all the principal colonies and dependencies of the British Empire.

of a town. The offices themselves have supplied the most trustworthy materials; for besides Mr. Davis's 'Tables,' containing the rate of mortality amongst the members of the Equitable, and Mr. Galloway's, based on the mortality amongst the members of the Amicable, we have the *Experience Table*, compiled from data furnished by seventeen offices in pursuance of the resolution of a public meeting in 1838.*

The celerity with which office has followed office within living memory is also owing to the extension of life assurance to contingencies seldom contemplated by those who first planned or resorted to it. The case of Godsoll and Co. against the Pelican shows that so early as 1803 it had been converted into a useful security for trade. Godsoll and Co. were Mr. Pitt's coachmakers, and when their bill exceeded 1000*l.* they insured his life. His creditors, as is well known, were paid by his grateful country, and the coachmakers received their money with the rest; but, not satisfied with one payment, they tried to exact a second from the Pelican. The claim was resisted, and the decision was in favour of the office. Insurance also is occasionally employed as a part of the machinery of marriage settlements, and the more frequent resort to it by the landed interest might rescue many an old family from being gradually impoverished and broken up.

In a pamphlet printed for private circulation, Mr. Twopeny, whose experience as a conveyancer entitles him to speak with confidence on the point, sketches the history of an estate of 10,000*l.* a-year, under the system of charges for younger children; and shows that, in the course of three generations, it will be more than half eaten up with mortgages, and probably sold. He then draws the contrasted picture of three tenants for life successively insuring their lives to the same amount for portions, and the result, of course, is that, although each of them must submit to a personal sacrifice, all but the first are benefited in point of actual income, whilst the inheritance is descending unimpaired.†

To hope to cure selfishness and improvidence by expatiating on the benefits of insurance, is like trying to catch sparrows by putting salt upon their tails. When such means are available, the object is virtually obtained. We believe, however, that many

* A valuable paper on the best mode of representing 'the duration of life by statistical returns was contributed to the 'Transactions of the Statistical Society,' by Mr. Chadwick, December 18th, 1843. Sir Henry Hallford used to say that the average duration of human life had increased a full lustrum in his time; and the Registrar-General's Returns show that it is still sufficiently on the increase to require a constant revival of the rates of insurance.

† 'Observations on the Result of the present Mode of Providing Portions for Younger Children by a Charge on Landed Estates. By William Twopeny, Esq., of the Middle Temple, Barrister,' 1854.

delay,

delay, and eventually abandon, the intention to insure on account of the embarrassing situation in which they are placed when they have to select an office. Is a proprietary, a mutual, or a mixed system the most eligible? Given the age, sex, and habits of the individual, which promises the largest and safest return at the lowest rates? What are the solid advantages of the bonus, in all its tempting varieties? Is it best to have it in money down, in the shape of a reduction of premium, or in that of an addition to the sum payable on death? Ought the division of profits to be annual, quinquennial, or decennial? Lastly, how, when the inquirer has discovered an office which exactly suits his case, is he to arrive at an unhesitating conviction of its solvency?

In the preface to his 'Actuarial Tables, Carlisle Three per Cent,' Mr. Thomson, the eminent actuary, says: 'So many tables have recently been calculated on the Carlisle observations, and so many actuaries acknowledge the soundness of that basis for life assurance and annuity calculations, that I look forward to the day when the Carlisle tables will be admitted as sufficiently accurate to justify their general adoption.' Until that day arrives, it may be as well to bear in mind that premiums calculated on those tables are lower on the younger lives, and higher on others, than when calculated on the Northampton tables. Elderly people, therefore, may be excused for avoiding offices which have adopted Mr. Thomson's standard of accuracy; and, according to Mr. Babbage, the average age of insurers is forty-six.

The theory of societies formed of or for particular classes or professions is, or ought to be, that the chances of life vary according to sex, occupation, and habits; that there are material variances between the average vitality of soldiers, sailors, clergymen, lawyers, doctors, mercantile men, married women, single women, and widows. Gideon used to say, 'Never grant annuities to old women: they wither, but they never die;' and if the proposed annuitant coughed, he would call out, 'Ay, ay, you may cough, but it sha'n't save you six months' purchase.' If his doctrine be well founded, ladies of a certain age ought to be able to insure their lives at a lower rate than any other class of the community. But no company—not even the 'Scottish Widows' Fund Society'—has been founded with exclusive reference to them; and the offices with professional designations are seldom, if ever, literally and strictly what might be inferred from the name.

Again, the duration of life varies greatly according to the place of residence. Dr. Price proved that, on an average of six years, there died in London, 1 in 20½; in Northampton, 1 in 26½; in Madeira, 1 in 50; in Liverpool, 1 in 27; in Ackworth, Yorkshire,

shire, 1 in 47. When, in 1829, the Government, inconsiderately misapplying Mr. Finlaison's tables, offered annuities on the lives of men of ninety, at the rate of 62*l.* a-year for 100*l.* down, agents were despatched by speculating capitalists—the late Marquis of Hertford being one—to discover hale nonogenarians. They were found most abundant in Westmoreland, Cumberland, and the rural districts of Scotland; where the late Mr. Philip Courtenay, M.P. and Q.C., made so successful a collection of them during the Reform Bill agitation, that a provincial paper described him as an emissary of Lord Grey's, commissioned to select recipients of the peerage, whose age would enable them to carry the measure without proving a durable incumbrance to the Upper House. It follows that a Cumberland or Westmoreland 'statesman' ought to pay a far lower premium than an inhabitant of London; and that a gentleman who would engage to remain all the rest of his days in Madeira, ought to be charged little more than half as much as a resident in Northampton or Liverpool.

More than one expedient, however, has been hit upon for favouring or protecting long-livers. Indeed, it is to be apprehended that the desire of compensating them has sometimes caused a dangerous forgetfulness of the fact, that the entire system rests upon the opposite principle of making the long-lived pay for the short-lived. If, after the lapse of a sufficient number of years to test the estimates, it is found that the rate of premium is higher than is required to meet the liabilities accruing or accrued, the surplus accumulations are distributed under the name of profits. This is a very delicate operation; and almost every office takes credit for the soundest and most liberal method of performing it. The mutual assurer or shareholder has an obvious right to a share, for he is a partner in the enterprise; and if the funds fell short, would have to contribute towards the deficiency. The primary constitution of the proprietary companies includes no such right; but they would stand little chance against their rivals, mixed or mutual, unless their terms were equally tempting. Thus, the prospectus of one of them sets forth:—

'One distinctive feature in the Standard Life Assurance Company, the operation of which has contributed in a marked degree to the great success of the Institution, is the mode pursued in the division of profits among the assured, and the directors request attention to its peculiar advantages. The divisions are made at intervals of five years, and the system is such that the greatest benefits are derived by those members whose policies are maintained for the longest period; in other words, those who pay most premiums. Persons who effect assurances as a provision for their families, or from other prudential motives, can thus
look

look forward to increasing advantages as they advance in life,—each period of division they may survive bringing additional benefits. The Company have divided profits at five periods—1835, 1840, 1845, 1850, and 1855.’

They first give examples of the application of the bonus as an addition to the sum assured; from one of which it appears that a policy opened in 1825 for 1000*l.* had received, by 1855, additions to the amount of 1152*l.*, making the sum assured 2152*l.* Then come examples of the application by the payment of the amount in cash :

‘According to this method, if the person assured does not wish the sum in his policy increased, he may surrender the bonus, and take its value in cash; that is, instead of the amount being paid with the sum assured at death, such a sum will now be given as the directors may consider equivalent to it in present value.

‘In the case of a policy of 1000*l.* opened before 15th November, 1825; for instance, assuming the party to have assured at the age of 35, and to have attained the age of 65 last birthday, the sum of 665*l.* 15*s.* 2*d.* would be given for a surrender of the bonus of 1152*l.*, while the policy will continue to receive its share of profits, at future investigations, as if the surrender had not taken place.’

The following are additional illustrations addressed to the meanest capacity :—

‘A policy was opened with the Company in 1826 for 2000*l.* on a life then aged 45. The policy has received additions to the extent of 2190*l.*; but the party wishes to get quit of his annual payments, by giving up a portion of his bonus additions; on what terms can he do so? He pays an annual premium of 74*l.* 15*s.*, and by surrendering 671*l.* 18*s.* 2*d.* of his bonus he will get quit of all future payments, have an addition of 1518*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.* to his policy, and will continue to receive further additions at each investigation he may survive.

‘A person aged 40, who assured in 1830 for 1000*l.*, has received bonus additions to the extent of 867*l.* He pays a premium of 32*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.*, but wishes to apply the bonus in extinction of the annual payment. He can redeem his future premiums by surrendering 502*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.* of his bonus, leaving 364*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.* to be paid along with the sum assured at death, and will receive further additions at each investigation he may survive.

‘A person aged 55 opened a policy in 1840 for 500*l.*, at an annual premium of 26*l.* 14*s.* 7*d.* The bonus additions to this policy, amounting to 173*l.* 10*s.*, if surrendered to the Company, will reduce the premium by 15*l.* 0*s.* 9*d.* annually for life, making the future annual payments 11*l.* 13*s.* 10*d.*’

The accumulated fund of The Standard exceeds a million and a half. The Rock, another first class proprietary company, established in 1806, which boasts of a large and increasing fund of
upwards

upwards of three millions sterling invested in real and government securities, promises similar advantages.

'As evidence of the great advantages afforded to assurers in this office, the directors select an instance of a 500*l.* policy, effected in 1806, upon which 585*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* had been paid for premiums. The several bonuses made to this policy, payable on its becoming a claim, amounted in 1847 to 641*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.*, for the redemption of which bonus the assurer received 465*l.* 2*s.* 7*d.* in cash, and then, wishing to extinguish all further premiums on the policy, paid to the Company 88*l.* 0*s.* 6*d.* in lieu thereof, thereby realising a present gain of 377*l.* 2*s.* 1*d.*, without prejudice to any future bonus; the further addition made in 1854 was 156*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

'The profits are divided, as stated above, every seventh year; two-thirds being appropriated to the policies for the term of life, payable without interest at the death of the assured; and the remaining third being added to the subscription capital stock of the proprietors, who are alone responsible for any loss the Company may incur,—no liability attaching to such of the assured as are not proprietors, notwithstanding that they partake so largely of the profits.'

The alternative is almost always given of paying a sum down, of paying a proportionally higher premium for a limited number of years, or of paying a lower rate upon an understanding that the insurer is not to share in the surplus proceeds or profit. He may, therefore, easily suit himself, whether his present income be an increasing or a decreasing one, whether he prefer a known sacrifice and no risk, or a chance of future repayment dashed by a trifling admixture of uncertainty.

It would be beyond our province if we were to recommend one office as more trustworthy than another. But we may venture to throw out a hint or two for the guidance of the unsophisticated; and especially we should advise them to make thorough inquiry into the characters and circumstances of the directors of any young society before dealing with it; besides satisfying themselves of the accuracy of the calculations on which its prospectus, if more than ordinarily flattering or magniloquent, is reported to be based. 'The fact,' remarks the writer in the *'Encyclopædia Britannica,'* 'that within the last twelve years 513 offices have been projected, and 228 founded, does not give us much primary confidence in the soundness, speaking generally, of anything new in the way of assurance. Most of the failures seem to have been caused entirely by reckless extravagance in the management.' By 'reckless extravagance in the management' the writer probably means, that new offices commonly begin by outbidding the old offices. Thus, in 1825, it was announced on behalf of one office, that every feature of its plan was marked by 'a decided contempt for all the petty advantages which swell the profits of other offices.' A second
offered

offered to insure at ten per cent., and a third at twenty per cent., less than any of its predecessors in the field. Few of these lasted long; but it will be remembered that it may take fifty years to demonstrate the illusory nature of a scheme, and an insurance office, therefore, can hardly lay claim to the respectability of age until it has survived a generation. That it may have stood this test and yet be shaken by careless or undue confidence, is proved by the extraordinary case of Walter Watt, tried at the Central Criminal Court in May, 1850. He was a clerk in the employment of the *Globe*, at 200*l.* a year salary. His position gave him access to the cheque-book and pass-book; and it was also a part of his duty to tie up the returned cheques in a bundle. By boldly and dexterously availing himself of his opportunities, he contrived to plunder the company to an amount that sounds fabulous. It is estimated by Mr. Evans, the author of '*Facts, Failures, and Frauds*,' at 700,000*l.*—and considering Watt's style of living, his theatrical speculations, and his losses on the turf, during a series of years, we can readily believe that his embezzlements might eventually have imperilled the solidity of even the great *Globe* itself. That no suspicion fell upon him from his becoming the proprietor of two theatres, from his establishments and equipages, or from his expensive associates amongst the least reputable portion of the gay world, is utterly inexplicable.

All the old-established offices pride themselves on their liberality; which, indeed, like honesty, is their best policy. They profess never to stand upon forms or technicalities; and they have seldom of late years contested a claim without grounds of suspicion amounting almost to moral certainty. Whenever they have acted on the opposite principle, they have generally found juries steadily opposed to them, as in a well-known case against the Westminster, in which the strenuous exertions of Lord Kenyon failed to procure a verdict for the company. In a more recent case, the Imperial resisted the claim of a Mr. Scott's representatives, and persevered until three adverse verdicts had been given against the office. The courts of justice have laid down, that fraudulent concealment may consist not merely in omitting to answer every specific question fairly, but in the suppression of any material circumstance peculiar to the individual whose life is the subject of the policy. Thus, a policy on the life of the Duke of Saxe Gotha was declared void on the ground that the general debility of His Serene Highness had not been communicated to the insurers. Independently of this train of decisions, the ordinary terms render the validity of the contract conditional

conditional on the truth of the preliminary declaration in every detail ; so that what Lord Eldon said of Acts of Parliament, that there were few through which an astute lawyer could not drive a coach and four, might be predicted, with equal confidence, of policies. The resulting feeling of distrust led to the establishment of the Indisputable in 1848 ; the projectors of which rightly judged that they could incur slight risk of loss by binding themselves to do what was voluntarily done already by the most prosperous of their predecessors. A company called 'The Medical, Invalid, and General,' has also been started under fair auspices, with a scheme based upon the doctrine, first maintained by Graunt, that the effect of most maladies in shortening life may be reduced to an average. Then we have the 'Accidental Death' and the 'Railway Passengers' Assurance Companies. Nay, astounding fact, there is even a 'Society for Assurance against Purgatory,' which, for threepence per week, undertakes to have the required number of masses duly celebrated after the decease of the contributor.

The growing facilities for foreign travel, and the migratory habits of Englishmen, have compelled the offices to relax the prescriptive condition rendering void the policy in the case of departure from these realms. The terms of the Rock may be taken as a specimen :—

'Persons whose lives are assured in this office (not being seafaring persons by occupation) may go by sea, during peace, direct from any part of Europe, to any other part of Europe, or during war from any part of Europe to any other part of Europe where there may be no danger by reason of hostilities, or may proceed to or from Europe by steam-vessels, to or from any part of America, north of Washington (the capital of the United States), and east of the Mississippi river, and reside in the above-named places, unless there be danger by reason of hostilities.'

There is an awkward vagueness in the proviso, 'unless there be danger by reason of hostilities,' which would be a question for a jury ; and we have heard of a member of the Yacht Club who, for fear of invalidating his policy by going beyond Europe, when his vessel struck on a rock off the African coast, clung to her till she sank. It might be a question whether he did not thus bring himself within the proviso against suicide, which runs thus :—

'Assurances made by persons on their own lives, who shall die by duelling, or by their own hands, or by the hands of justice, become void so far as respects such persons ; but remain in force so far as any other person or persons shall then have a *bona-fide* interest therein, acquired by assignment, or by legal or equitable lien, upon due proof
of

of the extent of such interest being made to the satisfaction of the directors.'

The Atlas goes a step further, and promises to be generous on an emergency:—

'Assurances made by persons on their own lives will be void if they die by the hands of justice, by duelling, or by their own act, whether sane or insane: but should the families of such persons be left in distress and poverty, the directors, in their discretion, will make such allowance, in respect of the policies of the deceased, as they may deem just and reasonable; or should a policy have been assigned or deposited as a security for money due, and have been in force for five years, then the Company will hold itself liable for a sum not exceeding the amount advanced, and interest due thereon at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum.'

Mr. Francis says that there was once a company which altogether omitted the suicide clause, and that a man, after opening a policy with it, invited the directors to dinner with a numerous party. When the cloth was removed, he rose and said: 'Gentlemen, it is fit you should be acquainted with the company. These honest men are tradesmen to whom I was in debt, without any means of payment but by your assistance; and now I am your humble servant.' He pulled out a pistol, and shot himself. If the omission of the clause attracted many customers of this sort, no wonder it has been restored or retained.

The 'Volunteer Rifle Corps' have excited serious apprehensions in the unwarlike portion of the community; and large odds have been offered that the members will hit more English than French within the next twelvemonth. But by insuring in the Sun they may fearlessly encounter the terrors of the practising-ground:—

'*Military Risk.*—Persons whose lives are assured in this office are assured against all risks they may be exposed to while engaged in the militia or in any yeomanry or volunteer corps acting within the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, without extra premium.'

To declare all policies indisputable from the day of execution, or to waive all restrictions on travelling or residence, might do harm in a moral and social sense by encouraging fraud. We prefer the middle course adopted by many offices, of specifying a probationary period—commonly five years—after which policies shall be deemed indisputable and the insured may travel or reside where they like.

The gullibility of mankind seems boundless and inexhaustible. When joint-stock banks were offering nine or ten per cent. for deposits, it was useless to dwell upon the Duke of Wellington's sage axiom, that exorbitant interest is only another name for bad security. When showy commodities are offered at

ridiculously small prices, it is vainer still to prove that they could not be profitably sold for double the money unless they were stolen. There will be always, as Mr. De Morgan remarks, gentlemen eager to walk in the brightest of boots to the cheapest of assurance offices. But we trust we have said enough to put even them upon their guard; and we are not without hope that science and enterprise, with perhaps a little opportune aid from the legislature, may eventually succeed in placing on a sound basis, not admitting of illusion or deceit, a system so admirably calculated to advance both private happiness and national prosperity.

ART. III.—*Popular Music of the Olden Times; a Collection of Ancient Songs, Ballads and Dance Tunes, illustrative of the National Music of England.* By W. Chappell, F.S.A. London, 1859.

TO persons who judge social phenomena by standards taken within the limits of their own actual experience, the taste for music that is so conspicuous in modern England seems a remarkable novelty, not altogether compatible with the national character. Scarcely thirty years have elapsed since the normal John Bull was supposed to entertain a manly abhorrence against the sing-song that delighted more frivolous foreigners, and the present generation has not yet forgotten the animadversions of the Chesterfields and Stevenses, who encouraged, in fashionable and literary circles, the want of sympathy with sweet sounds, already to be found in the multitude. But now music is the rage everywhere,—if, indeed, the word ‘rage’ can be applied to a steady predilection, which extends over all classes of the British public, and gives no signs of evanescence. Two opera-houses, and sometimes three, compete with each other for the patronage of those persons who love the dramatic form of the art; nor does the employment of the Italian language diminish the enjoyment of a large mass who would consider themselves very respectable scholars if they possessed a grammatical knowledge of their own tongue. The epicure, who seeks those delicacies less appreciated by the *profanum vulgus*, finds a series of *soirées* and *matinées* sufficient to occupy his mind with instrumental music of the most *recherché* kind for at least three months in every year. The lover of sacred music is content to pass three summer hours in a large uncomfortable room, as one of a dense crowd that listens to an Oratorio by Handel or by Mendelssohn. The humblest connoisseur who frequents music-halls, where smoking and drinking season the pleasure afforded by song, would not be content unless
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some specimen of a higher class of composition varied the ordinary Irish air and Nigger melody. Nor are people content to be hearers only; they want to play themselves and to sing themselves, after another fashion than that of their fathers, who loved what was called a 'good song' with a lusty chorus, after the now obsolete supper. The fashionable young gentlemen, who lounge and simper about drawing-rooms in the London season, are commonly proficient in more than one musical instrument, and often make a respectable figure in part-singing. The masses that constantly flock to receive instruction in the classes of Mr. John Hullah, prove how deeply a desire to become accomplished in music has penetrated the less opulent portion of the community. Music is at present the art that, *par excellence*, is loved and respected by all conditions of Englishmen; and though, of course, the love is in some cases affected, such affectation is only analogous to the proverbial homage paid by vice to virtue in the shape of hypocrisy.

All this looks very odd to people who fancy that the English character is to be tested by the evidence of the last seventy years; but the antiquary, who carries his glance further back, is perfectly aware that the phenomenon, far from being a modern innovation, is the revival of a musical taste that existed in this country for centuries without interruption, and that the anti-musical tendencies which were so highly developed in the last century simply denoted an exceptional state of the British mind. As well might the Frenchman, born during the prevalence of the Revolutionary Calendar, regard the substitution of '1805' for 'XIV,' and the transformation of the 10th Nivose into the 31st of December, as the introduction of an unheard-of novelty, as the Briton express astonishment at the passion for music manifested in his native island about the middle of the nineteenth century.

The very valuable and copious addition which Mr. W. Chapell has made to the history of popular music—and, we may add, of popular lyrical poetry—in England, expands into a bulky chronicle of facts the simple proposition that this is naturally the most musical of lands. We cannot go back far enough to ascertain when the English love of music began; we must come down to a very modern period before we find it in a lukewarm state.

As for the Welsh, they have notoriously gone harping on from time immemorial, and they have their harp-contests still. So different were the notions of the ancient Cambrian legislators from those of Lord Chesterfield, who allowed his son to pay for fiddlers, provided he did not fiddle himself, that, by the *Leges Wallicæ*, the possession of a harp and ability to play on it belonged

belonged to the essential attributes of a gentleman. He who was not a gentleman could not own a harp, as he would thus have been unduly exalted; he who was a gentleman, could not be deprived of the instrument on account of debt, as he would thus have been unduly degraded.

Among the Anglo-Saxons, the connexion between the harp and the pedigree was equally close. The poet Cædmon, being of lowly origin, was unable to play the noble instrument. On one occasion, when in high company, he was expected to take his turn and accompany his song with tuneful strings; he left the feast, and going out, went home. So says the Venerable Bede:—*‘Surgebat e mediâ cænâ, et egressus ad suam domum repedabat.’* But this cold narrative of the fact did not satisfy King Alfred, who, in his Saxon paraphrase of ‘Bede,’ states the poet’s feelings as well as his retreat. *‘Aras he for sceome’* (he rose for shame), said the royal translator, himself a perfect musician for his age.

But we have no need of more anecdotes to show the proficiency of the Anglo-Saxons, as Mr. Chappell’s well-attested account of Aldhelm, Abbot of Malmesbury, who died in 709, will amply prove:—

‘The first specimen of musical notation given by the learned Abbot Gerbert, in his *De Cantu et Musica Sacra, a prima ecclesiæ ætate* (i. 202), is to a poem by St. Aldhelm, in Latin hexameters, in praise of virginity. This was written for the use of Anglo-Saxon nuns. The manuscript from which it is taken is, or was, in the monastery of St. Blaise, in the Black Forest, and Gerbert dates it as of the ninth or tenth century. It contains various poems of St. Aldhelm, all of which are with music, and the *Paschale Carmen* of Sedulius, one of the early Irish Christians, which is without music. Many very early English and Irish manuscripts were, without doubt, taken to Germany by the English and Irish priests, who assisted in converting the Germans to Christianity. St. Boniface, “the apostle of Germany,” and first Archbishop of Mentz (Mayence), who was killed in the discharge of his duties in the year 755, was an Anglo-Saxon whose name had been changed from Winfred to Boniface by Pope Gregory II. “Boniface seems always to have had a strong prejudice in favour of the purity of the doctrines of the church of his native country, as they had been handed down by St. Augustine: in points of controversy he sought the opinions of the Anglo-Saxon bishops, even in opposition to those inculcated by the pope; and he sent for multitudes of Anglo-Saxons, of both sexes, to assist him in his labours.” (*Biog. Brit. Lit.*, i. 315.) He placed English nuns over his monastic foundations, and selected his bishops and abbots from among his countrymen. His successor in the Archbishoprick was also an Englishman. To revert to St. Aldhelm—Faricius (a foreign monk of Malmesbury), who wrote his life about the year 1100, tells us that he exercised himself daily in playing upon the various musical instruments then in use, whether with strings, pipes, or any other variety by which melody

melody could be produced. The words are, "Musicæ autem artis omnia instrumenta quæ fidibus vel fistulis aut aliis varietatibus melodiarum fieri possunt, et memoria tenuit et in cotidiano usui habuit." (*Faricius*, Col. 140, vo.) The anecdote of Aldhelm's stationing himself on the bridge in the character of a glee-man or minstrel, to arrest the attention of his countrymen who were in the habit of hurrying home from church when the singing was over, instead of waiting for the exhortation, or sermon; and of his singing poetry of a popular character to them in order to induce them gradually to listen to more serious subjects,—was derived by William of Malmsbury from an entry made by King Alfred in his manual or note-book. Aldhelm died in 705, and King Alfred in 901—yet William of Malmsbury, who flourished about 1140, tells us that one of the "trivial songs" to which Alfred alludes as written by Aldhelm for one of these occasions, was still sung by the common people.* The literary education of youth, even of the upper classes, in Anglo-Saxon times, was limited to the being taught to commit the songs and literature of their country to memory. Every one of gentle blood was instructed in "harp and song," but it was only thought necessary for those who were to be priests or minstrels to be taught to read and write.

Nor were the Danes a whit behind the Saxons. About sixty years after Alfred's well-known visit to the Danish camp, Anlaf, king of the Danes, retaliated the stratagem on King Athelstan, and, though he was discovered in spite of his disguise, this was not on account of any musical short-comings, but through the very unprofessional circumstance that he buried the money which had been given him as a reward. The Norman, Taillefer, who marched in front of the army at the battle of Hastings, gained for himself a broad renown; but the fact is not to be overlooked, that on the evidence of Fordun, the English spent the night before the battle in singing and drinking.

Under the kings who immediately followed the Norman Conquest minstrelsy flourished much—so much, indeed, that the more rigid monks began to be jealous of the honours lavished upon the professors of the seemingly frivolous science. Henry II. and still more notoriously Richard I. were patrons of

* "Nativæ quoque linguæ non negligebat carmina; adeo ut, teste libro Elfredi de quo superius dixi, nulla unquam ætate par ei fuit quispiam, poesim Anglicam posse facere, tantum componere, eadem apposite vel canere vel dicere. Denique commemorat Elfridus carmen triviale, quod adhuc vulgo cantatur, Aldhelmus fecisse; adjiciens causam qua probat rationabiliter tantum virum his quæ videntur frivola instituisse: populum eo tempore semi-barbarum, parum divinis sermonibus intentum, statim cantatis missis domos cursitare solitum; ideoque sanctum virum super pontem qui rura et urbem continuat, abeuntibus se opposuisse obicem, quasi artem cantandi professum. Eo plus quam hoc commento, sensim inter ludicra verbis scripturarum insertis, cives ad sanitatem reduxisse; qui si severe et cum excommunicatione agendum putasset, profecte profecisset nihil." — *Biog. Brit. Lit.*, i. 215.

the kindred arts, poetry and music, and in the reign of John one party of minstrels did such good service, that their posterity retained an honourable name long after minstrelsy in general, fallen from its high estate, had degenerated into a calling for the lowest vagabonds. Ranulph, Earl of Chester, being besieged in his castle of Rothlan, in the year 1212, sent for help to De Lacy, constable of Chester, who making use of the minstrels assembled at Chester fair, brought together a vast number of persons, who under the conduct of a gallant youth, named Dutton, so completely terrified the Welsh besiegers, that the siege was speedily raised. As far down as the reign of Elizabeth, this Timotheus-like use of music was held in such honourable remembrance, that when minstrelsy was treated by legislators as a vulgar nuisance, only fit to be put down, an exception was made in favour of the Dutton family.

Although the very doubtful tradition that Edward I. extirpated the Welsh bards, and drew down upon his head the imprecations of the wordy old gentleman immortalized by Gray, places him in no favourable relation to the harper's profession, one of the most satisfactory records on the subject of old English minstrelsy refers to an event that occurred during his reign. This is a roll (printed for the Roxburghe club), containing the names of those who attended the *Cour plenièrre* held by the king at Westminster, and at the New Temple in the Whitsuntide of 1306. The six chiefs of the minstrels who figured on this occasion were all, like the magnates of the Herald's College, 'kings' though by no means equal to each other in rank, for whereas four of them received an amount equal to about 50*l.* of the present day, the sixth, 'Le Roy Druet,' was obliged to be content with a pittance of 2*l.* As the importance of minstrels increased, not only did these gifted persons abuse their high privileges, but impostors started up, hoping to share the bounty bestowed upon authorized talent. Both the realities and the 'shams' were restrained by a royal decree of 1315, by which it was ordered that none should resort to the houses of prelates, earls, and barons, unless he was a minstrel, and that even of the suitable professors there should not come above three or four minstrels at the most in one day, 'unless he be desired of the master of the house.' The three or four, we may presume, had a right to play and to feast, whether invited or not, and this privilege seems to have descended, with modifications, to the organ-boys and artists on the hurdy-gurdy, who cause so much indignant letter-writing on the part of newspaper correspondents.

The glory of the minstrel presupposed a predilection for one kind of poetry and music among gentle and simple ; consequently

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as poetry became learned and music became recondite, the ancient craftsman fell into rapid disrepute. Richard Sheale, one of the last of the race, who died in 1574, could not make people believe that he had been robbed of sixty pounds, on Dunsmore-heath. The 'chant' in which he describes this calamity, and which may almost be called the 'Lay of the Last Minstrel,' will show how far less profitable was poetry than retail commerce :

' After my robbery my memory was so decay'd
That I could neither sing, nor talk, my wits were so dismay'd.
My audacity was gone, and all my merry talk,
There are some here have seen me as merry as a hawk ;
But now I am so troubled with fancies in my mind,
I cannot play the merry knave, according to my kind,
Yet to take thought, I perceive, is not the next way
To bring me out of debt,—my creditors to pay.
I may well say that I had but evil hap
For to lose about threescore pounds at a clap.
The loss of my money did not grieve me so sore,
But the talk of the people did grieve me much more.
Some said I was not robb'd, I was but a lying knave,
It was not possible for a Minstrel so much money to have.
Indeed, to say the truth, it is right well known
That I never had so much money of my own,
But I had friends in London, whose names I can declare,
That at all times would lend me two hundred pounds of ware,
And with some again such friendship I found,
That they would lend me in money nine or ten pound.
The occasion why I came in debt I shall make relation—
My wife, indeed, is a silk-woman, by her occupation ;
In linen cloths, most chiefly, was her greatest trade,
And at fairs and markets she sold sale-ware that she made,
As shirts, smocks, and partlets, head-clothes, and other things,
As silk thread and edgings, skirts, bands, and strings.
At Lichfield market, and Atherston, good customers she found,
Also at Tamworth, where I dwell, she took many a pound.
When I had got my money together, my debts to have paid,
This sad mischance on me did fall, that cannot be deny'd ; [denied]
I thought to have paid all my debts and to have set me clear,
And then what evil did ensue, ye shall hereafter hear ;
Because my carriage should be light I put my money into gold,
And without company I rode alone—thus was I foolish bold ;
I thought by reason of my harp no man would me suspect,
For Minstrels oft with money, they be not much infect.'

The numbers of poor Sheale are not very melodious, but he bears an honourable name, as the reputed preserver of 'Chevy Chace.'

At the time when the minstrels, who had delighted crowned heads

heads and courts, were degraded into 'rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars,' the proficiency of the English in music was a theme of universal commendation. *Britanni, præter alia, formam, musicam et lautas mensas proprie sibi vindicent*, says Erasmus, in his 'Encomium Moriæ.' Singing at sight was a common accomplishment among the courtiers of Henry VIII., who was himself a musical composer. He even patronised ballads and songs of the popular kind in the early part of his reign, though when they were used as weapons against the Reformation, he did all he could to suppress them. It is to an Act of 1583 against 'such books, ballads, rhymes, and songs, as be pestiferous and noisome,' that Mr. Chappell partly attributes the fact, that *printed* ballads of an early date are not now to be found.

When Queen Elizabeth ascended the throne the musical taste of our ancestors reached its culminating point, nor was it in any way diminished during the whole of her long reign. At the beginning of the present century, when the connoisseurs of music had to make out for themselves a case against the disciples of the prosaic wits who guided the preceding generation, they were wont to heap up innumerable citations from Shakspeare, to show that there was a high authority on their side; but in point of fact Shakspeare uttered no more than the general sentiment of his age, and the grave corporation of London was advertising the musical abilities of boys educated in Bridewell and Christ's Hospital, by way of recommending them as servants and apprentices, while the Bard of Avon was expressing his abhorrence of all who were not 'mov'd with concord of sweet sounds.' 'Never trust a tailor that does not sing at his work, for his mind is of nothing but filching,' says an old fellow in one of Beaumont and Fletcher's plays, and Tusser, in his 'Points of Huswifry,' published in 1570, says for the benefit of country matrons—

'Such servants are oftenest painfull (*i. e.* painstaking) and good,
That sing in their labour, as birds in the wood.'

But the moral obligation of learning music is most clearly set forth by Byrd, in his collection of Psalms and Sonnets, dated 1588:—

1st. 'It is a knowledge easily taught, and quickly learned, where there is a good master and an apt scholar.'

2nd. 'The exercise of singing is delightful to nature, and good to preserve the health of man.'

3rd. 'It doth strengthen all parts of the breast, and doth open the pipes.'

4th. 'It is a singular good remedy for a stutting and stammering in the speech.'

5th.

5th. 'It is the best means to procure a perfect pronunciation, and to make a good orator.'

6th. 'It is the only way to know where nature hath bestowed a good voice; . . . and in many that excellent gift is lost, because they want art to express nature.'

7th. 'There is not any music of instruments whatsoever, comparable to that which is made of the voices of men; where the voices are good, and the same well sorted and ordered.'

8th. 'The better the voice is, the meeter it is to honour and serve God therewith; and the voice of man is chiefly to be employed to that end.'

'Since singing is so good a thing,
I wish all men would learn to sing.'

The extent to which the very air of London was impregnated with melody and harmony in the Elizabethan epoch is thus vivaciously described by Mr. Chappell:—

'Tinkers sang catches, milkmaids sang ballads, carters whistled; each trade, and even the beggars, had their special songs; the bass viol hung in the drawing-room for the amusement of waiting visitors; and the lute, cittern [a species of guitar strung with wire], and virginals for the amusement of waiting customers, were the necessary furniture of the barber's shop.'

The barber, however, must not be dropped at once. He was as important in London, during the reign of Elizabeth, as he was at Bagdad under the 'Commander of the Faithful,' and we therefore extract Mr. Chappell's account of his connexion with popular music:—

'One branch of the barber's occupation in former days was to draw teeth, to bind up wounds, and to let blood. The parti-coloured pole, which was exhibited at the doorway, painted after the fashion of a bandage, was his sign, and the teeth he had drawn were suspended at the windows, tied upon lute strings. The lute, the cittern, and the gittern hung from the walls, and the virginals stood in the corner of his shop. "If idle," says the author of 'The Trimming of Thomas Nashe,' "barbers pass their time in life-delighting musique" (1597). The barber in Lyly's 'Midas' (1592) says to his apprentice, "Thou knowest I have taught thee the knocking of the hands, like the tuning of a cittern," and Truewit, in Ben Jonson's 'Silent Woman,' wishes the barber "may draw his own teeth, and add them to the lute-string." In the same play, Morose, who had married the barber's daughter, thinking her faithless, exclaims "That cursed barber! I have married his cittern, that is common to all men." One of the commentators not understanding this, altered it to "I have married his cistern," &c. Dekker also speaks of "a barber's cittern for every serving-man to play upon." One of the 'Merrie-conceited jests of George Peele' is the stealing of a barber's lute, and in Lord Falkland's 'Wedding Night,' we read, "he has travelled and speaks languages, as a barber's boy plays o'th' gittern." Ben Jonson says, "I can compare him to nothing more

more happily than a barber's virginals; for every man may play upon him, and in 'The Staple of News,' "My barber Tom, one Christmas, got into a Masque at court, by his wit and the good means of his cittern, holding up thus for one of the music." To the latter passage Gifford adds another in a note. "For you know, says Tom Brown, that a cittern is as natural to a barber, as milk to a calf, or dancing bears to a bagpiper."

The music that occupied these various amateurs was naturally of a popular kind; for, in the scholastic compositions of the age, harmony alone was considered, and that of a recondite kind that did not appeal to the uncultivated—we may almost say—the unsophisticated ear.

While the music of the learned shrank from all contact with that of the people, the literary poets carefully avoided all similitude to the ballad-writers, whom they regarded with an uneasiness similar to that experienced by Wilhelm Meister, when, having embraced the profession of an actor, he watched the evolutions of a party of low acrobats in the street, and could not help the unpleasant thought that they were a sort of fellow-craftsmen after all. The most celebrated poets of the people in the days of Queen Elizabeth were Elderton and Deloney; and the representatives of the old minstrels were blind harpers and fiddlers, who sang words composed by others, and made themselves useful by playing dances. Both Elderton and Deloney were famed imbibers of ale; the former is thus described in a MS. poem possessed by Mr. J. P. Collier:—

'Will. Elderton's red nose is famous everywhere,
And many a ballet shows it cost him very dear;
In ale, and toast, and spice, he spent good store of coin,
You need not ask him twice to take a cup of wine.
But though his nose was red, his hand was very white,
In work it never sped, nor took in it delight;
No marvel therefore 'tis, that white should be his hand,
That ballets writ a score, as you well understand.'

Of Deloney, Nashe says:—

'He hath rhyme enough for all miracles, and wit to make a *Garland of Good Will*, &c., but whereas his muse, from the first peeping forth, hath stood at livery at an ale-house wisp, never exceeding a penny a quart, day or night—and this dear year, together with the silencing of his looms, scarce that—he is constrained to betake himself to carded ale' (i. e., ale mixed with small beer) 'whence it proceedeth that since Candlemas, or his jig of *John for the king*, not one merry ditty will come from him; nothing but *The Thunderbolt against swearers*, *Repent, England, repent*, and the *Strange Judgments of God*.'

The literary poets were not content merely to shun the ballad-writer's

writer's art and to avoid his metre,—they pursued him with acrimonious censure, reviled his habit of life, ridiculed the expedients by which he sought to make his line fit the melody. The termination 'a,' that has now long sunk into disuse, but of which there is still a monument on the stage in the shape of Autolycus's song,—

'Jog on, jog on the footpath way,
And merrily hent the stile-a,'

—was regarded with especial abomination.

'If I let passe the un-countable rabble of ryming ballet-mongers, and compylers of sencelesse sonets (who be most busy to stuff every stall full of grosse devises and unlearned pamphlets), I trust I shall with the best sort be held excused. For though many such can frame an ale-house song of five or six score verses, hobbling uppon some tune of a *Northern Jugge*, or *Robyn Hode*, or *La Lulba*, &c., and perhappes observe just number of sillables, eight in one line, sixe in an other, and therewithall an "a" to make a jercke in the end: yet if these might be accounted poets (as it is sayde some of them make meanes to be promoted to the lawrell), surely we shall shortly have whole swarmes of poets; and many are that can frame a booke in ryme, though, for want of matter, it be but in commendations of coffee-rooms or bottle ale, wyll catch at the garlande due to poets, whose *potticall* (poeticall I should say) heades I would wyshe, at their worshipfull commencement, might, in steede of lawrell, be gorgeously garnished with fayre greene barley, in token of their good affection to our Englishe malt.'

So spoke William Webbe, in 'A Discourse of English Poetrie,' dated 1586; but the songsters who used the objectionable appendage could write with ease and liveliness, as may be proved by these stanzas from a popular song of the seventeenth century, written by Martin Parker, and sung to the tune that is now associated with the far-famed 'Sally in our Alley':—

'Although I am a country lass,
A lofty mind I bear-a,
I think myself as good as those
That gay apparel wear-a:
My coat is made of comely gray,
Yet is my skin as soft-a
As those that with the choicest wines
Do bathe their bodies oft-a.
What though I keep my father's sheep,
A thing that must be done-a,
A garland of the fairest flow'rs
Shall shield me from the sun-a:
And when I see them feeding by,
Where grass and flowers spring-a,
Close by a crystal fountain-side,
I sit me down and sing-a.'

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Though the musical taste of the people in Queen Elizabeth's time was distinct from that of the erudite composers and their patrons, it was equally remote from the mere love of boisterous noise which characterises the so-called 'harmonic meetings' of the humbler classes of our own days. Tinkers, tailors, smiths, colliers, not only were known to sing in parts, but their talent in this respect is the subject of frequent allusion in the works of our old dramatists. Nay, Deloney, who wrote a history of the 'gentle craft,' mentions an unlucky wight who tried to pass for a shoemaker, but was detected as an impostor because he could neither 'sing, sound the trumpet, play upon the flute, nor reckon up his tools in rhyme.'

The nonsensical words which often terminate the verses of our comic songs, and which are sung in unison with so much delight by a jovial company of the lower class as the solo vocalist arrives at the successive stages of his narrative, are the disreputable relics of a primitive harmony. The burden in early English songs was not a mere supplement, but was sung throughout as a base or undersong, and the singer of this part was said to 'bear the burden,' the word itself being a corruption of the Norman word 'bourdon,' denoting a 'drone-base.' In 'Sumer is i cumen in,' which is considered by Mr. Chappell to be the earliest secular composition in parts known to exist in any country, and is assigned by him to the middle of the 13th century, we have one of the plainest examples of the burden properly so called. The words of the song, as originally written and modernized, are as follows:—

'Sumer is iumen in,
Lhude sing, Cuccu!
Groweth sed, and bloweth med.
And springth the wde nu.
Sing Cuccu!
Awe bleteth after lomb,
Lhouth after calve cu;
Bulluc sterteth, bucke verteth.
Murie sing Cuccu!
Cuccu! Cuccu!
Well singes thu Cuccu,
Ne swik thu naver nu.'

'Summer is come in,
Loud sing, Cuckoo!
Groweth seed, and bloweth mead,
And spring'th the wood new.
Sing, Cuccu!
Ewe bleateth after lamb,
Loweth after calf cow,
Bullock starteth, buck verteth,*
Merry sing, Cuckoo!
Cuckoo! Cuckoo!
Well sing'st thou, Cuckoo!
Nor cease thou never now.'

During the whole progress of this song, the words 'Sing, Cuccu, nu! sing, Cuccu!' were sung by two voices as a base or burden. Sometimes a proverbial expression—as 'Tis merry in hall, when beards wag all'—served as text to the burden; sometimes unmeaning syllables, assembled together for no other apparent purpose than that of tickling the ear, as 'Hey, nonny, nonny no!' or 'Hey, down, down, derry down!' Of this more

* Frequents the green fern.

illustrious nonsense the 'Tol de rol' and 'Fol de riddle' of modern times are the inglorious progeny, while the burden itself now begins at the end of the verse, instead of being sung as an accompaniment. Harmony, indeed, once belonged to the distinctive characteristics of our island. 'The Britons,' says Giraldus Cambrensis, who wrote towards the end of the 12th century, 'do not sing their tunes in unison, like the inhabitants of other countries, but in different parts,' and he embraces in his commendation the northern English. When Thomas à Becket went to Paris to negotiate the marriage of the English prince with the daughter of King Louis, he entered the French towns preceded by two hundred and fifty boys on foot, in groups of six, ten or more together, singing English songs, according to the custom of their country. So says the saint's biographer, Fitz Stephen. But we obtain a still more striking proof of the early proficiency of our countrymen in part-singing from an *Animadversion* on the Church music, written in Latin by Aelredus, Abbot of Rivaulx in Yorkshire, who died in 1188, and translated by Prynne into the following nervous English:—

'Let me speake now of those who, under the shew of religion, doe obballiate the businesse of pleasure: who usurpe those things for the service of their vanity, which the ancient Fathers did profitably exercise in their types of future things. Whence then, I pray, all types and figures now ceasing, whence hath the Church so many Organs and Musicall Instruments? To what purpose, I demand, is that terrible blowing of Belloes, expressing rather the crackes of thunder, than the sweetnesse of a voyce? To what purpose serves that contraction and inflection of the voyce? This man sings a base, this a small meane, another a treble, a fourth divides and cuts asunder, as it were, certaine middle notes. One while the voyce is strained, anon it is remitted, now againe it is dashed, and then againe it is enlarged with a lowder sound. Sometimes, which is a shame to speake, it is enforced into an horse's neighings; sometimes, the masculine vigor being laid aside, it is sharpened into the shrilnesse of a woman's voyce; now and then it is writhed, and retorted with a certaine artificiall circumvolution. Sometimes thou mayst see a man with an open mouth, not to sing, but, as it were, to breath out his last gaspe, by shutting in his breath, and by a certaine ridiculous interception of his voyce, as it were to threaten silence, and now againe to imitate the agonies of a dying man, or the extasies of such as suffer. In the mean time, the whole body is stirred up and downe with certaine histrionical gestures: the lips are wreathed, the eyes turne round, the shoulders play, and the bending of the fingers doth answer every note. And this ridiculous dissolution is called religion; and where these things are most frequently done, it is proclaimed abroad that God is there more honourably served. In the meane time, the common people standing by, trembling and astonished, admire the sound of the Organs, the noyse of the Cymbals and musicall

call instruments; the harmony of the Pipes and Cornets; but yet looke upon the lascivious gesticulations of the singers, the meretricious alternations, interchanges, and infractions of the voyces, not without derision and laughter; so that a man may thinke that they came, not to an oratory or house of prayer, but to a theatre; not to pray, but to gaze about them; neither is that dreadfull majesty feared before whom they stand, etc. Thus, this Church singing, which the holy Fathers have ordained that the weake might be stirred up to piety, is perverted to the use of unlawfull pleasure.'

Notwithstanding the importance of cittern, gittern, lute, and virginals during the Elizabethan days, the human voice was considered the chief organ of secular music. With the accession of James I. began that widely extended taste for the purely instrumental part of the art which is conspicuous in so many *matinées* and *soirées* of the present day. So anxious indeed were people to play, that they had recourse to the music they were once accustomed to sing, and madrigals were sent forth with the new recommendation that they were apt for viols as well as for voices. For the names of the instruments employed at this period, the inquisitive reader may turn over the pages of his Bible, for when the Old Testament was translated into the vernacular, equivalents for the Hebrew instruments were found in the implements rendered tuneful by British lungs and fingers. There is, moreover, a passage in Drayton's 'Polyolbion,' printed in 1613, which to the inquirer into the antiquities of English music may be almost as serviceable as Homer's catalogue of ships to the student of ancient geography:—

'The trembling lute some touch, some strain the viol best,
In sets that there were seen, the music wondrous choice.
Some, likewise, there affect the gamba with the voice,
To show that England could variety afford.
Some that delight to touch the sterner wiry chord,
The cithren, the pandore, and the theorbo strike;
The gittern and the kit the wand'ring fiddlers like.
So were there some again, in this their learned strife,
Loud instruments that lov'd, the cornet and the fife.
The hoby, sackbut deep, recorder, and the flute,
E'en from the shrillest shawm unto the cornamute.
Some blow the bagpipe up, that plays the country Round,
The tabor and the pipe some take delight to sound.'

The patronage once enjoyed by the minstrels was now bestowed on skilful instrumentalists, and Richard Braithwait, a writer of the times of James I., who has drawn up 'Some Rules for the Government of the House of an Earl,' enjoins the model nobleman to keep five musicians, who are not only to play themselves, but to teach the Earl's children to play upon the baseviol, the virginals,

virginals, the lute, the bandora, and the cittern. Nor does this patronage of musicians begin with the formation of the instrumental branch of the art. In the time of Henry VIII. and of Elizabeth there were wealthy merchants who retained as many musicians as the nobles who flourished under James I.

When the act of Elizabeth had proscribed 'minstrels wandering abroad' as 'rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars,' the itinerant musicians were enjoined to wear cloaks and badges, with arms of some patron, individual or corporate, to denote in whose service they were engaged. Thus equipped, they were exempt from the operation of the act, and they seem to have abused this privilege much after the fashion of their more romantic predecessors, thrusting themselves into all companies, without waiting for the ceremony of an invitation. However, there was plenty of legitimate work to be done by them, and at every species of festivity (not excluding funerals) their services were required. In the case of weddings there was a regular routine to be gone through. First, the bride was to be awakened in the morning by a 'hunt's up'; next, music accompanied her to church; then music accompanied her *from* church; then there was music throughout the wedding dinner; and as for the singing and dancing in the evening, that was, of course, *ad libitum*.

The 'hunt's up' was doubtless, in the first instance, a musical invitation to join the pleasures of the chase, but the meaning of the phrase was soon extended to include every kind of song that, in Hibernian fashion, might be described as a *morning serenade*, and when Juliet complains that the lark drives away Romeo 'with hunts up to the day,' she no doubt uses the expression in its most general sense. We have a very pretty specimen of the amatory 'hunts up' in the following song taken by Mr. Chappell from a MS. in the possession of Mr. Collier, and possibly as old as the time of Henry VIII. :—

'The hunt is up, the hunt is up,
Awake, my lady free,
The sun hath risen from out his prison,
Beneath the glistening sea.

The hunt is up, the hunt is up,
Awake, my lady bright,
The morning lark is high to mark
The coming of day-light.

The hunt is up, the hunt is up,
Awake, my lady fair,
The kine and sheep, but now asleep,
Browse in the morning air.

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The hunt is up, the hunt is up,
 Awake, my lady gay,
 The stars are fled to the ocean bed,
 And it is now broad day.

The hunt is up, the hunt is up,
 Awake, my lady sheen,
 The hills look out, and the woods about
 Are drest in lovely green.

The hunt is up, the hunt is up,
 Awake, my lady dear,
 A morn in spring is the sweetest thing
 Cometh in all the year.

The hunt is up, the hunt is up,
 Awake, my lady sweet,
 I come to thy bow'r, at this lov'd hour,
 My own true love to greet.'

Great, however, as was the demand for musical talent in old London, when each ward had its musicians, besides those of Finsbury, Southwark, and Blackfriars, and the waits of London and Westminster, who were far more imposing personages than the miserable wretches who startle Paterfamilias out of his first sleep in the nineteenth century, this demand was exceeded by the supply, and England in the seventeenth century was the great exporting country of tuneful artists. The famous John Dowland, after travelling through divers lands, became lutenist to the Christian King of Denmark, and, when he returned home, the King begged that Thomas Cutting, another English lutenist, might be allowed to succeed him. Peter Phillips settled in the Netherlands, as organist to the Archduke of Austria, with the Italianized Pietro Philippi; while John Cooper, visiting Italy, became Giovanni Cuperario. The practice of converting English into foreign names is sometimes followed by singing and dancing artists of the present day, but they differ from their professional forefathers in this respect, that they become pseudo-Italians in order to impose upon their fellow-countrymen, not for the sake of conforming to the land of their adoption.

We have incidentally alluded to the 'Waits.' 'They seem,' says Mr. Chappell, 'to have been originally a band of musical watchmen, who proved their watchfulness by piping at stated hours of the night.' Their duties in the Court of Edward IV. are thus officially described:—

'A WAYTE, that nightly from Mychelmas to Shreve Thorsdaye
pipethe watche within this courte fowere tymes; in the Somere nightes
 three tymes, and makethe *bon gayte* at every chambere doare and
 offyce, as well for feare of pyckeres and pillars. He eatethe in
 the

the halle with Mynstrelles, and takethe lyverey at nighte a loafe, a galone of ale, and for Somere nights two candles [of] pich, and a bushel of coles; and for Wintere nightes halfe a loafe of bread, a galone of ale, four candles pich, a bushel coles: Daylye whilst he is presente in Court for his wages, in Cheque-roale, allowed iiid. or else iiii. by the discreashon of the Steuarde and Tressorore, and that after his cominge and deservinge: Also cloathing with the Houshold Yeomen or Mynstrelles lyke to the wages that he takethe: An he be sycke, he taketh two loaves, two messes of great meate, one galone ale. Also he parteth with the houshold of general gyfts, and hathe his beddinge carried by the Comptrolleres assignment; and, under this yeoman, to be a Groome-Waitere. Yf he can excuse the yeoman in his absence, then he takethe rewarde, clotheinge, meat, and all other things lyke to other Grooms of Houshold. Also this Yeoman-Waighte, at the making of Knightes of the Bathe, for his attendance upon them by nighte-time, in watchinge in the Chappelle, hathe to his fee all the watchinge clothing that the Knight shall wear upon him.'

When applied to the musicians of towns and corporations the word 'wayte' became less definite; but some of the significance of the ancient office was retained, and exists to the present day in the custom of rousing people in the mornings, immediately preceding Christmas. The York Waits, as they appeared at the end of the seventeenth century, are described in this lively fashion:—

'In a winter's morning,
Long before the dawning,
Ere the cock did crow,
Or stars their light withdraw, :
Wak'd by a hornpipe pretty,
Play'd along York city,
By th' help of o'ernight's bottle,
Damon made this ditty,
In a winter's night,
By moon or lanthorn light,
Though hail, rain, frost, or snow,
Their rounds the music go ;
Clad each in frieze or blanket
(For either heav'n be thanked),
Lin'd with wine a quart,
Or ale a double tankard.
Burglars scud away,
And bar guests dare not stay,
Of claret, snorting sots
Dream o'er their pipes and pots,
Till their brisk helpmates wake 'em,
Hoping music will make 'em
To find the pleasant Cliff,
That plays the Rigadoon.

* * * *

Candles, four in the pound,
 Lead up the jolly Round,
 Whilst cornet shrill i' th' middle
 Marches, and merry fiddle,
 Curtal with deep hum, hum,
 Cries, we come, we come, come,
 And theorbos loudly answers,
 Thrum, thrum, thrum, thrum, thrum.
 But, their fingers frost-nipt,
 So many notes are o'erslipt,
 That you'd take sometimes
 The Waits for the Minster chimes :
 Then, Sirs, to hear their music
 Would make both me and you sick,
 And much more to hear a roopy fiddler call
 (With voice, as Moll would cry,
 "Come, shrimps or cockles buy"),
 "Past three, fair frosty morn,
 Good morrow, my masters all."

The Waits are here clearly regarded from the most modern point of view,—that is to say, as a nuisance.

During the early part of the civil commotions in the time of Charles I. the ballad-writers, who, distinguished from the literary poets, continued to exist in full vigour, were apparently on the side of the Parliament. They found a good unpopular figure ready made to their hands in the person of Archbishop Laud, and pandered to the rabble by squibbing that obnoxious prelate; but when an ordinance went forth not only for the suppression of stage-plays but also for *seizing upon* all ballad-mongers, the poets of the people found that they had sided with the wrong party. Chief on the list of loyal rhymesters is Martin Parker, whose song 'the king shall enjoy his own again' became a kind of party anthem among the Cavaliers, and whose name was so famous among his enemies that ballad-writers in general were stigmatised as Martin Parker's society, and perhaps formed an actual corporation.

Now that the spirit which animated both parties during the civil wars has subsided, very little excitement can be obtained by means of Martin Parker's most celebrated effusion :—

What Booker can prognosticate
 Concerning kings or kingdoms' fate ?
 I think myself to be as wise
 As he that gazeth in the skies.
 My skill goes beyond the depths of a Pond,
 Or Rivers in the greatest rain,
 Whereby I can tell, all things will be well,
 When the King enjoys his own again.

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There's neither Swallow, Dove, nor Dade
Can soar more high, or deeper wade;
Nor show a reason from the stars
What causeth peace or civil wars;
The man in the moon may wear out his shoon,
By running after Charles his wain,
But all's to no end, for the times will not mend,
Till the King enjoys his own again.

Though for a time we see Whitehall
With cobwebs hanging on the wall,
Instead of silk and silver brave,
Which formerly it used to have.
With rich perfume in ev'ry room,
Delightful to that princely train,
Which again you shall see, when the time it shall be,
That the King enjoys his own again.

All this now looks wooden enough, nor does the information that the names in the first two stanzas were those of eminent astrologers and almanac-makers, greatly increase the enjoyment of the sober reader. But Ritson, who considered Parker a 'Grub-street scribbler,' cannot help styling the 'King shall enjoy his own again,' the 'most famous and popular air ever heard of in this country.' The tune to which the words are written was already popular as 'Marry me, quoth the bonny lass,' but there is no doubt that he first gave it general celebrity by his poem, to which many verses were afterwards added, in order to suit the circumstances of the party. Wildrake, the typical cavalier in Sir Walter Scott's *Woodstock*, has this party effusion ever on the tip of his tongue, and for nearly a century it is identified with the cause of the Stuarts. In the days of Charles I. it sustained the courage of the Cavaliers; on the restoration of Charles II. it celebrated their triumph; after the revolution of 1688 it kept alive the enthusiasm of the Jacobites. The Anti-Stuart song, which rivalled the Cavalier lyric in popularity, was the famous 'Lilliburlero,' which with words directed against the Irish papists, first became significant about 1688, and was afterwards whistled into immortality by Sterne's *Uncle Toby*.

The line of demarcation that so distinctly separated the cultivated from the uncultivated lover of music, was to a great measure obliterated on the restoration of Charles II. Professors of the science now essayed to please the many as well as the few; the learned tuneless counterpoint which was the pride of an earlier day fell into disuse, and melody began to assert a supremacy over mere scientific combinations. The gittern, now called the 'guitar,' encroached upon the domain of the more

unwieldy lute, and the six-stringed viol yielded to the violin, which had hitherto been almost exclusively employed in accompaniment to dancing. This exchange of the viol for the violin denoted a change in the character of the music performed. As Mr. Chappell says :—

‘The reason why viols had been preferred to violins, tenors, and violoncellos for church music was simply this: until the reign of Charles II., the music played was in close counterpoint of limited compass for such instrument, and in from three to six parts, every visitor being expected to take a part, and generally at sight. The frets of the viols secured the stopping in time, which one indifferent ear in the party might otherwise have marred.’

Viols, it may be remarked, were not all of the same size. A set, or ‘chest’ as it was termed, contained instruments of five or six different dimensions to suit different registers.

The lighter instrument, as we shall presently find, gained its ascendancy through the introduction of French taste,—but the stringed instrument played with a bow,—and which without distinction of size or register, we may generally term a fiddle, is of native British growth. The Anglo-Saxons called it a *fithele* (with the soft ‘th’ represented by the obsolete *ð*), and the Normans, suppressing the middle consonant altogether, reduced the word to ‘fiele,’ the obvious parent of ‘viol.’ But why talk of Normans, when we have the following lines by an Italian poet, Venantius, who towards the end of the sixth century, thus addressed Loup, Duke of Champagne :—

‘Romanusque lyra plaudet tibi, Barbarus harpa,
Græcus Achilliaca, chrotta Britanna canat.’

The ‘chrotta’ was the ‘crowd’ or primitive fiddle, the name of which is so familiar to the readers of *Hudibras*, and it differed from the modern instrument by the absence of a neck. An aperture was made so as to admit the left hand of the player through the back and enable him to form the notes by the pressure of the strings upon the finger-board.

The very circumstance that the violin had previously been associated with dancing, would seem to have been a recommendation with Charles II., who, according to Roger North, loved no music but of the dancing-kind, and put down all advocates for the fugal style of composition, with the unanswerable question, ‘Have I not ears?’ A band of twenty-four violins (including tenors and basses) who merrily accompanied his meals, and even enlivened his devotions in the Chapel Royal, originally suggested the comic song, ‘Four-and-twenty fiddlers all of a row,’ that has lasted down to the present day. These innovations were deemed
offensive

offensive by gentlemen of the old school, and the sober Evelyn was greatly shocked, when in December 1662, at the conclusion of the sermon, 'instead of the ancient grave and solemn wind-music accompanying the organ, was introduced a concert of twenty-four violins, between every pause, after the French fantastical light way; better suiting a tavern or playhouse than a church.' Unfortunately, too, the predilection of the king for French fiddlers formed part of his anti-national tendency, and was carried to such an extent, that John Banister, who had been leader of the twenty-four, was dismissed for saying, on his return from Paris, that the English violins were better than the French. Nor was this sacrifice of national feeling a tribute to superior accomplishment in the foreigner. France was the country least celebrated in Europe as the birth-place of musicians; and while English gentlemen were not deemed properly educated unless they could play difficult music at sight, the twenty-four professional musicians, who recreated the 'Grand Monarque,' and were the model on which Charles II. fashioned his own band, were not able to play anything they had not especially studied. But the French tickled the ears of the royal voluptuary by their dance-tunes, which the old contrapuntal 'fantasies,' as they were called, did not; and there was the end of all controversy.

A taste for the vocal music of Italy is, however, much older than the Restoration, and recitative, which is notoriously of Italian origin, was found indispensable in the Court Masques that were given during the reigns of James I. and Charles I. As early as 1653, Henry Lawes, the friend of Milton and Waller, and the representative of native genius, was roused to an indignant protest, which with small variations has been repeated down to the present day.

'Wise men,' says Lawes, 'have observed our generation so giddy that whatsoever is native, be it ever so excellent, must lose its taste, because themselves have lost theirs. For my part I profess (and such as know me can bear witness) I desire to render every man his due, whether strangers or natives; and without depressing the honour of other countries, I may say our own nation hath had, and yet hath, as able musicians as any in Europe. I confess the Italian language may have some advantage by being better smoothed and vowelled for music, which I found by many songs which I set to Italian words, and our English seems a little overclogged with consonants, but that's much the composer's fault, who, by judicious setting and right turning the words, may make it smooth enough. This present generation is so sated with what is native that nothing takes their ear but what's sung in a language they understand as little as they do the music.'

The same Henry Lawes, with Matthew Lock and Captain
Henry

Henry Cook, composed the music to Davenant's *Siege of Rhodes*, the story of which was told in recitative, and which was an opera in the strictest sense of the word. This work was performed in a room at the Earl of Rutland's house in Aldersgate, in the year 1656, and preceded by thirteen years the establishment of opera in France. Indeed, Louis XIV. himself gave acknowledged precedence to the English, when in 1669 he granted to the Sieur Perrin the patent (afterwards withdrawn) for the establishment of an academy for the cultivation of public theatrical singing (*pour chanter en public des pièces de Théâtre*) as practised in Italy, Germany, and England. People who love to remark that tragedy was first introduced into France by Cardinal Richelieu may take pleasure in observing that the first English opera was licensed by Cromwell. To the fact that the performance took place in a room may be attributed this extraordinary liberality, of which we find traces among the religionists of the present day. The families, who hold theatres in abhorrence, yet patronise the most worldly and frivolous 'entertainments' given in halls and galleries.

To the suppression of the theatres by the Puritans, and to the dispersion of musicians generally during the Civil Wars, may be traced the origin of public concerts. Having no other means of earning a subsistence, the musicians betook themselves to the taverns, which now became the sole places where music could be heard and were much frequented on that account. However, a law like that which had formerly annihilated the minstrels of the ancient school, was now put in force against these hapless caterers for public amusement. By an Act passed in 1656-7 against 'vagrants, and wandering, idle, dissolute persons' (our legislators always added insult to injury when dealing with music and the drama), it was ordered that 'if any person or persons, commonly called fiddlers or minstrels, shall at any time after the first of July be taken playing, fiddling, and making music in any inn, alehouse, or tavern, or shall be taken performing themselves or desiring or inticing any person or persons to hear them play or make music in any of the places aforesaid, they shall be treated as rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars. The poor wretches were not only forbidden to *make* music, but they might not ask to be heard; and the frequenters of taverns no longer amused by others were driven to their own vocal resources, which, thanks to their education, were not small. Part-songs, catches, and canons thus became the order of the day, and the proficiency of our forefathers in singing at sight is attested by the fact that there was seldom any difficulty in finding the requisite number of voices. On the restoration of Charles II.

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the obstacles to the development of professional talent were removed, but, nevertheless, the vocal performances of amateurs continued in full vigour. In the very first place of entertainment, at which music was regularly played—a place situated (according to North) in a lane behind St. Paul's—shopkeepers and freemen were wont to sing in concert, mellowing their voices with ale and tobacco. The next experiment, which was made in Whitefriars, was of a more professional nature, the engaged 'talent' being so excessively modest, that they were inclosed in a box, surrounded by curtains that rendered them invisible. The patrons of art paid an entrance fee, and ordered what refreshment they pleased. Here we have the exact prototype of the Canterbury Halls of the present day, save that the shamefacedness of the musicians has had no modern imitators.

The vocal music sung by the amateurs who frequented taverns in the time of Charles II. was usually taken from the now scarce collection of rounds and catches published by John Playford. A similar collection of rounds and catches had been published by Ravenscroft in the time of James I., but it was not till after the Restoration that the practice of writing catches became prevalent among great composers.

It is a singular circumstance, that the anti-national propensities of Charles II. brought into fashion the kind of music that had constantly been appreciated by the masses—the music of the old ballads and songs. That notorious dislike of all compositions to which he could not beat time, and consequently of the tuneless counterpoint that had found such high favour with his predecessors, led him to appreciate the common English airs, to which the poets of the people had written their words, as well as the dance-music imported from France. The man who was destined to turn the predilection of the monarch to good account, by bringing to the notice of the court those national melodies which had been despised by the scholastic composers, was the once famed Tom D'Urfey, who having delighted the 'merry monarch' with a now-forgotten comedy, called the 'Plotting Sisters,' became one of his chief favourites. The earlier English poets, with their hatred for ballad-writers, had avoided all metres that could be sung to common tunes, but D'Urfey, acutely perceiving the royal taste, pursued a course diametrically opposite, writing songs that would either fit the existing ballad tunes, or enable the musicians to adopt a similar style of composition. Thus the line of demarcation that had so long severed the music of the higher classes from that of the multitude was to a great extent obliterated, and the popular song was once more in *fashion*. Unfortunately for the durability of lyric poetry, fortunately for composers,

posers, honest Tom has had few successors; and it is to the fact that Scottish poets worked on his principle, whereas English rhymesters preferred new music, that Mr. Chappell attributes the incomparably greater popularity of the former. 'Dibdin's songs,' he says, 'are already fading from memory, because he composed music to them, instead of writing to airs which had stood the test of time.'

On the other hand, the Scotch not only sang D'Urfey's songs, but composed new words to his tunes, and this brings us to an especial theory of Mr. Chappell's, that many of the tunes commonly called Scotch are really of southern origin. The collections that he has examined show a strange mixture, the third volume of Allan Ramsay's 'Tea-table Miscellany,' for instance, containing English songs exclusively, and the fourth a combination of English and Scotch, though the notification that these were all 'Scots songs' still appeared on the title-page, to the great inconvenience of northern antiquaries, who are thus liable to praise English music, when they intend to praise Scotch. That Dr. Beattie was in this unfortunate position and communicated his error to Mrs. Siddons is thus shown by Mr. Chappell:—

'She loves music, and is fond of Scotch tunes, many of which I played to her on the violoncello. One of these, *She rose and let me in*, which you know is a favourite of mine, made the tears start from her eyes; "Go on," said she, "and you will soon have your revenge;" meaning that I should draw as many tears from her as she had drawn from me by her acting. (*Life of James Beattie, LL.D.*, by Sir W. Forbes, ii. 139.) Dr. Beattie was evidently not aware that both the music and words of *She rose and let me in* are English (the words being by Tom D'Urfey and the music by Farmer). Again, in one of his Essays,—"I do not find that any foreigner has ever caught the true spirit of Scottish music;" and he illustrates his remark by the story of Geminiani's having blotted quires of paper in the attempt to write a second part to the tune of *The Broom of Cowdenknows*. This air is, to say the least, of very questionable origin. The evidence of its being Scotch rests upon the English ballad of *The Broom of Cowdenknows*, for in other ballads to the same air it is not so described; and Burton, in his *Anatomy of Melancholy*, quotes "O the broom, the bonny, bonny broom," as a "country tune." The frequent misapplication of the term "Scotch" in English songs and ballads, has been remarked by nearly every writer on Scottish music, and this air is not upon the incomplete scale which is commonly called Scotch. I am strongly persuaded that it is one of those ballads which, like *The gallant Grahams*, and many others, became popular in Scotland because the subject was Scotch. *The Broom of Cowdenknows* is in the metre of, and evidently suggested by, the older ballad of *New Broom on Hill*. A copy of the original

original *Broom on Hill* may even yet be discovered, or at least an earlier copy of the tune, and thus set the question at rest.'

This part of the history we rather indicate than dilate upon, leaving Mr. Chappell to contend with the northern lion as well as he may, and prove that it roars an' it were any *English* nightingale. The professed imitation of the Scottish dialect in popular English songs seems to have begun with the mission of the Duke of York (afterwards James II.) to Scotland, when the northern phraseology was eagerly adopted by the royalists.

After the reign of Queen Anne, political songs were the only kind of poetry that found general favour, but in the time of George II. the old tunes were once more brought into vogue with those ballad-operas, of which the 'Beggars' Opera' was the first and the most durable. For six consecutive years scarcely any other kind of drama was produced on the stage, and even for the booths in Bartholomew Fair new operas were written.

With respect to the characteristics and worth of the popular English airs that survived so many social and political changes, and have sometimes acquired new vitality from their connexion with some event of importance, we may confidently say, that the most careless reader of music cannot glance over the airs collected by Mr. Chappell without arriving at the conclusion, not only that these tunes are eminent for those qualities which strongly affect the emotions of the multitude, but also that they have peculiarities of their own which distinguish them from the songs of other nations, in spite of the bold assertion of unpatriotic archæologists that the English are without a national music.

The characteristic airs of England are divided by Mr. Chappell into four classes, which he thus describes:—

'The first and largest division consists of airs of a smooth and flowing character—expressive, tender, and sometimes plaintive, but generally cheerful rather than sad. These are the ditties, the real pastorals, which are so often mentioned by our early writers, and in which our poets so constantly expressed their delight. The second comprises airs which breathe a frank and manly spirit, often expanding into rough jollity. Such were many of the songs of men when not addressed to the fair. The third consists of the airs to historical and other very long ballads, some of which have probably descended to us from the minstrels. They are invariably of simple construction, usually plaintive, and the last three notes often fall gradually to the key-note at the end. One peculiar feature of these airs is the long interval between each phrase, so well calculated for recitation, and for recovering the breath in the lengthy stories to which they were united. They were rarely, if ever, used for dancing; indeed, they were not well suited to the purpose, and therein differed from the carols, and from
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the ditties, which were usually danced to and sung. Ditties, when accelerated in time to fit them for dancing, would fall under the denomination of carols. In the fourth class may be comprised the numerous hornpipes, jigs, rounds, and bagpipe-tunes. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when villagers assembled every holiday, and on Sunday evenings after prayers, to dance upon the green, every parish of moderate population had its piper. "The constable ought not to break his staff and forswear the watch for one roaring night," says Ben Jonson, "nor the piper of the parish to put up his pipes for one rainy Sunday." "It was not unusual, I believe," says Mr. Surtees, "to amuse labourers on bounty days with music; a piper generally attended on highway days." He quotes the following entry in the parish registers of Gateshead, under the year 1633:—"To workmen, for making the streets even, at the King's coming, 18s. 4d.; and paid the piper for playing to the menders of the highways five several days, 3s. 4d." Milton, in his speech upon unlicensed printing, says, "The villagers also must have their visitors, to enquire what lectures the bagpipe and the rebec reads, even to the ballatry, and the gammuth of every municipal fiddler, for these are the countryman's Arcadia, and his Monte Mayors."

Various, and doubtless to a great extent unfathomable, are the causes that produce that fitness of an air to a national humour, which is expressed by the term popularity. The songs introduced in the lighter French vaudevilles, and sung by actors who are not professedly vocalists, seem utterly meaningless and trivial to the English ear, whether cultivated or not; yet they must appeal to some sentiment in the French people, or they would not be repeated year after year, with fresh words written on the occasion of every revival. Of the vitality of certain English tunes we had a striking instance in the 'Beggars' Opera,' which is almost a thesaurus of national melody, and we have more modern proofs in the burlesque entertainments produced at our theatres during the holiday seasons, and constantly exhibiting the union of airs composed before the memory of man with words hastily scribbled down by the youngest poetasters of the day. Tunes go on for centuries, words become stale in a twelve-month. Martin Parker by his Cavalier verses gave indeed a new popularity to the old melody; but we question whether a single reader would now be moved by the words which we gave a few pages back, whereas the tune of 'The King shall enjoy his own again' would be found as soul-stirring as ever if associated with some new national event. Nor can we reasonably doubt that the lively air of *Lilliburlero* had a great effect in giving currency to the rubbish with which it was associated about the time of the Revolution.

Impossible as it may be to trace all the causes of popularity
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in music, some influence may be safely ascribed to the character of the instruments in use among the people. The airs of Spain—the land of guitars—are generally destitute of sustained notes; the songs of the Swiss mountaineer are suggestive of the mountain-horn. Armed with the fact that the instruments in use among the English from the earliest times were the harp, the fiddle (including the crowd), and the pipe, with or without the bag, the curious may, if they please, endeavour to find the traces of these instruments in the abundant specimens of English melody collected by Mr. W. Chappell. These are upwards of four hundred in number, and it can be proved that at least two hundred were in vogue before the time of the Commonwealth. We can scarcely over-estimate the industry and zeal shown by Mr. Chappell in his valuable and interesting work. He has produced, not an essay, not a history, not a music-book, but something that combines the nature of all these at once. The order of the work is chronological; every tune is printed with a bass accompaniment by the accomplished musician, Mr. G. A. Macfarren; its vicissitudes are described, the words that belong to it are given entire or in part, and everything that can be found in the way of historical fact or contemporary allusion is brought to bear upon its illustration. The portions of the work to which we have referred are merely the introductions to the several sections. The main body of the book consists of a mass of erudition, no less copious than well digested, that can only be appreciated by a careful perusal. We give, however, a specimen of his plan by citing all that belongs to a tune called the ‘Hobby-Horse Dance,’ which we select merely on account of brevity:—

HOBBY-HORSE DANCE.

‘For, O, for, O, the hobby-horse is forgot.’—*Hamlet*, act iii., sc. 2.

‘At Abbot’s, or now Paget’s, Bromley,’ says Dr. Plott, ‘they had, within memory, a sort of sport, which they celebrated at Christmas (on New-Year and Twelfth Day), called *The Hobby-Horse Dance*, from a person that carried the image of a horse between his legs, made of thin boards, and in his hand a bow and arrow, which, passing through a hole in the bow, and stopping upon a shoulder it had in it, he made a snapping noise as he drew it to and fro, keeping time with the musick. With this man danced six others. . . . They danced the Hays, and other country dances. To this Hobby-Horse Dance there also belonged a pot, which was kept by turns by four or five of the chief of the town, whom they called Reeves, who pounded cakes and ale to put in this pot; all people who had any kindness for the good intent of the institution of the sport, giving pence a-piece for themselves and families, and so foreigners too that came to see it; with which money (the charge

charge of the cakes and ale being defrayed) they not only repaired their church, but kept their poor too; which charges are not now perhaps so cheerfully borne.'—*Natural History of Staffordshire*, fol. 1686, p. 434.

'There are several hobby-horse dances extant: one in *Musick's Delight on the Cithren*, 1666, in *Apollo's Banquet*, 1669 to 1693, and in some later collections; a second in *Pills to purge Melancholy*, i. 19, 1719; a third in the *Antidote to Melancholy*, 1719.

'In the Bagford Collection, there is a ballad to the first, entitled "A new ballad of a famous German Prince [Rupert] and a renowned English Duke [of Albemarle], who, on St. James's Day, 1666, fought with a beast with seven heads called Provinces, not by land, but by water. Not to be said, but sung." It begins:—

'There happened of late a terrible fray,
Begun upon our St. James's Day.'

'To the second, D'Urfey wrote the song commencing "Jolly Roger Twangdillo, of Plowden Hall;" and to the third, "The Yeomen of Kent," commencing—

'In Kent, I hear, there lately did dwell
Long George, a yeoman by trade.'

'The last (slightly altered, and with the addition of *tol de rol* at the end) is the tune of the satirical ballad of "The Vicar and Moses," beginning—

'At the sign of the Horse, old Spintext, of course,
At night took his pipe and his pot;'

and, before that, seems to have served for a similar attack upon the Reliques exhibited by the Jesuits at the Savoy Chapel in the Strand, entitled "Religious Reliques; or, The Sale at the Savoy, upon the Jesuits breaking up their School and Chapel" (1689). The following is the first stanza:—

'Last Sunday, by chance,
I encounter'd with Prance,
That man of upright conversation,
Who told me such news
That I could not choose
But laugh at his sad declaration.
Tol de rol, de rol, tol de rol la.'

Late as it comes, Mr. Chappell's work is the only one of its kind. Years have elapsed since the superficial Dr. Burney directed his energies to the depreciation of English music, and the exaltation of everything foreign. The task of vindicating the musical character of our countrymen, by whatever expedient zeal could suggest and erudition supply, was reserved for Mr. Chappell—

Chappell—an archæologist of the middle of the nineteenth century. His delightful volumes are a perfect treasure to every person who loves an English tune or an English song, as well as to all who take an interest in tracing an important department of popular literature, or the changes of national tastes and customs.

ART. IV.—*The Portrait of a Christian Gentleman. A Memoir of Patrick Fraser Tytler, Author of the 'History of Scotland.'*
By his Friend the Rev. J. W. Burgon. 1859.

FOR a long time it was an established tradition in literature that the 'Life' of a man of letters must necessarily be a dull book. How the theory originated,—in what hour of dejection some melancholy writer broached it,—we have not been able to learn. But nothing is more certain than its success, and, what is more, that it had practical effects on biography. The dearth of 'incidents' was supposed to be the fatal element in the history of the class, and had become a 'trite' remark among biographers when Mason undertook his 'Memoirs of Gray.' Mason himself (who was no common man) evidently felt the benumbing influence of the belief, and took the precaution of observing in his very first page that—'a reader of sense and taste never expects to find in the memoirs of a philosopher or poet the same species of entertainment or information which he would receive from those of a statesman or general.' Some years afterwards Anderson came out with a 'Life of Smollett'—(whose existence one would think had been adventurous enough)—and boldly laying down the old axiom, proceeded to exemplify it by writing one of the dullest biographies on record. Much about the same time a worthy Scotsman—Sir William Forbes, of Pitsligo—favoured the world with two quartos on Beattie, and produced the venerable fallacy in the beginning—quite unconscious that he was justifying the public in never perusing his performance. Even Boswell's success, though it showed that such a 'Life' as he produced might be more amusing than half the novels and ana in existence, had failed to convert people. They naturally took authors at their own word, and regarded them somewhat as Paley regarded oysters,—creatures whose happiness was chiefly of a negative sort, and did not admit of being made generally interesting to the remainder of mankind. A whole system of odd opinions was connected with the antique theory that their 'Lives' were necessarily dull. It was thought strange if they could talk well; stranger still, if they were fit for any species

mind. Philosophers may see principles in history, but the multitude only see persons. To the Scotch peasant Scottish history is the story of the lives of Bruce and Wallace,—of John Knox and the Covenanters,—of Burns the poet. In England, if the people talk of the great war, they embody it all in Nelson and Wellington. Hence, too, the most popular fictions are those where the interest centres in an individual,—like Robinson Crusoe. What a pity that our biography should be so indifferently done, and in many cases not done at all!

If, however, it be really true that the life of a man of letters *must* be dull, the friends of literary biography have no right to complain: they must submit to destiny, for who can contend with the course of nature? It may, however, be worth while, before dealing specially with Mr. Burgon's pleasant book, to put the *dictum* to the question; for it connects itself with many interesting, and some very high as well as nice, points of inquiry.

There are many men of letters—supposing the objection of what is called 'dearth of incident' to be fatal to biography—with regard to whose lives that objection can never be truly made. There is much more variety of character in the literary class than is vulgarly supposed. Some amongst them have won no inconsiderable honour in public life, as statesmen, orators, or diplomatists, like Cicero, Pliny the Younger, Bacon, Buchanan, Grotius, Lord Bolingbroke, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, Niebuhr, or Edmund Burke. Some have proved very fit for practical affairs by the admission of competent judges, though the accidents of life have prevented their rising so high as they deserved: of these are Swift, Defoe, Dr. Johnson, and Voltaire, the last of whom was prosperous as a man of business. Fielding, again, made a useful police magistrate; and, though we cannot mention the fact without indignation, Burns has been shown by Mr. Chambers to have been an excellent gauger. A good many of the class have fought as well as their neighbours, mingling laurel and bay; for example, Æschylus, Xenophon, Cervantes, Sir Walter Raleigh, the elder Scaliger, Ben Jonson, Vauvenargues, and Paul Louis Courier: so that in most of these cases—and very conspicuously in some of them—abundant material for biographical interest exists. Yet few of these great men have met with good biographers. Cicero has been fortunate in Conyers Middleton; though, even in that instance, there is too much of the peculiar tone of Middleton's age and opinions in his book for it ever again to be as popular as at its first appearance. We have still to be contented, with what is admitted to be a learned, but denied on all sides to be an interesting, memoir of Buchanan, who yet led a life abounding in adventures: was
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driven from Scotland for satirising the Franciscans; from Paris by necessity; from Bordeaux by plague: was imprisoned in Lisbon under suspicion of heresy, and relieved his confinement by translating the Psalms; came home to Scotland to act with the Protestant party, and sat as Moderator of the General Assembly, having shared in every struggle of his times. Grotius, in Burigni's hands, has fared no better; and the completest Life of Raleigh is still that of Oldys the antiquary, one of the prosiest of writers. So much for the more famous of those men of letters whose careers have had most in common with the careers of men of action.

But there have also been authors not formally employed in public affairs, perhaps not well qualified for them, who have still led lives remarkable for the stir and bustle, variety and activity, which biographers insist on in the subjects of their art. Erasmus, for instance, travelled a great deal, and in a romantic kind of way; now taking up his quarters with some great noble who encouraged letters, now in a village inn, where, if he was seen reading, he was suspected of being a wizard; sometimes trotting on his mule steadily through a vine-growing country, sometimes altering his route to avoid a band of robbers. He was a man full of geniality and humour, who brought into life whatever was valuable in literature, and carried into literature, in return, all the freshness of life, which we take to be just the desirable qualities in a man of letters as distinguished from a bookworm. He left behind him, like most of the old scholars, an abundance of correspondence; but, in the hands of Jortin and Burigni, Erasmus is a far duller person than the original. He is not dull in Holbein's portrait, nor in the 'Colloquia;' nor was he so esteemed by his contemporaries. Both the Scaligers, again, had *character*, and were not reading and writing machines. Rabelais, though some of the traditions about him are, no doubt, as fabulous as that which in Scotland declared Buchanan to have been the King's fool, was clearly a humourist in life as in genius. It is certain that Shakspeare was a flowing and charming talker; and that his social success was by no means so disproportionate as some may fancy to his wonderful endowments. Smollett's career was essentially literary, but full of adventure; a career of controversy varied by imprisonment, and involving a curious medley of different acquaintances. What that of Rousseau was we know from his 'Confessions.' Such men as these were surely interesting men in their lives, if somebody with eyes to see had only looked at them for us, or might even now be discerned as such by the help of illustrative records. Unfortunately, indeed, in the instances of many great writers, these

records are scanty, precisely because, in old times, the importance of literature was not foreseen; while, in modern times, the notion that the mere *life* of a writer was the least important fact about the poor man, has indisposed even his lion-hunters to preserve anecdotes of him. When Johnson made inquiries about Dryden from the only survivors who remembered him in the flesh, he got exactly *two* petty stories; and, but for Boswell, we verily believe that by this time the Doctor himself would have been beginning to pass for a dull fellow. The vulgar love marvels, and there is something too piquant in the notion that a man may be a great writer and yet personally commonplace, to be easily surrendered. Goldsmith himself owes part of his popularity to the general impression that he was a weak fellow. Lord Macaulay is not fonder of antithesis than the multitude; and the reader may remark that in a country place the two persons about whom there is most curiosity and interest exhibited are the squire, and the village idiot.

Want of record is, no doubt, a fatal objection to literary biography. But there is much more known than has yet been wisely used, even about Shakspeare, who still waits the man that is to distil from the gathered lore of the antiquaries the precious ointment of critical biography. What, however, is it—and this is our next point—that is meant by the peculiar ‘dearth of incidents’ in the lives of authors? What is an ‘incident’? Everybody cannot win a battle; overthrow a government (though this last feat has been achieved by very ordinary folk in our days); sail round the world; be flung out of the *château d’If* in a sack, like Monte Christo; or gallop away with a damsel on his horse, like young Lochinvar. These are the kind of exploits people are thinking of when they talk of ‘incidents’ and of ‘interest.’ The active and physical sources of interest are what they want. But are they the deepest sources of it after all? It is the child that is most keen after the ‘story’ in everything; and we may observe that, even in fiction, the most impressive fictions are not those remarkable for fable or plot. Hamlet himself, and not his killing or being killed by Laertes, is the magical element in the play. Don Quixote might have been put through a quite different order of adventures, and still fascinate us as the Don. Tristram Shandy is hardly a story at all. In fact, if the *story* were the great charm of any book, it is not easy to see why it should be read above twice, when it must necessarily be remembered.

We do not, however, wish to push this view too far; while we are fully sensible of the subsidiary value of narrative in exhibiting other elements. We are chiefly anxious to dispel
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the notion that 'incidents' in the vulgar sense are necessary to the interest of a Life. He who leads, as far as outward events are concerned, the most apparently commonplace existence, may yet be an object of justly profound curiosity. All the domestic and sentimental, all the intellectual and moral life of such a man, may be pregnant with material for thought and instruction. The story of the late Charlotte Brontë is prosaic enough on the surface. A clergyman's daughter, in a remote district, she went out as a governess, and by-and-bye wrote a successful novel. But who does not think of her life with fifty times the 'interest' he feels in all the peregrinations of Madame Ida Pfeiffer? It is character—it is the heart—that excites the sympathy and the deepest curiosity of the world.

Nothing is more certain than that the kind of interest here indicated may degenerate into morbid curiosity; and that an over anxiety to feed the taste might corrupt biography. The world must protect itself against these, as against other dangers to which it is exposed. Our business is only to point out that literary biographers have never yet drawn on their proper resources, and that they would improve their art by keeping some neglected truths in mind. Let them reflect, for instance, that the struggles for fame, or bread, or knowledge, of a gifted nature, are as good subjects of narrative as the adventures of sailor or soldier;—that there is as much fun to be got out of the wanderings and controversies of a great wit and humourist like Smollett, as out of the rambles through life, and scrambles for celebrity, of an equally clever politician or player. From a merely artistic point of view, we contend that the writers of literary biography are ignorant of their own advantages.

What makes the defects of this department of letters so glaring is, that, perhaps, no men enjoy so much of the fame of a nation as its authors. Many a man has read 'Don Quixote' who did not know what King of Spain Cervantes lived under, and never cared to ask. And so with many books. But the next step—though, to be sure, there are many who never take it—is to ask about the writer who has given us such pleasure. Here the admirer is generally disappointed. There are few materials, perhaps; or, more commonly, he learns that the great man did nothing but write, the nothingness being not in himself but in his observers, and that, *therefore*, he was necessarily an uninteresting person.

A puzzle ought here to present itself to the admiring inquirer. How came an uninteresting person to write an interesting book? A most suggestive question, we need not say, but on which little light is thrown by the critics; for it is one of the strangest things about the present subject, that the whole philosophy of the

connexion between literature and life remains unexplored. Nobody can tell us how the power of writing is related to the character, nor, generally, what relation it bears to the other qualities of a man. The real characters of Napoleon or Queen Elizabeth are more easy to come to an agreement about, than those of Goethe, or Bacon, or Shakspeare.

Some of the most knotty and piquant points connected with such questions are moot points to this day—for instance, whether, on the whole, a good writer (not a skilful writer, but one whose influence is good) is naturally to be expected to be a good man? Many people will tell you 'No,' and quote the saying about Sterne, the dead ass, and the living mother, in proof of the fact that a man may write beautiful sentiment, and be a heartless rascal. Or, they will exclaim of Rousseau, as Moore's Miss Biddy Fudge did,—

'Alas! that a man of such exquisite notions,

Should send his poor brats to the Foundling, my dear!'

And, so, they will conclude that a genius may be a good or bad man, and that we must draw a line between genius and character. Somehow, however, the instinct of the world impels it the other way; and hence the 'vindications' of which literature is full. In spite of Pope's famous line about Bacon, it is not easy to reconcile oneself to his being a villain. If, on the whole, men of intellect were bad men, how could the world, which is, at least, governed *through* them, be a tolerable place? If there was no connexion between character and writing, would literature itself be tolerable? A book is to a man-of-letters what an action is to a man of action,—his peculiar way of expressing his nature. When a good book is said to come from a bad man, the general analogy of things seems violated; and the apparent prodigy ought to be carefully investigated.

Such are the important questions floating about, unsettled, and waiting the literary biographer's help. Difficulties of the same kind meet him at every step; arising from the ignorance in which we are wrapped of the connexion between what authors are and what they produce. Everybody assumes that a practical philanthropist is philanthropical, or a great general brave; and would expect to find the Howard or Wellington of private life harmonious counterparts of their public character. But a different impression wanders about the world regarding authors. The humourist may be a melancholy being—the poet a prosaic one—the innovating and daring philosopher a timid man—the comic writer as dull as most metropolitan members. People dwell with a feeling of piquancy on the reputed gloominess of Molière; the fatness and laziness of Thomson; the silence and shyness of Gray;

Gray ; Pope's nap after dinner ; Prior's taste for low company ; Hobbes's habit of locking himself up to smoke and think all day with the shutters closed ; and the conversational poverty of Addison, Goldsmith, Cowley, Echard, and Dryden. There is an agreeable oddity about facts, or supposed facts, like these ; an oddity which the mass of people would much prefer, we may be sure, to a critical investigation of them, an explanation of the apparent contradiction involved in them, and a careful collection of the facts on the other side. But so long as the notion prevails, that what a man writes affords no index to what he is, so long literary biography must be a dull subject. The reader, concluding that he has the best of the man in his works, will be incurious about his biography ; and the biographer who assumes that his own performance must be flat, will be exceedingly likely to make it so.

The whole world, however, notwithstanding that bad biographers have done much to spoil it, does not cheerfully acquiesce in the non-interesting theory. Another form of the same instinct which makes them hesitate to believe that a man who has no heart or principles himself can touch the heart or strengthen the principles of other people, likewise inclines them to wonder how a man *can* be brilliant in his study and no better than a mediocrity for practical purposes when he passes the study-door. The public, as a mass, prefers a marvel to anything ; but the more thinking portion has a strong desire for order and harmony in the intellectual world, as elsewhere. They see that it prevails in the rest of creation, and they do not relish anomalies, or the predominance of anomalies, at all events, in the world of letters. Hence, in spite of the tradition as to the lives of authors being dull, they feel a vivid curiosity about them ; and, on the whole (unless they themselves should have utterly failed in some literary undertaking), they are inclined to believe well of their characters, and hopefully of their conversation. Occasionally, perhaps, they track to their source the anecdotes on which the popular impressions about great writers rest. They find that the 'dead ass and living mother' antithesis concerning Sterne occurs in the 'Walpoliana,' which excites scepticism ; that the original authority for Congreve's affected remark to Voltaire is difficult to get at ; that Rousseau was certainly not always in his right senses ; that Burns never came home in a state when he could not see that the house was safe, and convey himself to bed somehow ; that there is no real evidence of Swift's marriage with Stella, though the story has so often sharpened an attack on his memory ; and they make other discoveries, which rob some ugly traditions of their sting. Possibly, too, they discover, on the intellectual side of the
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the inquiry, that it was only in large companies that Addison could not talk, while Swift, Bolingbroke, Voltaire, Berkeley, Burns and Byron, Johnson and Burke, were all amongst the first talkers of their times; as Congreve, Sheridan, and Colman, the wittiest writers, were also the wittiest talkers of their generation. In short, much of the traditionary mystification of the whole subject vanishes on inquiry, and a man of plain good sense is likely to arrive at the conclusion, that authors are not a caste or peculiar class, such as the *Struldbrugs*, but exceedingly like other specimens of the *genus homo*, with a little more faculty, the exertion of which is not so public in its mode of action as the faculty of the majority, but which is just as naturally related to character. The contrary notions which have prevailed owe their success to the circumstance that the *species* man of letters is of later date in Europe than others, and naturally worse understood; while the connexion between the nature of the class and their work is less easy to trace, though not less real, than that prevailing elsewhere—facts which, when the popular taste for marvels is allowed for, go far to explain the current delusions on the subject. The tendency to exaggerate the importance of literature which prevailed in the last century contributed to invest it with mystic and superstitious associations.* But there has been an effectual reaction against that tendency, in the great movements following the French Revolution—in the more commercial and plebeian tone of modern society—and in that general depreciation which the universal diffusion of anything in a diluted and deteriorated form is apt to produce.

What is now wanted in literary biography is that biographers, finally clearing their heads of the old prejudices, should seek in the life of an author for that interest which, existing in all men's lives, must necessarily exist in a higher degree in those of superior intellect and keener sensibility. It will not be the same in kind, but it need not be less in extent than that attaching to the careers of other conspicuous persons. Nor need they confine themselves to the more striking men. The 'Diary' of Casaubon, though it records little but the old scholar's readings and his domesticities, is one of the most attractive books, in its way, that we know. The characters of Gray, Cowper, and Shenstone, as

* Lord John Russell, in his 'Memoirs of Moore,' affords an example of the propensity to believe that men of letters, from some peculiarity of the tribe, differ from ordinary persons of sense and knowledge. 'It is their tendency,' says he, 'to be dissatisfied with the governments under which they live.' His instances are the dislike of Plato's school to the Democracy, and that of Voltaire's to the old French régime. He forgets that the great majority of thinkers believe that, in these cases, the men of letters were in the right.

exhibited in their letters, and illuminated by the criticism of Mason, Southey, and Disraeli, afford beautiful studies of the finer varieties of the intellect. It is this *philosophical* interest which must be aimed at, and the reward is not less great when a success is achieved than in other cases. Bad as our literary biography is, and obsolete as most of it has become, Boswell's 'Johnson' is still the most popular biography in the language, and has been exerting of late years a beneficial effect on the art.

Boswell was not the first man to see how a literary biography might be made attractive by a fuller revelation of its subject than was common. Mason had been beforehand with him in his 'Gray,' and he acknowledged the obligation. Generally speaking, Boswell's originality was not in his method; nor was his effect produced so much by his talents (though they are absurdly underrated in the common opinion) as by his character. He felt for Johnson that antique loyalty which, taking another direction, was the cause of his Toryism; a downright reverence for genius and worth, such as had inspired, in olden times, the haughtiest gentlemen of Europe with a respect for the magnates of the Church. This is one of the most precious of the feudal traditions. An upstart would have felt the comparative poverty of the great Samuel, and a mere man-of-letters would hardly have taken so much pains with a brother of the guild. Bozzy, with all his faults and absurdities, was a gentleman in 'spirit as in blood, of 'the old rock,' whose very pride had an element of good in it. He braved the ridicule of the cynics, who could not understand his heart-felt reverence for the rough old philosopher of Fleet-street, and consecrated his life to the service of a life that he felt to be higher. We are inclined to think that it would read a lesson to many a man of more pretentious literary parts to inquire how and why it should have been that all the crack biographers of the world were beaten in the most difficult department of biography by an amateur. People are too apt to think that literary merit and literary success are only questions of literary ability.

The effect of Boswell, we believe, could be traced in several of his successors whose genius would seem to raise them above the influence of a writer of Boswell's calibre. At all events, the success of his book gradually familiarised the world with the spectacle of a life singularly devoid of adventures and incident, but more fascinating than most of those which have been full of both. The world came to know the Doctor as if he were still alive, and to quote his sayings as if they had been uttered yesterday; and that, while a considerable part of his writings was gradually

gradually fading away from public remembrance. The impression made by such a presence in our literature must necessarily have been immense. Lockhart's keen, bright intellect was a very different power from that possessed by Boswell; but the '*Life of Scott*' owes much to the '*Life of Johnson*.' A kindly human relish for the details of a great man's daily doings; a frank yet sufficiently reticent revelation of his modes of speech, amusements, letter-writings—these things, which Boswell accumulated as by an instinct, Lockhart employed with the skill of an artist. The '*Life of Scott*' has been succeeded by other good biographies of the class. Our literary lives are improving. Dr. Arnold, the poet Keats, John Sterling, are known faces in that great national portrait gallery which hangs visible in the imagination of a great people. Dr. Chalmers might have been equally familiar if his biographer's position had not compelled him to encumber his book with much that is only of local and sectarian interest. By and by, no doubt, the spirit of this reform will operate more widely. The prejudices against which we have been contending will be dispelled by good models more effectually than by reasoning and ridicule; and literary biography will become what it ought to have ripened into long ago.

Mr. Burton, in his *Memoir of Tytler*, has set a good example at all events. His task was far from an easy one. The merits of Tytler's '*History of Scotland*' are not of a kind to strike the popular imagination vividly; nor was Tytler himself a man who enjoyed that wide social reputation which adds so much to a literary fame. To the world at large he was only a respectable man, who had written a valuable book. What right has such a '*Life*' to be interesting? None at all, according to the antique notion. But Mr. Burton started with one advantage—an advantage of which the critics tell us very little, and yet a great one: he loved the man. He did not set out with the idea that Tytler was a producer of something called history only, but with an affection for him which gives to the whole narrative a pleasant glow of life. There is an influence for good about affection which tells in letters as elsewhere, and it has helped Mr. Burton to make an agreeable work out of very simple materials. He invests the laborious historian with all the interest which a worthy and genial man naturally excites in those who know him; and makes him carry with him, into libraries and state-paper offices, an air of the country and of home. It takes no little skill to effect this without descending to triviality of detail; and our author has done it so well, that we follow Tytler through his useful and honourable career with something of the warmth of feeling which his intimacy

macy seems to have inspired in the flesh. We must try and convey the sentiment to our own readers as the biographer has awakened it in us.

'Every Scotsman has a pedigree,' says Sir Walter, nor was Patrick Fraser Tytler an exception. Lord Woodhouselee, his father, was the son of William Tytler, the defender of Queen Mary, whose grandfather, John Tytler, of Aberdeen, married one of the Skenes of that ilk, a fine old stock, among whose cadets was Sir John Skene, the antiquary. This *stemma* in itself would content most Southrons; but the Tytlers are not content with an *abavus* allied with a Skene. They claim to be a branch of the Setons, a great historical family, and remarkable for having inherited the rights, and become the male stems, of the Dukes of Gordon and Earls of Eglinton. We fear that Mr. Burgon is not so deep in Scottish genealogy as we suppose him to be in other branches of knowledge. He assumes the truth of the tradition that the Tytlers descend from a brother of the George, third Lord Seton, who fell at Flodden. But it happens that we have particular information about the Setons of that period in the quaint old book, 'The History of the House of Seytoun,' by Sir Richard Maitland, of Lethington, whose mother was one of the family, and who wrote in the sixteenth century. He is very particular in telling whatever is *curious* about the house; for instance, such a characteristic fact as that the second Lord, having been made prisoner by the 'Phlemmenis,' fitted out 'ane grit schip callit the Aquila' against them, and made war for several years, as if he had been an European Power! Sir Richard must have known so singular a circumstance as the one recorded by way of accounting for the change of name from Seton to Tytler in pp. 1, 2, and if he had known it would have stated it, which he nowhere does. We feel sure, therefore, that, though there is probably some truth in the tradition in question, it is not true in the form in which the Tytlers accept it.

Be that as it may, three generations of the family have shown literary talent, and the fact makes their genealogy interesting, whether they spring from the Setons or not. Their distinction in this way began with the vindicator of Queen Mary, who broke lances honourably with Robertson and Hume, and it was continued by Lord Woodhouselee, a fine lettered old Scots judge, of a school that is passing away. His 'Life of Lord Kames,' though its bulk would be a crime in the eyes of this hasty generation, may still be read with pleasure by those who admire the Edinburgh of the last century. Lord Kames was contemporary with, and was an agent in, that memorable revival of literature in Scotland which broke its long spell of inferiority during the interval between
Buchanan

Buchanan and Robertson. He and his friends were a pleasant and worthy race; united the old good breeding with the newest literary accomplishments; were not indifferent to claret and oysters when the labours of the day were over; and garnished all the heavier occupations of life with belles-lettres and humour. There is much information about the Scotland of a century since in Lord Woodhouselee's 'Kames.' Of his other works, the historical lectures are best known, and their educational value has been amply recognised.

Lord Woodhouselee married a Fraser of Balnain (the mother of Sir James Mackintosh was of the same family), and by her had eight children. PATRICK FRASER TYTLER, the historian, was the youngest of these, and was born in Prince's-street, Edinburgh, on the 30th August, 1791. His sister, the late Miss Ann Fraser Tytler, furnished Mr. Burgon with a pretty domestic sketch of his boyish and school days. She tells us candidly that, 'as a boy,' he was 'by no means remarkable,' 'except'—an important exception—'for the invariable truthfulness, openness, and perfect simplicity of his character.' He went to the High School, and joined in the street-fights, called *bickers*, with a healthy amount of spirit. But in early life he was no fonder of his books than other lads; and in his, as in many cases, the mind was awakened by tradition before it was awakened by literature. His father loved music, and scenery, and old historical legends, such as gather round Scottish ruins and hills; and these influences prepared 'Peter' (they use 'Peter' interchangeably with 'Patrick' in Scotland) for letters by and by. 'Books,' says Lord Bacon, 'can never teach the use of books.' The 'use' depends on the character which we bring to them. And it is easy to see the effects of the pious, kindly Woodhouselee training on Tytler's modest and laborious career. When he began to read, his reading was of an imaginative character—Percy's 'Reliques,' the 'Faëry Queen,' and so forth, the best food for a healthy young mind which, while sufficiently kept balanced in the world of facts by its natural solidity, ought by all means to be inspired and enlivened by glimpses of the world of fancy. A 'History of the Moors,' a 'very old-looking book,' particularly attracted young Tytler, who would lie 'stretched all his length on the carpet in the library at Woodhouselee' reading it 'for hours together.' The memory of these pleasant hours may wane out of the mind, but the effect of them, we may be sure, is never lost to it.

Tytler, however, had other advantages besides a home at once well-regulated and joyous. Their house 'Woodhouselee' was doubly 'haunted,'—by the ghost of Lady Anne Bothwell, a shadowy relic of ancient superstition, and by the more solid presence

presence of distinguished and agreeable friends from Edinburgh. Such were Henry Mackenzie, the 'Man of Feeling,' memorable now, mainly, for the paper in the 'Lounger' which introduced Burns to the knowledge of the learned and the great; Walter Scott, as popular among the children of families which he entered as his novels became all over Europe; Sydney Smith, who had put into Edinburgh 'in stress of politics,' and was as cheerful, noisy, and vivaciously humorous, as he remained through life. The world never tires of stories about Sydney, and here is one which Mr. Burgon tells on Tytler's authority:—

'Besides Scott, Mackintosh, and Sydney Smith, Lord Woodhouselee had invited to his table several first-rate talkers; and the usual rivalry ensued. Scott contented himself with telling some delightful stories, and resigning when Mackintosh seemed eager to be heard. Lord Jeffery flashed in with something brilliant, but was in turn outshone by some more fortunate talker. So much impatience was felt to lead the conversation, that no one had leisure to eat. Only Sydney was silent. He was discussing the soup, the fish, and the roast. In short, he partook leisurely of everything at table; until the last act was drawing to a close, and he had completely dined. He then delivered himself of something preposterous—laughed at it immoderately—and infecting every one present with his mirth, at once set the table in a roar. It is needless to add that he never parted with his advantage, but triumphantly led the conversation for the remainder of the evening, keeping the other guests convulsed with the humour of the only man present who had dined.'—*Memoir of Tytler*, p. 37.

In short, whether at Woodhouselee or in the town-house in Prince's-street, the judge's youngest son breathed an atmosphere of literature, and a very pure one. In 1808 his father sent him south to a school at Chobham, kept by Mr. Jerram, an evangelical clergyman. Here he worked really hard at Greek, Latin, and English literature, returning to Edinburgh to attend the College towards the close of 1809. That winter was spent in attendance on the Law and Classical lectures, in which he had a companion, familiarly mentioned in his letters as 'Archy Alison,' and now well known to the world under a graver appellation. 'Archy Alison and I,' he writes, 'have started together, and we have both worked *pretty*, though not *very* hard, at the "Institutes" of Heineccius during the winter; for previous to our beginning the study of the Scotch law, it is necessary that we should be well and accurately grounded in Roman jurisprudence.' This was a sound view of affairs, but already, at nineteen, his heart was being drawn to history; and in neither of the venerable studies just mentioned does he seem to have achieved much. He tried the bar, however—that favourite profession of the Scotch upper class,

class, as the Church is of the middle—having been admitted into the Faculty of Advocates on the 3rd July, 1813, a few months after the death of his father, which took place early in that year. The loss was severely felt by Tytler, whose affections were keen, as his spiritual life was serious and sensitive.

“It is indeed too true” (he wrote to his old tutor, Mr. Black, at the end of three months) “that to *me* my excellent father's death is quite irreparable; and that it has left a blank in my heart which nothing earthly can supply. My brothers' affections were divided: they had wives and children; and, by previous separation, had been weaned from my father. My affections were centered in *him*. I had no higher happiness than to see him smile on my studies: in all his literary labours he had the goodness to make me a sharer: my taste was moulded, my soul was knit to his; and from my infancy, till the moment he was taken from us, I was fostered in his bosom. Can you wonder then, that there are moments now in which I feel withered, like a plant that never sees the sun? Yet I comfort myself by thinking on the perfect happiness which is now enjoyed by that pure and sainted spirit, which has gone before us to heaven. *Animam ejus ad cælum unde erat rediisse mihi persuadeo.*”—p. 81.

We entirely approve of these occasional glimpses of this inner life of his friend given by the biographer; for, though a too frequent recurrence of them would jar on the taste, their suppression would leave the very foundations of Tytler's character in complete obscurity.

Next year, 1814, we are transported into a quite different world. Tytler, accompanied by some intimate friends, of whom ‘Archibald Alison’ was one, crossed the Channel, and visited Paris when thronged by the Allies. That stirring scene has often been painted, and need not detain us now. The young Scotsmen were hospitably received; introduced to many potentates, including the great Platoff; dined in the Russian fashion, and many other fashions; and feasted their eyes with the sight of celebrities innumerable. Tytler enjoyed all this, and wrote home about it in a hearty way; but, ‘notwithstanding the many objects of paramount interest which he had beheld, the Apollo Belvedere and the Venus de’ Medici seem to have most captivated his taste and laid the strongest hold on his imagination.’ It is curious that with such a genuine relish for artistic matters, and for the picturesque in life, Tytler should not have shown more of the faculties connected with those sympathies in his books. Good sense and a plain masterly way of handling facts—of dealing with their moral bearings and political relations—is his characteristic as a historian, rather than imagination or beauty of style. But still these finer influences must have contributed

tributed to keep alive and active his somewhat homely and ponderous intellectual nature. Meanwhile, the sight of the world and its attractions only seems to have confirmed him in that inward 'seriousness' on great subjects which gave a colour to his whole life. This may be said to have been in some degree 'Scotch,' like the cautious sagacity which also marked him, but both of which, a liberal literary culture and a certain vein of fun (genial, rather than brilliant) prevented from ever degenerating into the sourness of ultra-puritanism or the 'can-niness' of the underbred type of Northerners.

The next few years were spent in an attempt to reconcile law with literature. It was a nice struggle, for the law had its points of attraction for a historical mind like his; and yet its practice was daily proving more and more incompatible with his most cherished tastes and aspirations. He got some business, and was even made 'junior crown counsel' by the kindness of Lord Meadowbank. But his 'Diary' shows where his heart was, while he was defending 'panels' on circuit at Inverness or Perth, or (not without satisfaction) extorting 'alimant' for an indigent debtor in jail. His heart was not in the Highlands at circuit-time, but was in *Corinne*, 'Boileau,' Currie's 'Life of Burns,' Locke's 'Essay,' Johnson's 'London,' and scores of other good books, which he diligently perused during 1816-17. By April, 1818, he had ripened into authorship himself, for we find him correcting and enlarging 'Crichton,'—a 'Life' of that famous old literary prodigy, which he published the following year. He was contributing to 'Blackwood' likewise, but the ferocity of Maga startled Tytler, who hated controversy and loved quiet—never showing at any time the dashing, rollicking temperament which marks the *ingenia præfervida* among his countrymen, and is the true antique temperament of the nation. In 1818 he made an excursion—full of interest to a Scots lowlander or coastman—to Norway; but our countrymen have become such travellers since those days that fiords, green islands, spruce fir-trees, and simple Norwegian peasantry, are almost as stale to the general reader as turbans and yataghans. Dates like Nineveh or distances like California would alone justify our drawing upon the journal of a summer tourist.

Tytler's next literary step (1823) was a compromise between the profession which he followed and the studies which he loved. Probably he thought he would propitiate the profession, so he wrote the 'Life' of a lawyer, Sir Thomas Craig, adding 'biographical sketches' of many lawyers more. But by this, while he gained nothing, his publisher lost money, and his prospects at the bar were less hopeful than ever. He kept his spirits up by
writing

writing ballads for the dinners of the Bannatyne Club, to which he belonged as author, and of the Midlothian Yeomanry Cavalry, which he joined as Tory. This famous regiment had many a great name in its lists, and was of a convivial turn. Mr. Burgon gives a specimen of the songs Tytler wrote and sung for it; cheerful ditties, too, as he really had a thread of humour in him, but without *salt* enough to preserve them in our day. The generation which does not read Peter Pindar and the Younger Colman wants something more piquant than the squibs of the Scots historian. Nothing is so evanescent as local fun. But here is an anecdote of those times—an adventure of Basil Hall's, related by him to Tytler—and worth remembering for its glimpse of character and of the age:—

‘ Travelling in an old-fashioned stage-coach, he found himself opposite to a good-humoured jolly Dandie Diumont-looking person, with whom he entered into conversation, and found him most intelligent. Dandie, who was a stanch Loyalist as well as a stout yeoman, seemed equally pleased with his companion. “Troth, Sir,” he said, “I am weel content to meet wi’ a discreet civil spoken gentleman wi’ whom I can have a rational conversation, for I hae been sairly put out. You see, Sir, a Radical fellow came into the coach. It was the only time I ever saw a Radical: an’ he began abusing everything, saying that this was na a kintra fit to live in. And first he abused the King. Sir, I stood that. And then he abused the constitution. Sir, I stood that. And then he abused the farmers. Well, Sir, I stood it all. But then he took to abusing the yeomanry. Now, Sir, you ken I could na stand *that*, for I am a yeoman mysel; so I was under the necessity of being a wee rude-like till him. So I seized him by the cuff of the neck: ‘Do you see that window, Sir? Apologeeze, apologeeze, this very minute, or I’ll just put your head through the window.’ Wi’ that he *apologeezed*. ‘Now, Sir,’ I said, ‘you’ll gang out o’ the coach.’ And wi’ that I opened the door, and shot him out intil the road: and that’s all I ever saw o’ the Radical.”’—p. 172.

We now come to the most important period of the historian's life. He had long felt the want of some ‘great and engrossing subject’ on which to concentrate his force—a want natural to one of his disposition and habits—industrious, pertinacious, and domestic, but of sympathies rather warm than various. The law of Scotland had prepared him for its history; the study of letters had helped him to a style. But the immediate inspiration was given by his old family-friend Sir Walter Scott. He lighted his torch at that of Sir Walter, who suggested to him, one summer at Abbotsford (the year is not definitely ascertained, but probably in 1823), that he should undertake the ‘History of Scotland.’ Sir Walter had thought of the task himself, but saw its difficulties, was hampered by his many other avocations, and had compounded

compounded with his conscience in the matter by undertaking the 'Tales of a Grandfather'—a book always charming, and still the best popular introduction to the subject. The time soon came when misfortune imposed upon the great man task-work about which he had no choice, and the memory of which saddens the visitor to the quiet and lonely show-rooms of Abbotsford more than all the beautiful desolation of Melrose.

Tytler was deeply struck by Scott's suggestion, while proud, as he might well be, of his promised countenance and advice. It was occupying his mind in 1824, and the two following years, amid his professional business, and thoughts of a sweeter and deeper cast. He was now wooing Rachel Elizabeth, the beautiful daughter of Mr. Hog, of Newliston—a singular old gentleman of the French-Scottish school of the last century, living among his woods in a retirement not uncommon among old Scottish lairds. Their marriage took place in March, 1826; and seems to have been in every way a happy alliance. Since Tytler can hardly be called a 'brilliant' or spirit-stirring historian, he requires all the more that we should recognise his attractiveness in a domestic and quiet way. Good literary biography should always aim at *filling-up* the public impressions about a man, by showing us the comic or light writer in his serious mood in hours of business,—the grave one in his playful and familiar moments. Charles Lamb at home and Sydney Smith in his country parsonage are pictures, which in our time have, on the whole, raised these men in popular estimation. The reader may like to see the homelier aspect of the industrious writer who has carried him through the Bruce and Baliol controversy, or the religious struggles and convulsions of the sixteenth century. So we draw on Mr. Burgon, who has drawn on his friend's domestic correspondence:—

'The next was evidently written in July or August:—

"Exchequer Court, Tuesday, 1 o'Clock.

"My dearest love,—I am sitting here in the Exchequer Court, with one Baron sound asleep (the effect of the thermometer at 80°), the others almost dozing, and the Chief Baron speaking at great length about half a gallon of whisky, with an energy that might do honour to ——— or Demosthenes. Seriously, nothing can be more trifling or uninteresting, yet here must I sit and wait till it is concluded.

"So far had I written, when the case broke up, and allowed me to come hither (Lauriston). . . . How I envied you to-day the cool shady walks under our favourite evergreens, when my unhappy frame was sinking from the proximity to a thousand writers and writers' clerks, or broiling in Prince's-street, where the pavement absolutely bakes the soles of your feet, till they become like barley scones, if I may be permitted the expression. But the contrast will only make Newliston more delightful to me; although I need little to make me entirely love the spot

spot where your infancy, my best beloved, was passed, to which my heart turns, as the home of the dearest of all objects; and the trees and fields of which are becoming personal friends to me.

"Write a single line to tell me that you continue well, but do not fatigue or tire yourself. Remember, my dearest of all girls, that on the care you take of yourself my whole happiness hangs. Forgive this wretched and hurried scrawl, but true love is to be measured neither by wire-wove paper nor well-turned sentences. Farewell, my dearest love!"

'My friend had in the mean time purchased a house in Edinburgh (36, Melville-street), and he was now busy furnishing it, with the intention of establishing himself in the metropolis before the winter. He was also actively occupied with the preparation of the first volume of his great work. Writing to his mother from Newliston in the month of August, he gives an interesting picture of his method and resources:—"I am going on finely with my Scottish History. I have got all my books round me, and a nice little room for a study. I take a shower-bath in the morning, and ride or walk every day. Yesterday I rode with James to Linlithgow, to see an old library left to the magistrates of that town for the use of themselves and the county, by the late historian of Britain, Dr. Henry. I found it much neglected, although full of many curious and valuable volumes, much in my own way. The subscription was a trifle; so Jamie and I have become subscribers, and a man (and horse) with a large basket is now on his road from Linlithgow (he has this moment arrived), with a load of old English historians, which have not been disturbed, I daresay, since the death of the worthy doctor himself. So you see, I am going on in my old way; and no place can be imagined more admirably fitted for study than this. The quietness and seclusion of the woods, and the complete retirement in which we live, leave you no excuse for idleness, and I hope to do a great deal before we leave it.'

* * * *

'Before the end of November, 1826, my friend and his wife had established themselves in their new home, 36, Melville-street. "I have the most pleasing recollection of his study," writes his brother-in-law, "where the greatest part of his History was composed. Most of the Edinburgh houses are constructed on one plan. On the ground floor there is commonly a dining-room in front, lobby, butler's pantry, &c., and behind a handsome square room, reserved as occasion may serve for business, a sleeping-room, or otherwise. This room it was which P. F. T. made his study. It was fitted up with glazed bookcases, a few choice prints, a bit of sculpture, and one or two pieces of china and antiquity. His library table was always covered with choice and favourite books for daily use, arranged in rows, not lying confusedly, but ready for consultation. The prints (which by the way were especial favourites) were 'The Satin Gown' of Wills, Hogarth's famous and rare print of the family of Sir Thomas More, the St. Agnes of Domenichino, by Strange (the *chef-d'œuvre* of that engraver), and the Aurora of Guido. The pieces of statuary were one or two of Campbell's

Campbell's earlier models, some designs for the Hopetoun Monument, and two little Cupids, now nearly forgotten. A vase or two in imitation of china, painted by my sister Rachel, a small bronze or two, a fragment of armour—such were the ornaments of his study in those days. I should add that there were invariably on his chimney-piece two small panels of oak, on one of which were painted the Tytler arms; on the other, a first attempt in oils of Campbell the sculptor—a portrait I think of himself, taken when very young. While describing the furniture of his study, I must not forget the standing desk. P. F. T. almost invariably wrote standing, surrounded by his authorities, and attired in a robe de chambre. It was pleasant to be in the room with him, and to witness the enthusiasm with which he flitted from one book to another."

'I venture to add a few extracts from two letters written on two successive days in the September of the following year (1827), to his wife, who was visiting at Smeaton, the residence of Sir John Hepburn. They are both dated from Melville-street.

"My dearest love,—Another note from your solitary bird! Indeed I am very solitary, and wish very much I was once more back again; for, from some cause or other, my uncle and William have never arrived, and I begin to fear that he or some of them are ill. . . . On going up to my dressing-room before dinner, my eyes rested on the little old brown trunk which contains your early letters, when you were a little little dear creature, running about and stuffing your small body thro' windows in rabbit-houses. It has a strong string round it, and I have the greatest inclination to rummage thro' it, and read everything; but I do not know whether if you were beside me you would permit it, and this feeling makes me hesitate."—pp. 188-192.

These letters of Tytler's come from a kind, warm heart; and we may depend upon it that a man is all the better historian for that apparently commonplace quality. How *should* a man understand the intense old ages of our history—'fierce war and faithful love'—if his own moral being have not been kept active by the indulgence of generous and noble passions? How *should* a cold brilliant egotist comprehend what Sir James Douglas felt for Bruce?

Such as we have seen it was Tytler's life while he was entering on the work which busied him for eighteen years, and will preserve his name to posterity. He avoided that dismal wilderness which lies away beyond the war of independence in Scottish history; on which battle wrathfully the shades of the ardent Pinkerton and erudite Chalmers; whereon flit, too, *ignes fatui* in the form of theories that lead the wanderer many a hopeless dance. By-and-bye, let us trust, we shall see that wilderness cleared; some harmony established between what Palgrave enforces and what Scottish antiquaries believe; between, also, the school

that sees Gothic, and the school that sees Celtic influence predominant in the early history of Scotland—all points involving controversy and confusion, and never argued without some bitterness from nationality and race. Tytler began with the thirteenth century, when Scotland was comparatively *Normanized* and feudalized; and when the failure of the direct line of the old sovereigns opened up the question of the 'superiority' claimed by the English Crown. Avoiding thus the 'dark ages,' over which Buchanan had marched in classical buskins, credulous and uncritical, he had also the advantage of commencing with the struggle which Scotsmen cherish as the foundation of their historic honour, and the effect of which was to give them, in spite of their varieties of race, a moral as well as a geographical unity. That struggle is full of picturesque incidents, which have been transmitted by the old poetic narrators of the country. It would be too much to say that Tytler's *genius* was sufficient to make him clothe the narrative with all the romantic beauty of which, without the least sacrifice of veracity, it is capable. But he never wants spirit, sense, and research; and in this early part of his history he has hardly a competitor. Lord Hailes is for students and scholars only; Pinkerton, whose style is tainted with bad *Gibbonism*, does not begin so early; Buchanan has fallen in the race for fame, helpless in the panoply of his classical armour. 'The Tales of a Grandfather' are more directly written to boys in the early than in any other portion, and want the fulness demanded by curious readers. Tytler, then, does not only acquit himself well in this field, but has the field very much to himself.

The first two volumes of the 'History of Scotland' appeared in 1828 and 1829, and were well received. But the vista of work began to lengthen before the historian's eyes. He saw—and it should be remembered to his praise *now*—of what importance the MSS. in the State Paper Office would be to him; and in 1830 he took a run up to London, as well to break ground in this and kindred directions, as to pave the way for future works. One of these last was the 'Lives of Scottish Worthies,' respecting which he then made business arrangements. He saw a good deal this time of the celebrities of the Metropolis. But there is a characteristic reason for our knowing but little of the impressions they made on him; for his letters to his wife, says Mr. Burgon, are 'full of *her*.' Mrs. Tytler's health was ominously delicate, and the good man's eyes were ever directed northward towards her and the youngster.

He returned to Edinburgh to find troublous times. Here is a
little

little bit of *history* as important in its way to us, and as pregnant with consequences, if we could see them all, as events of higher dignity and antiquity. The painter is Miss Ann Fraser Tytler:—

‘In December, 1830, there was a change of Ministry, Brougham being made Lord Chancellor, and Lord Grey Premier. All the Whigs came in. My brother lost his office, and in consequence was obliged to let his house. It was fortunate he was beginning to gain by his works. He had then just completed in ten weeks his first volume of the *Scottish Worthies*. He was also going on with his *History of Scotland*, which was so highly thought of, that he had at that time applications from various quarters to undertake new works. But those were gloomy times; and the disorderly state of the lower ranks was becoming quite alarming. On the 4th April, 1831, shameful riots took place in Edinburgh, and my brother was in much alarm for the safety of his wife, who had been confined only a few days before.

‘The second reading of the Bill for Parliamentary Reform having been carried by a majority of only one in the House of Commons, the friends of this measure instigated the people to illuminate. The magistrates at first refused, but afterwards weakly yielded to the solicitations of the mob; and the consequence was that the Tories had scarcely a pane of glass left in their windows. Ours were completely smashed. The yelling was tremendous, and the crashing of the windows was so great, that we thought every moment that it was the street-door they were forcing. Then, as they moved on, the shout from a thousand voices of “Now for the other Tytlers,” carried dismay to our hearts; and the houses of both my brothers, and also of my uncle, Colonel Tytler, shared the same fate. Such a spirit of disorder was abroad that even the houses of the other party were not respected. Joseph Bell had 102 panes of glass broken. Their fury at all of the name of Dundas was unbounded. Mr. James Dundas, St. Andrew’s-square, was dying at the time. His daughters had bark laid before the door, the bell tied up, and even the house illuminated; but all would not do. In vain the man stationed at the door warned the mob that a dying person was in the house. They only shouted the louder, and battered every pane of glass in their fury, even in the sick man’s chamber. The same scene was acted in Melville-street also. Mr. William Bonar lay in the same state of danger. With both, the agitation was so great as to produce delirium, and both died the following night. Many said we were on the brink of a revolution. Nothing was talked, read, or thought of, but those subjects.’—pp. 208-210.

Mrs. Tytler’s health, for she was consumptive, had now assumed a character which rendered it necessary that they should seek milder air than that which blew round Arthur’s Seat, and is felt so bitterly when the wind is east in the ‘gray metropolis of the North.’ They passed through the Border scenery, in the midst of which Sir Walter Scott then (1832) lay dying, and made their way to Leamington, and so to Torquay. All this time he

had been working hard—had published some more of the History, and a 'Life of Raleigh;' materials for which, no doubt, fell in his way while busy with the wider subject. The spring of 1833 found him in London, 'working nine hours a day,' not without injury to his health. Winter came, with its terrors for his Rachel; and this time they shifted their quarters to Bute. A student in a remote island in winter is a melancholy object; but there, with sea-gulls whirling under the windows, and rain lashing the panes, he finished 'volume fifth.' 'Peter's lament,' writes his wife, 'over the loss of anything like a bookseller's shop is very touching. I think it was the first question he asked Miss Gardner, who told him, with great simplicity, that he could get *writing-paper* in Rothesay. He has, however, attacked his own repository in real earnest; and forgotten all his promises to the doctors of moderation in study.' The winter in rainy Bute was the last Tytler and his wife spent together in this world. Returning from a brief visit to London in the spring of 1835, he found her health seriously worse, and she died that April. He suffered with all the severity natural to a person of his warmth of heart, but not without the consolations natural to one of his depth of piety. A worthy, solid, somewhat prosaic man, his kind, honest humanity wins on the reader of his biography as he goes along, and begets a personal regard for him in his trials as in his daily toils.

Tytler now found that London was his proper head-quarters. He established himself there with his sister and his children, and went on steadily with the *magnum opus*, and such collateral bits of work as rose out of it. Hampstead he made his summer, and Wimpole Street his winter, residence; spending hours every day in the State Paper Office, communing with the old Elizabethan ambassadors and statesmen, and groping his way through the confused turmoil of diplomacy and intrigue which went on between Elizabeth's Court and Scotland in the sixteenth century. It is not pretended that he exhausted such sources of knowledge, but he was one of the pioneers in that department; and his evidence before the Record Commission was emphatically and influentially given in favour of that very system of *calendaring* the contents of state papers, which now, after the lapse of twenty years, is being performed with zeal and promise. And here we must not fail to remark, that it was at the State Paper Office that Tytler first became intimate with his biographer, whom he had met, in 1835, at Mr. Rogers's in company with the Danish antiquary, Brøndsted. 'His affability, and the patience with which, though his years fully doubled mine,' writes Mr. Burgon—'he surrendered himself for
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the whole evening to so unprofitable a conversationist, I well remember. . . . There was no want of vivacity in his conversation; but the air of melancholy impressed on his countenance struck me very much.' The acquaintance formed in this way ripened when occupation threw them together in the office, and in the autumn of 1839 they made a tour in company in the Highlands. For a man whose mind was so concentrated on book-work, Tytler preserved a singular relish for the country and for sporting;—just as all the seriousness and sensibility in his character did not spoil the decided vein of homely fun about him. He appears, indeed, to have been originally very healthy in all ways; and to have confined himself more exclusively to mental labour than there was occasion for. But we are all ready to be wise for our neighbours, though of their actual conditions, inwards and outwards, we know so little at the best.

From glens, mountains, and lochs, the historian returned to his labour in town; and the winter and spring of 1839-40 were bestowed on the 'seventh volume.' He had now arrived at the Knox and Mary period—that which, next to the Bruce and Baliol one, is filled with the most profound and varied interest for the historical reader. Indeed, the dramatic character of Scottish history at that time has been positively injurious to the subject. It has drawn all eyes to the subject *as a picture*, and, filling people's minds with dramatic and romantic associations concerning it, has made them indifferent to the homelier facts,—political, social, economical—on the right interpretation of which our ultimate knowledge and judgment about any period must depend. When Mary escapes from Lochleven—when the keys are flung in the lake—when, under the banner of the gallant John Maxwell, Lord Herries, the horsemen rally round her cause at Langside—when, the field being lost, she rides sixty miles by her friend's side, to seek a retreat among the undulating purple hills of Galloway, and to cross the Solway to the country where she only found a prison and a grave—who is not dazzled and bewildered by events so rapid, so exciting, so affecting? The truth is, that in the controversy raised about the personal questions of Mary's time the less dramatic facts are overlooked; and it is only now, when there is a lull in the disputes as to Darnley's murder or Bothwell's marriage, that writers are beginning to do justice to the real practical history of the Scots people—their condition, and its development. As for the controversy itself, it would be hopeless to attempt to bring the world to any unanimity on the subject. The question of Mary's guilt or innocence is one at once of personal character, which is always perplexing; and of political interest, which invariably warps. A sentimentalist,

alist, of the one party, is as likely to be unjust to somebody, as a bigot, of the other, to the Queen; and between operative twaddle involving the theory that Buchanan was a villain, and sectarian virulence talking spiritual radicalism, a cool reader, free from hereditary prejudices on either side, is apt to be soon sickened of the dispute. The observing tourist, meanwhile, with an eye for character, may smile to see, that, though the mass of the Scots cannot make up their minds to believe in the spotlessness of their famous sovereign, they are unanimous in resenting any assault on it from an *Englishman*! Not many years back a distinguished Southron, lecturing in Edinburgh, found that he pricked his fingers when he meddled with the White Rose.

Tytler had his impartiality severely tested in dealing with this part of his History. His grandfather had not only defended the Queen, but had defended her against Hume and Robertson, and in so doing had laid the foundation of that literary fame of the family which it was one great object of the grandson's life to keep up. He came honourably out of the trial, and displayed qualities which more popular historians would do well to imitate—patience, sobriety, and fair play. Laurels were to be gained, partisans to be won, on either side. Tytler did his best to decide honestly about both. He does not disguise that his convictions regarding Mary were very different from those of his grandfather, but he does not allow them to betray him into exaggeration. He avoids the weak blunder of judging Knox by the standard of Mayfair; but, while he pronounced Knox 'perfectly honest,' he excited great scandal by arguing that he was privy to Rizzio's murder. The dust of that new controversy is not laid yet, but we shall fling none of it in the reader's eyes on this occasion. Our only business with the matter is to say that Tytler never believed without a reason for his belief, at which he had arrived by some honourable process. He would not have stuck to any assertion which friends and foes had united to demonstrate to him to be false; and we need not say (for example) that if the 'John Knox' of the MSS. had been proved to be only a namesake of the reformer's, he would have withdrawn his original statement with eagerness and gratitude. His style wanted the pungency and brilliance so welcome at the circulating libraries. But the worthy man began each volume with prayer; and though it is a little pedantic, according to modern fashion, for Mr. Burgon to call his biography 'The Portrait of a Christian Gentleman,' the justice of the title is perfectly unquestionable. As such Tytler lived and laboured, as such he died, and as such he will be remembered.

We are now to deal with the closing years of this useful life.

We

We find him visiting Scotland in 1840, busy as usual, enjoying at the same time the kindness of old friends and the consciousness of growing reputation.

"I am distracted," he writes, "by the number of extracts I have to make from MSS., and mobbed by the kindness of old friends who insist on my dining with them. It is pleasant to find one is not forgotten, and yet difficult to manage without seeming cold; and I was never famous for being able to say 'No.' It will end in my staying, I think, a week longer in Scotland; but how to satisfy my uncle, and my brother James, and my old friend David Anderson, and my still older and dearer friends the Alisons—is past my comprehension." It gratified him to find in every quarter an anxious desire to facilitate his researches. "I concluded also with Mr. Tait," he writes, "an agreement for a second edition of my history on very fair and just terms; and had the satisfaction to hear from those best qualified to judge upon the subject, that the History had by degrees established itself so firmly in public opinion, that the success not only of a second, but of various successive editions, was considered certain. (I bless God that He has thus prospered the work of my hands. May His goodness strengthen me yet a little, to bring it to a conclusion!) These two weeks in Scotland I spent chiefly at Woodville, with my dear old friends, Dr. W. Alison, his dear wife Margaret Alison, and Dora Gerard (dear Montagu's daughter). The place was full of the sweetest and tenderest recollections, for since I had been last there he, the father of the house, who was to me a second father in the affection and interest with which he always regarded me—he had fallen asleep; and as my dear Margaret and Dora took me through the well-known spots—his room, the garden, the walks—every place seemed hallowed by his memory. Surely if ever a blessing descended on filial love, it is falling daily and hourly on the head of that dear creature, our own Margaret, who nursed him with such constant affection and ever wakeful love!"—p. 299.

Next spring a slight paralytic seizure warned him of the danger of over-work; but he rallied from this, and recovered his old cheerfulness. Mr. Burgon naturally wishes to give us some impression of his friend's social hours and conversation; but this task, difficult at all times, is still more so in the case of so decided a book-man as Tytler. Notwithstanding, however, that the relaxations of a life so peculiarly secluded and laborious are apt to be too homely to bear the criticism of strangers.—desiring, as we all do above most things, to be 'amused,'—the biographer is more successful than we should have expected. A reader, knowing nothing of Tytler but his 'History of Scotland,' will probably be somewhat surprised, on the whole, with the amount of liveliness recorded of him in the following sketch:—

'In truth his wit was of that delicate kind which will scarcely bear repetition; his *bons mots* owed their attractiveness to the quiet humour and

and the extreme drollery with which they were delivered, and can scarcely be reproduced. Thus, though he used to make us very merry at home; and though, when we went into the country for the summer months, he would reside with us for many days together, and had always something playful and pleasant to say; I can recall but a few such passages; and scarcely one of them seems sufficiently striking to set down. A friend of the poet Cowper, whom I once begged to give me any specimens he could remember of that poet's conversation, expressed himself concerning Cowper in exactly the same terms.

'Tytler had great vivacity; and when he liked his company (as I am sure he liked all of us), he used to talk a great deal, and overflowed with amusing anecdote. He came out delightfully in society also; the gentlemanly reserve of his manners, and his extreme urbanity, always conciliating the good will of strangers who saw him for the first time. But he was most delightful when we were quite by ourselves. If I try to recall him on such occasions, I commonly see him smiling over a quaint sketch which he is intent on making in one of his own pocket-books. At last he lays it down, as if exhausted with the effort, and proposes with a submissive insinuating voice, that every one present shall sing a song; adding (to the relief of the whole party) that he should like to sing *first*, and earnestly requesting that we will all supply the ludicrous chorus, in which he proceeds to instruct us. Then he begins, in a fine rich strong voice, without a particle of hesitation—"There were two flies upon a time," &c. &c. It is needless to add that the song proves full of drollery; and leads to another, and another: so that, at the end of many years, the incident lingers in the memory; and the burden of the first song passes into a family proverb.

'From the commonest incidents of the hour he knew how to extract the soul of playfulness and humour. At Houghton Conquest we had once been calling on a friend who possessed a museum of Natural History, and who pressed us to accept of several specimens on our departure. He took a great fancy to Tytler, whom he conducted through all his greenhouses. On driving off, I asked Tytler what made him spring so nimbly into the carriage? "O Johnny," he exclaimed, with a face drolly expressive of alarm and insecurity, "I was so afraid your friend would insist on my putting *one of those stuffed bustards* into my pocket." "But you were pleased with his greenhouse plants, were not you?" asked my sister. "O, very much pleased," he replied; and paid the plants and their owner every compliment she could desire: but he explained that he feared he did not care enough for such objects to bestow upon them all the attention they need; adding thoughtfully—"I don't think I should like *sitting up all night with a sick cactus*."

'We had taken a cottage at Moulsey for the summer; and one day, after dinner, were looking at a cherry-tree on the lawn. Tytler, turning to one of my sisters, modestly inquired the meaning of an empty box of figs and a strip of red bunting in the middle of the tree? She explained that she had put it there in order to frighten away the birds. "O, I assure you, Miss Burgon," said Tytler very gravely and thoughtfully,

fully, "that's all a mistake. The birds stand upon the box to eat the cherries, and then *wipe their beaks on the rag*." When he heard that my brother-in-law was a rural dean, he said he thought it such a pretty title; adding—"Do you know, I always think a rural dean ought to walk about *with a daisy in his bonnet*." . . . So trifling, at the end of a few years, are the sayings which linger in the memory!—pp. 305-307.

These *mots* want the epigrammatic sharpness of fashionable wit, but there is a natural fun about them, and unaffected fun is a very good sign of the character.

On the 25th October, 1843, he wrote the last sentence of the last chapter of his *History*. Earlier in the year he had been commanded by Her Majesty to examine and report on the 'Darnley Jewel,' and in November was farther honoured with an invitation to Windsor. In the following year Sir Robert Peel announced to him the grant of a literary pension of 200*l*.

About this time Mr. Burgon ceased to see almost anything of Tytler, and in 1845 was somewhat taken by surprise to hear from him that he meditated a second marriage. After this event the health of the historian gave way; he disappeared from society, and lived mostly on the Continent, seeking benefit from 'cold-water establishments.' But he never recovered himself; his nervous system was shattered, and his mind unfit for exertion or excitement. On Christmas-eve, 1849, he breathed his last. His remains were conveyed to Edinburgh to the family-vault in the Greyfriars Churchyard, already made memorable in literature by the interment of his great predecessor in history, Buchanan, whose grave, however, can no longer be pointed out. He left three children—a daughter, Mary Stewart, and two sons in the Indian army.

Tytler's admirers cannot claim for him a place in the highest rank of historians. But in the class just below them he holds an honourable position, and his book will probably remain for several generations the standard *History of Scotland*. The excellence of his character, at once so sound and so attractive, deserves cordial sympathy. Mr. Burgon's 'Memoir' does full justice to it, and that with a tact which is not the least merit of his unpretending and readable pages. It is not easy to make so quiet and studious a career an engaging object of contemplation; but neither is it by any means so impossible as is sometimes assumed. When literary biography comes to be fairly studied as an art, the world will soon forget that it ever seriously believed that those whose labours alone preserve the memory of other men were entirely unfit subjects for commemoration themselves.

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THE

THE object we propose to ourselves in this article is to endeavour to explain to non-geological readers what is the present state of geology, both theoretical and practical,—what it is that the geologists of the present day profess to know, and what it is they profess to do. We may say briefly in the first place that they profess to know the structure of the external crust of the globe, in some parts pretty accurately, in others generally, and in others again vaguely; and they profess also to know, more or less fully, the way in which that structure was elaborated. What they profess to do is to apply this knowledge to the examination of one district of the earth after another, so as to make out their internal constitution, sometimes to a depth of many thousand feet.

Every fresh district that a geologist examines adds to his store of facts, and strengthens his theoretical ideas as to the origin of the structures he observes. Fact and theory are indissolubly united, it being the test of a sound theory that every fresh fact finds a place in it,—enlarges what was deficient, explains what was obscure, cuts away what was superfluous, reconciles that which appeared contradictory, and makes the theory different from what it was before only in being more complete and harmonious.

Geological theory is by no means perfect, since there are still differences of opinion among geologists upon certain parts of it; while all geologists agree in confessing their ignorance on some other parts. That the agreement among men of science on the principal conclusions does not rest on insufficient grounds, may be inferred from the results being the conjoint but independent work of many hundreds of acute investigators of different nations, working in almost all parts of the globe. Any one of the tribe would be ready to point out the errors committed by any of the others, both for the sake of truth itself and for his own credit. Such corrections, indeed, upon minor points are continually appearing. That man would acquire an almost unbounded fame who could prove that any important part of the theory of geology was erroneous; yet all who study the subject unite in upholding its general truth, if indeed with respect to some of them it may not be more appropriately said that they have, against their previous convictions, been obliged to confess it. The order in which we shall here proceed is to state, first, the theoretical conclusions at which geologists have arrived; and secondly, the nature of the facts on which those conclusions are based.

The theoretical history of the crust of the globe, meaning by the crust a thickness of some ten miles, or about $\frac{1}{400}$ part of the distance

distance from the surface to the centre, is deduced from the examination of its complex structure, which bears evident marks of the way in which it was produced. Like many human histories, however, there is no proper commencement to the geological history of the earth. We can trace it back till we lose ourselves in uncertainty for want of data. We arrive at what we may call a mythical period, when the scanty facts must be grouped together as a mere hypothesis. This hypothesis is that at one time the earth was a molten globe, containing the constituents of our present rocks in a state of fusion. The elements of the atmosphere and the water could then only have existed as greatly expanded gases surrounding the fluid. The hypothesis involves the conclusion, that, when the crust of the earth first cooled, it assumed very nearly the shape and dimensions it now has; that, in the first instance, all the rocks on the crust of the globe were such as had consolidated from fusion,—in other words, were igneous rocks; while, as water could not exist till after these were formed, and does not in itself contain the constituents of any rocks, it follows that all rocks deposited from water, must be derived either mediately or immediately from igneous rocks.

This hypothesis certainly explains better than any other the following undoubted facts:—

1st. *The form of the Earth*, which is exactly that which it would have assumed, if the hypothesis be true, namely, the form of a spheroid, bulging $\frac{1}{300}$ th part of its diameter, or to an extent of some 13 miles on all sides about the equator, as if in obedience to a centrifugal force acting on a rotating fluid.

2nd. *The Specific Gravity of the Earth*, which is not greater than 5 or 6 times that of water; whereas its density must apparently have been much greater, if it had not been kept out to its present dimensions by the expanding force of internal heat.

3rd. *The present internal Temperature of the Earth*, which, according to all observations in deep mines, and on the temperature of the water of deep wells, increases internally at the rate of 1° Fah. for every 50 or 60 or 100 feet of descent.

4th. *The Volcanic action*, consisting in the ejection of intensely-heated matters from a deep source in the interior of the earth, which is now going on, and appears always to have been going on from the earliest geological period to the present day.

The conclusion as to the origin of aqueous rocks would also agree well with the supposition, since in any case all those rocks are derived from some others, and, as there are only two classes, those others must have been igneous. Still we hold it safer not to admit at present the original igneous fluidity of the earth

earth as part of the geological theory, but to keep it distinct as an hypothesis which does not affect the truth of the history we have to relate.

Whatever may have been the primitive condition of the earth, we can show that a period of such vast extent as to be almost inconceivable by human faculties has elapsed since first it became a habitable globe, with the same general features as at present, having, that is, its surface parcelled out into seas and oceans, islands and continents, the land being diversified by mountain, plain, and valley, with lakes in the hollows, and rivers flowing between the slopes, the whole enveloped in the same atmosphere as now exists, with the same circulation of moisture and a similar system of winds and currents. The mere place and outline of the dry land has frequently changed. Most of our present dry lands have been deep sea, and then dry land, and then deep sea again, several times: and the same thing has probably happened to those parts of the earth's surface that are now covered by water. The solid crust of the earth seems to have been always subject to a gentle fluctuating movement of elevation and depression, affecting first one area and then another, while large parts remain stationary for long periods, until they in their turn are moved and the others left at rest. We may look upon the dry land of any period, therefore, as merely so much of the solid surface of the earth as happens to be taking its turn to stand above the level of the sea. According, however, to the latitude and the form of the dry land, the extent and direction of its coasts, the altitude and the bearing of its mountain chains, and their relation to prevailing winds and currents, great modifications might be produced in the climate of different parts of the earth. These modifications being allowed for, we may still assert that the general condition of the globe, even at the very beginning of our geological history, was the same as at present.

Now let us, merely for the convenience of our narration, suppose the vast length of time, since the Earth assumed its present conditions as a habitable globe, divided into three great portions, which we will call Primary, Secondary, and Tertiary; or if we choose to refer to the life upon the globe and use Greek instead of Latin terms, we may call them Palæozoic, Mesozoic, and Cainozoic—that is, the times of the ancient, the middle, and the modern life. Let us use the term Epoch to designate these great divisions of time,* and let us subdivide each into minor but still vast durations, which we may call Periods. For

* *Ἐποχὴ*, although a vague term and generally used to mark the point at which any space of time commences rather than its whole duration, is now extensively employed in the latter sense.

the names of these Periods we must use words that have been derived from notions that had no connexion with chronology: but disregarding altogether the literal meaning of the terms, and taking them merely as *names* without any particular signification, we shall have the following chronological scheme.

A. Primary or Palæozoic Epoch.

1. Cambrian Period.
2. Lower (or Cambro-) Silurian Period.
3. Upper Silurian Period.
4. Devonian Period.
5. Carboniferous Period.
6. Permian Period.

B. Secondary or Mesozoic Epoch.

7. Triassic Period.
8. Oolitic or Jurassic Period.
9. Cretaceous Period.

C. Tertiary or Cainozoic Epoch.

10. Eocene Period.
11. Miocene Period.
12. Pliocene Period.
13. Pleistocene Period.
14. Modern or Human Period.

Each of these first thirteen periods had a vast indefinite duration, during which great changes occurred in the structure and physical geography of the surface, as also in the species of animals and plants that inhabited it. Large additions were in each period made in places to the deposits that now enter into the crust of the earth, and those additions necessarily involved equally large destruction of other parts that had been previously formed.

Let us first speak of the purely physical or inorganic and afterwards of the biological or organic changes.

From the commencement of the Primary or Palæozoic Epoch, there have been two great agents at work upon the crust of the globe—the one that of water acting from the outside, the other that of fire or heat acting from the inside. Moving water, whether it be the breakers and currents of seas and lakes, the floods of rivers, the fall of cataracts, the grinding of glaciers, or the transporting powers of icebergs, is always at work in separating rock into blocks and fragments, and wearing it down into gravel, sand, and mud. Water also, especially when it contains carbonic acid gas, which almost all water naturally does, exercises a solvent power on carbonate of lime and other minerals, and thus dissolves the

the rocks which contain them. In these ways water is always active in transporting the materials of which rocks are composed from higher to lower levels, and finally depositing those materials on the beds of lakes and seas, either as a sediment or a precipitate, according as the particles were held by it in mechanical suspension or in actual solution. The rocks which are deposited from mechanical suspension are every variety of mud, clay, sand, and gravel, which, when compacted together, either by pressure or any mineral cement, become marls, shales, slates, sandstones, gritstones, puddingstones, and conglomerates. The principal rocks which are deposited by precipitation from chemical solution are gypsum, rock salt, and some varieties of limestone. Other kinds of limestone, and those the largest and most frequent, seem to be entirely made up of the shells, coats, and bones of animals that secreted the carbonate of lime from its aqueous solution, and thus rendered it capable of conversion into a rock, after the hard parts of the animals had been broken up, and more or less ground into a calcareous sand or mud. Coal, in all its varieties, on the other hand, seems to be chiefly, if not entirely, composed of the plants which had in like manner secreted and solidified the carbon of the atmosphere. All the rocks thus deposited under water occur in regular beds or strata, and are therefore called Stratified as well as Aqueous rocks.

The amount of the erosion effected by water in any short period of time seems now, and would always have seemed, very insignificant; but as the action is unceasing, its ultimate amount must be great when continued through millions of ages. If, therefore, each of the periods mentioned in our chronological scheme had such a duration, it must of necessity follow that large tracts of dry land were gradually washed down, and the materials were converted into corresponding sheets of rock on the bed of the ocean. These would spread over greater or less areas, and consist of coarser or finer materials, according to circumstances; the coarser materials being less widely diffused, the finer spread in broader and thinner sheets, just as we know that water heaps up pebbles and sand into ridges and mounds, while fine mud is floated for scores of miles and may be carried even hundreds of miles by gentle under-currents before it finally settles upon its bed in the sea. In examining the stratified rocks, we find them exactly such as we should expect, assuming that they were deposited by the methods now described.

The strata formed in each of the periods mentioned in our table swell out in some part of the world or other to a thickness of several hundred or several thousand feet, and as the beds, which are regularly deposited one upon the other, are
always

always such as must have been derived from the waste of previously existing rocks, we get a measure for the amount of the erosion that took place, and therefore of the time required for the operation.

During each period then there were areas of destruction and areas of production, the latter being generally the neighbour of the former. Other districts there would be, either of dry land not subject to the wearing action of water, or of sea-bottom too remote from the source of supply for any deposition to take place. These we may speak of as areas of neutrality. On many parts of the sea-bottom, however, where no mechanically-transported materials were thrown down, there might be formed the basis of future limestones by the accumulation of the hard coverings of animals. On some portions of the dry land also thick vegetation might be growing which would afterwards form beds of coal either on the spot where they grew or be carried by floods to fresh places. Nevertheless, the production of any kind of aqueous rock in places where no portions of the earth were borne by water must always have been the exception rather than the rule; and in all cases, except that of coal, the new rocks must have been derived from the destruction of old, either by erosion, or by solution, or by both combined.

It would follow then from these data, that, if there had been no counteracting influence to compensate for the effects of the levelling power of moving water, the whole of the dry land that existed at the commencement of the Palæozoic epoch must long since have been worn down and its materials strewed over the bed of the sea, in which case the entire surface of the earth would have been converted into a weary waste of waters. That this is not the condition of the world is due to the action of fire or heat, a power which has always been at work beneath the surface, lifting up the rocks formed on the bed of the sea into dry land, or raising the dry land to a still higher level than it had before. Elevation has taken place in one region during one period, in another region during another period, and was most probably accompanied by corresponding depressions in neighbouring districts. The upheaving was commonly caused by the intrusion of molten rock into the part of the crust that was being raised; and when the pent-up lava occasionally forced its way through the surface, eruptions took place and volcanoes were formed. What may be the proximate cause of this determination of internal heat towards the exterior, now in one part and now in another of the globe, we do not yet know, and perhaps must ever remain in ignorance. We can, however, watch its effects even in our own day. Sweden and Norway are slowly being
lifted

lifted out of the sea at the rate of from one-half to one-tenth of an inch per annum. The west coast of Greenland is as gradually sinking. Other parts of the world may be rising and falling without any one suspecting it, for, except on the margin of the sea, where a natural standard of level exists, and can be readily observed, the change might take place and no man be aware of it. The whole coast of Chili again (and probably the whole sea-margin of the volcanic chain of the Andes) is on the ascent, not progressing by a gentle and gradual motion, but by little starts and wrenches. These occur at intervals of some years, and produce on the surface the undulation of the earthquake. The shocks which occur in many other parts of the world are in all likelihood the indication of some sudden movement of elevation or depression in the mass of the rocks below.

In Sir C. Lyell's 'Principles of Geology' ample details will be found of these phenomena, while Mr. Mallet's 'Earthquake Catalogue' will give some notion of the frequency of convulsive movements during the last two thousand years. Whoever considers what the extent of that power must be that can raise a district larger than all the British Islands from a depth of thousands of feet, and lift the vast mass a single inch higher than it was before, or could thrust up all Chili with the Andes on its back eight feet at one tremendous heave, will not need to imagine any other force as requisite to produce the elevation of continents or mountain-chains. If the forces now acting under Lapland continue at the same rate for a thousand centuries, the North Cape will be 5000 feet higher than at present, and a thousand centuries can be but a small part of one of the great geological periods into which our history of the world is divisible.

When this force acts over a broad area countries will be elevated *en masse*; when its effects are exerted along lines, mountain-chains will be formed, with the beds tilted up along the axis or central line. When the tilting of a mountain chain is commenced under the sea, and is carried on slowly till the crest of the ridge is brought to the upper surface of the water and begins to appear as dry land, the breakers and currents will act upon it; and if the elevation be very gradual, great erosion of the upper strata will take place about the axis of the chain, till, as the upward thrust is continued, lower and lower rocks successively emerge. The consequence will be, that, when finally the mountain chain rises into dry land, the lowest rocks will be shown at the surface in the most central part of the chain, reared into high inclinations by the elevating force from below, and uncovered by the action of the denuding force from above. All the atmospheric agencies, too, will exert an influence

upon these tilted and fractured rocks, and will deepen the gaps and hollows sketched out by the breakers of the ocean, and thus produce the ravines, and glens, and valleys, which furrow the sides of the growing mountains; while the sea perhaps still continues to eat away the base of the lower cliffs, and thus forms all the passes and the precipices which we are apt to attribute to more convulsive causes.

Where the fiery interior of the earth bursts out at volcanic orifices, it not only pours forth streams of lava, but accumulates great piles of ashes, cinders, and rock fragments, which are blown from the mouth of its funnel-shaped channel, and heaped up all round it; and thus is formed another class of mountains, made, not by uptilting, but by up-piling and *conical* accumulation.*

The phenomena we have detailed are the surface-effects of the internal heat of the globe; it has others, however, which are more subterranean, and which only become exposed to view when the once deep-seated parts of the crust are protruded. It is then found that huge masses of igneous rock have been thrust in among the beds of the aqueous rocks below, without having reached the surface. In this situation the lava has cooled, and produced either large irregularly-shaped bulks or more regularly-formed sheets that stretch between or across the beds, or else has run into veins, often branching, tortuous, or reticulated. Every crack and crevice in the including or overlying rock having been injected, proves that the material was perfectly fluid at the time. All the Granitic and some of the more crystalline of the Trappean rocks have been thus formed, cooling and consolidating below the surface. Mr. Sorby, indeed, has shown the great probability of some of our Granites which are now at the surface having originally cooled at a depth even of 60,000 or 70,000 feet. These igneous masses have exerted just such an effect on the aqueous rocks with which they come in contact as great heat would produce. Coal is converted into the same kind of coke it would form if heated under the pressure of a great superincumbent mass, where there was little or no escape for the gases, and where there could be no flame. Limestone, even when originally a soft chalk, is not slaked as it would be in a kiln where the carbonic acid would be driven off, but made crystalline, as if partially or entirely melted. Clays

* Since this passage was written we have received the exquisitely clear and decisive paper of Sir C. Lyell, on steeply-formed lavas and on craters of elevation. It sets for ever at rest the very gratuitous assertion that lavas could not consolidate into solid stone on the inclined flanks of volcanic cones, and that, therefore, when beds of lava were so inclined, they must have been tilted up.

and

and sandstones are baked, the former being sometimes converted into a rocklike porcelain. These, then, are aqueous rocks metamorphosed by contact with igneous rocks or by close proximity to them.*

Sometimes, when the igneous mass is very large and was very deep-seated at the period of cooling, so that it cooled slowly and gave off heat for a long time into the surrounding rocks, these are found to be still more completely changed, having acquired a different mineral structure from what they had when first deposited as aqueous rocks, and different from what any purely aqueous or igneous rocks possess. Granite, for instance, is often found to be margined by rocks known as Gneiss or Micaschist, that have a schistose or foliated as well as a more or less crystalline structure, and contain minerals such as could have been formed only by the agency of heat. We also find these rocks over large spaces where there is no truly igneous rock apparent, or not enough of it to be adequate to the widely-spread effect. They always occur, too, in such situations as to allow of the supposition that they were deeply buried in the earth at some time after their formation, so as to have come within the influence of the heated interior. This would be the case if the area on which they were originally deposited at the sea-bottom became subsequently an area of depression, and if, being thickly covered with other rocks deposited above them, the depression continued long enough for them to reach a low and therefore very hot level in the earth's crust. After this we must suppose them to have again taken their turn as areas of elevation, the rocks to have been lifted up above the sea, and their covering stripped off during the process, in the way we have described. These altered rocks are termed *Metamorphic* or *Transformed Rocks*.

Such have been the agencies at work during all the periods of our chronological scheme. There were always dry lands that were being worn down, always aqueous rocks being formed beneath the seas and lakes, always igneous rocks being intruded into the crust of the globe or vomited forth upon its surface, always rocks that were in process of alteration in consequence of their coming within reach of the heated interior, and the coating of the earth was always being raised in some parts and depressed in others, and sometimes fractured and convulsed, in consequence of the reaction of the molten interior upon the consolidated rind. All these operations are still going on, and we

* See the 'Studies on Metamorphism,' by M. Delesse, mentioned at the head of this article, for a number of details upon this subject.

have no reason to suppose that either their nature or their intensity was ever, since the commencement of the Palæozoic epoch, materially different from what they are at present.

We now turn to the changes that have taken place in the organic beings that lived upon the globe. This is a subject that can only be adequately understood by persons acquainted with botany and zoology; but we will endeavour to give an idea of the results arrived at. We must commence by laying down a few postulates:—1. A species is a kind of animal or plant, so distinct from all others that the continuation of the species is only possible between a pair belonging to that species. Offspring cannot be produced by a pair of individuals of different species except when those species are very nearly allied, and then the progeny is barren either in the first or, at the farthest, in the second generation. It seems to result from this that all the individuals of species are the descendants of a single pair.*

2. Vegetable life subsists upon inorganic food,—matters that may be found in the earth, the water, or the air, independently of animal life,—while animal life subsists entirely upon organic food, either of vegetable or animal origin. It would follow that no phytophagous animal could continue to live unless vegetable life already existed in sufficient abundance to serve as its food; and no zoophagous animal could exist until there was already an abundance of phytophagous animals. The order of existence, therefore, of organic beings must be—1st, plants; 2nd, plant-eating animals; 3rd, animal-eating animals.

3. Every species of plant and animal has a constitution suited to the degree of heat and light, dryness and moisture, altitude or depth, density of air or water, by which it is surrounded. It is also specially adapted to consume certain kinds of food, which are those most conducive to its well-being. Let us speak of all these circumstances, food included, as its ‘climate.’ Different species are differently affected by climate; some hardy kinds being able to flourish through considerable variations of it, and therefore to spread over large areas; others, more delicate, being injuriously affected by the slightest modification of it, and therefore confined to small areas, where the peculiar conditions proper to them are alone to be found, and where, if the conditions change, the species declines and perishes.

4. Species have come into existence, here and there all over the globe, at points which we may call their centres, in such a way as to show that similarity of climate by no means involves identity

* In the case of species in which the sexes are united in one individual, as in some of the lower orders of animal life, a single individual may of course have sufficed instead of a pair.

of species; similar climates in different parts of the globe being occupied by different, though often analogous or representative, species, while in many cases, especially when the regions are far apart, the species and even the genera are entirely distinct. Each species has spread from its centre over an area which is measured by its climatic constitution.

5. Species of animals and plants may become extinct, either from injurious alterations in 'climate,' from epidemic diseases, or from their area becoming invaded by rivals powerful enough to exterminate them, or to consume the food on which they previously lived. There may be other causes, but these are all that we *know* sufficiently to be warranted in assuming them to be effective.

With these postulates established, coupled with the circumstance that every area that has been yet examined has passed more than once through the alternations of deep sea, shallow sea, low dry land, high dry land and back again, we perceive that the plants and animals that lived upon it must have perished either directly by the physical changes being destructive to them, or indirectly by being fatal to their food, or by laying them open to the incursion of a hostile tribe who either ate up their food or themselves. The alternations in the earth's surface have been so widely spread that all the delicate species of any early period must long ago have ceased to exist, even if any of the hardy ones could have survived. The fact that all the biological provinces of the globe are now crowded, not only with hardy species, which have a great vertical range within the province, and spread perhaps through two or more provinces, but also with numerous delicate and locally-restricted species, specially fitted to peculiarities of 'climate,' proves that these latter must either have come into existence subsequently to the development of that local 'climate' for which they are adapted, or must be the last survivors of a race once more widely disseminated when the 'climate' spread over a larger area. In the first case, they must be of more recent creation than many of their fellow creatures; and in the second, they must be much older than many.

The very variety, then, in the life of the globe, and the vast difference that exists in the distribution of species, proves a difference in the date of their creation, and involves the idea of great lapse of time and a great succession of events as necessary to the production of the existing state of things. All the recent discoveries go to prove that the present laws of distribution in the species of animals and plants are the same that have reigned through every known geological period. In other words, there were always some species so widely diffused as to have been nearly, if not quite,

quite, cosmopolitan; and some so narrowly restricted as to have been found only over very narrow areas; always some species just come into existence and struggling for a footing in the world; some at the acme of their power and the full extent of their dominions, which every subsequent change tended to break up and diminish; some long past that point, and fading away in one, two, or more ever-lessening areas; some just on the eve of dying out in their last citadel of retreat. Neither does there appear to be any good grounds for supposing that the rate of the extinction of old species, or that of the creation of new, was ever materially different at one period from its rate at any other.* In the absence of all proof to the contrary, it seems most philosophical to suppose that species always died out just as slowly and imperceptibly as they do now. If we assume the present rate of physical change to be the mean rate, and if physical change be the great modifying cause in producing changes in species by that gradual destruction of the old, and that rendering necessary the creation of new, in order to keep up the completeness in the life of the globe which seems to be the will of the Creator, we have the two kinds of change so linked together that the rate of the one gives us the rate of the other, and the amount of the one gives us the measure of the other.

Keeping these principles in mind, let us now glance over the following summary of the history of life through the fourteen geological periods specified in our table.

Primary or Palæozoic Epoch.

1st. *Cambrian*.—In the rocks of the Cambrian period no other distinct and indubitable traces of life have yet been found than the impressions of a zoophyte and the tracks of sea-worms.

2nd. *Lower (or Cambro-) Silurian Period*.—In the rocks depo-

* The observed facts of geology in some instances seem to warrant the notion of sudden extinction of whole races of animals or plants, and the sudden introduction of new assemblages of species. We do not intend to deny that many of the fossils found in rocks have perished suddenly, so far as the individuals or the groups of individuals actually found are concerned. We do, however, contend that the notion of the sudden destruction of whole species is in no case proved, and that the arguments brought forward to prove it are entirely fallacious. The doctrine rests upon the supposition that successive beds of rocks were deposited with but short intervals between them. In the majority of instances this assumption is quite unsupported; in many it can be shown to be entirely erroneous, and that beds, even those to be seen in a single quarry, were formed with indefinitely long intervals between them; while, in other instances, the deposition has been rapid and almost continuous. Our series is in fact but a series of fragments, each, perhaps, representing a few years in itself, but the intervals between them being utterly unknown. If we found a Roman pavement just underneath a modern floor, should we be warranted in supposing that the one was the immediate successor of the other, because there were no other pavements between them? sited

sited during this period the remains of animals are often abundant. They consist of the hard parts of Zoophytes, such as Corals, and of a class like the sea-pens (though perhaps of a higher organization), called Graptolites; a very peculiar order of Echinodermata,* called Cystidea, as well as some Stone-lilies and Starfish. There are several species and genera of a peculiar class of bivalve shells, known as Brachiopoda,† some ordinary bivalves or Conchifera, some ordinary univalves or Gasteropoda, and some of a higher class belonging to the Cephalopoda. There were also many crustacean animals, some not very unlike our present shrimps in external form, and a great variety of others called Trilobites, of an altogether extinct order of Crustacea. No true Fish, nor, indeed, any vertebrate animal, was then in existence, if we may judge from the negative evidence that no remains of them have yet been discovered; neither have the relics of any land plants been as yet found in the rocks of this period.

3rd. Upper Silurian Period.—The remains of animals are more abundant in the rocks of this period than in that of the preceding, belonging generally to the same classes, the same orders, and many of them to the same genera. Some even of the species that lived in the latter part of the preceding period survived into the earlier portion of this, and a few into its latter portion. On the other hand, not only are many species to be found only in the rocks of the Lower Silurian period, but some whole genera—especially genera of Trilobites and Cystidea—seem entirely to have perished before the more recent Silurian period commenced, while other species, forming new genera, were now first created to occupy their place. All the double Graptolites had also died out, though a few single ones survived to the close of this period, when the whole class became extinct. In the uppermost rocks, and therefore belonging to the close of the era, there have been found the remains of about a dozen species of fish, and new forms of crustacea make their appearance, more like our present lobsters in external shape, though having many essential points of difference in structure. Some of them appear to have been six or eight feet in length.‡

4th. Devonian Period.—Fishes abound in some of the rocks

* Our star-fish and sea-urchins belong to the Echinodermata.

† The Brachiopodous class of bivalves are rather lower in organisation than the Conchifera, to which our oysters and cockles belong. The Conchifera are most numerous now, though we still have a few species of Brachiopoda living, some of which are supposed to belong to the same genera as those of the more numerous tribes of the earlier ages of the world.

‡ Siluria, p. 264, etc.

deposited in particular areas during this period, many of them of strange forms, with a strong bony armour of scales: that are sometimes beautifully preserved. Several of them have been graphically described, in a popular way, by Hugh Miller, in his 'Old Red Sandstone,' and their scientific description has been drawn up by Agassiz. In other rocks, believed to be of the same age, there are an abundance of shells, corals, and trilobites. A few of the species of these seem to be nearly the same as those of the upper Silurian rocks, but most of the fossils differ specifically and many generically. Reptiles also existed, more or less nearly allied to lizards, and left their remains in the beds which now form part of the dry land of Scotland.* The first fragments of undoubted land plants are found in the rocks of this period, both in Scotland and Wales, while magnificent fronds of ferns and other plants, together with a large shell like a freshwater mussel (or *Anodon*), have been discovered in the Upper Old red sandstone of the county of Kilkenny.

5th. Carboniferous Period.—Plants were deposited in such abundance in the rocks of this period as to form great beds of coal, spreading over many square miles in extent, and occurring at intervals through a series of sandstones and shales, which amount, in some places, to a total thickness of at least 8000 feet. In other beds, especially in the limestones, the abundance of marine shells of all kinds (*Brachiopoda*, *Conchifera*, *Gasteropoda*, and *Cephalopoda*) is quite inconceivable to those who have not seen them. Mingled with the remains of Stone-lilies and other *Echinodermata*, and of corals both solid and branching, they make up bed after bed of solid rock, piled one upon the other to such a thickness as sometimes to form whole mountain masses many hundred feet in height. Both plants and animals belong to many different species and genera, and the animals especially to many different orders and classes, from reptiles and fish down to corals and sponges. Scarcely is there a single species that has ever been found in any Silurian rock, very few in any undoubted Devonian formation. A genus of *Brachiopodous* bivalves, called *Producta*, that makes its first appearance in the Devonian period, become very abundant in the Carboniferous. There are many species, some of them very multitudinous, inso-much that the rocks are often called *Producta* limestones.† Among the crustacea, the order of *Trilobites*, so numerous and varied during the preceding epochs, is now represented by a few species

* *Siluria*, pp. 289, 558.

† Even quarrymen are struck with the abundance of these shells, and in some places, with a scarcely pardonable mistake as to the form of the shell, call the rock the oyster-shell limestone.

only,

only, that can be grouped into but one or two genera. This type of animal was fading away, and with the close of this period it becomes altogether extinct.

6th. Permian Period.—Another change has now taken place—an almost entire change in the species—although many of them are sufficiently near to their predecessors to be grouped in the same genus. A conspicuous species of *Producta*, for instance, abounds in some of the rocks. Though it differs from those found in the Carboniferous series so far as to require a different specific name, it is yet obviously a *Producta*.* Fish of different species, and some of different genera from any of those in the rocks below, are locally abundant. In the sandstones of this era we have the tracks of a huge frog-like animal and other reptilian footsteps preserved.

With the Permian Period we bring to a close the first great epoch of our history—that known as the Palæozoic. The reason for drawing a line of division here is that there occurred about this time a vast interval, during which the part of the world now occupied by Western Europe (whence our data are chiefly derived) seems to have been more than usually affected by forces of disturbance and destruction. The rocks previously deposited were greatly dislocated and tilted in various directions, and large parts of them removed by denudation, while the contemporaneous depositions that, doubtless, took place in other regions are as yet but imperfectly known. Hence it results that there is in our area both a physical break, and discordance in position, between the rocks of the Palæozoic and those of subsequent periods, as well as a great, and apparently a sudden, change in the organic remains that they respectively contain. It does not follow that the changes may not in reality have been as gradual at this as at any other part of the world's history, since the seeming abruptness may be the result merely of the juxtaposition of two sets of things, the dates of which were widely separated in time without any substantial record of the interval that elapsed between them.

Secondary or Mesozoic Epoch.

7. The Triassic Period.—In Britain our records of life during

* Lions, tigers, leopards, panthers, wild and domestic cats, however unlike in size, in colour, in variety of marking, and so on, have yet evidently so much in common that we naturally group them together as animals of the Cat kind, differing indeed in species among themselves, and yet forming but one genus (the genus '*felis*,' or '*cat*') when compared with all other animals, such as dogs, wolves, bears, &c. The specific difference and generic resemblance with which we are familiar in the above example reigns throughout the animal and vegetable kingdoms, and is just as real and important among cockles, limpets, oysters, starfish, and corals, as among creatures of the highest organisation.

this period are confined to fragments of fossil wood, and a few relics of bones, and tracks on sandstones of huge Batrachian and other reptiles similar to those that are found in the Permian rocks. In Germany, however, and on both flanks of the Alps, rocks are found crowded with the remains of marine creatures, part of which have an essentially peculiar character, while others are more allied to Palæozoic forms. Some of the genera become more fully and largely developed in future periods.* Many of these fossils are evidently fragments of the missing chapters of our history.

8. *Oolitic or Jurassic Period.*—The British rocks of this period are the most complete type of a great geological 'formation' with which we are anywhere acquainted, whether we look to the mere rock groups or to their fossil contents, and are only to be approached by the great Carboniferous formation of our islands. They are divisible into five or six groups, each of which can be as clearly subdivided into two or more sub-groups. Each main group has a whole assemblage of fossils, of almost all kinds, peculiar to itself; while each of the sub-groups has also its smaller but still very distinct assemblage of species, which are either never, or very rarely, found in any group above or below. An old Palæozoic group of corals has become extinct with all its genera and species, and been succeeded by others belonging to orders that still exist. The Brachiopodous class of bivalves has diminished in importance to something more like its present proportions, while Conchifers and Gasteropods have become more numerous. Cephalopodous chambered univalves, which in Palæozoic times were developed in strange forms of Orthoceratidæ (like Nautili unrolled and pulled straight), and in sharply-toothed Goniatites, now appeared as Ammonites, with their hundreds of varieties, while the intermediate genus Nautilus, commencing in the earliest ages of the world, has continued to appear in species after species down to our own time. The old forms of fish had vanished, but were replaced by many new kinds, the majority of which, like the most numerous fish of the present day, had equal-lobed tails; while all Palæozoic fish resembled our sturgeons and sharks, in having the rays of both lobes of the tail wholly underneath the termination of the vertebral column. The most striking fact connected with the life of this period, however, is the amazing development of reptile forms. Thousands of huge Ichthyosauri breasted the ocean, and thousands of equally huge Plesiosauri lurked along its shores. The land was tenanted by immense Megalosauri, and even the air became peopled by

* Lyell's Supplement, p. 25.

flying dragons in the shape of winged lizards, with long jaws and sharp teeth, known as *Pterodactyles*. Nor was even the highest class of the animal kingdom, the *Mammalia*, unrepresented, since portions of the skeleton of several *Marsupial* and other 'quadrupeds' (as they used to be called) have now been disinterred from rocks belonging to this period.* In the Portland and Purbeck group, which is the uppermost or newest of the oolitic series, we also get vegetable soils with broken stools and prostrate stems of trees preserved in a fossil state.

9. *Cretaceous Period*.—The fact of our finding land plants and land animals in the upper oolitic rocks of Britain, shows that there must have been dry land somewhere in the neighbourhood during the latter part of that period. There is therefore nothing very unexpected in the fact that the earliest record of the succeeding period which we meet with in Britain, is a fossil delta of a large river—a delta as great apparently as that of the Nile or the Ganges. The beds of this delta, which in some places exceed 1000 feet in thickness, contain fresh-water shells, drift-wood, and the bones of strange terrestrial herbivorous reptiles of enormous bulk, which have received the names of *Iguanodon* and *Hylæosaurus*. Such a delta, evidently the sweepings of a large river, involves the necessity of a large and perhaps a continental land; nevertheless the delta is covered by accumulations of other rocks, all crowded with the remains of marine animals, to a depth exceeding 2000 feet, and spreading far and wide on all sides over and around it. The chalk, which is the uppermost of these accumulations, is alone in some places 1000 feet thick. In the marine fossils, so numerous in the upper rocks of the Cretaceous period, there is again a total change in species from those found in the Oolitic rocks below. There were *Ammonites* and *Belemnites*, and *Terebratulæ* and other shells, with common generic names in both eras; but those found in the Cretaceous rocks are obviously different from those found in the Oolitic. So with the *Echinodermata*, so with the Fish, so with the Reptiles, so with all other classes and orders of animals and plants, so far as their remains have as yet been described. At the end of the Cretaceous period we once more meet with a sensible gap in our series of records, and a corresponding change in the characters of organic beings, after we have passed it. Here, therefore, we draw another strong boundary line and close this second book of our history, and open that of the Tertiary or Cænozoic epoch, which includes that of our own days.

* Lyell's Elements, p. 312, and Supplement, p. 13.

Whoever examines a museum * containing a pretty complete collection of organic remains arranged in chronological order, cannot fail of being struck with the following facts. When looking over the Palæozoic fossils, the forms will all appear so strange to him, that he will hardly be able to pronounce to which class of the animal kingdom some of them belong. Even where the class is evident, as, for instance, with the shells, he will see that they obviously differ from existing shells. There are no oysters, or whelks, or barnacles, or cockles, or limpets, or periwinkles among them. The more familiar the observer may be with our present kinds, the more strange the ancient specimens will appear. When he proceeds to the shells of the Secondary periods, they will seem much more familiar to him. He will say of one, perhaps, This is like an oyster or a Venus; of another, This resembles a Trochus; still, if he be well acquainted with recent shells, he will not be able to discover a single specimen to which he can assign not only a generic but a specific name. He will not be able to say, 'This is such and such a Venus or Trochus, of the same species as one that I have in my cabinet of recent shells at home.' When, however, he comes to the fossils got from Tertiary rocks, it is no longer the difference between the fossil and the living forms that will strike him, but their resemblance, and in some cases their identity. The curious old puzzling forms have all disappeared; almost every species belongs to a still existing genus, or is very closely allied to it; oysters, whelks, and barnacles, cockles, limpets, and periwinkles, and the numerous other kinds for which our language (more barren in names for natural objects than many savage tongues) has no distinctive appellation, now appear in abundance and in many varieties. We have in these facts the most obvious expression of a great law—that, namely, of the gradual approximation to existing forms, and the gradual appearance of existing species: the first may be traced throughout the series of life from the earliest to the latest times; the last, which is its necessary conclusion, is only apparent in the Tertiary epoch. Among the hundreds and thousands of species of animals and plants discovered in the Palæozoic and Mesozoic rocks, *not one has ever proved to be specifically identical with any animal or plant now*

* In London we may point to the Museum of Practical Geology and that of the Geological Society; there are also excellent museums, with fossils chronologically arranged at Cambridge, at Oxford, in Bristol, Liverpool, Manchester, York, and other large towns in England; at Edinburgh in Scotland (we cannot answer for Glasgow, Aberdeen, or St. Andrews); while in Ireland they are to be seen in the Museum of Irish Industry, and that of Trinity College in Dublin, and beginnings of such collections in the Queen's Colleges of Belfast, Cork, and Galway.

living;

living ; while in the Tertiary rocks at first a few, then more, then most of the fossils are identical with living forms.

Tertiary or Cainozoic Epoch.

10. *The Eocene Period.*—In the rocks of this period we find extinct Crocodiles or Alligators instead of Ichthyosauri and Pterodactyles ; we find, as at present, Nautili, but no Ammonites or Belemnites, still less Goniatites or Orthoceratites. The fish resemble fish now living. The crustacea are obviously crabs with claws and crusts like our own crabs and lobsters, the shells are Cones, and Volutes, and Venuses, like those now living ; and the impressions of leaves are those of forest trees that resembled our own. Still there were few or none which in the opinion of those most competent to decide were exactly the same as any living species ; till at length, as we ascended in the series of European Eocene rocks, first one shell and then another was found, which seemed actually of the same species as those that still live. Some of the beds contain marine remains only, others have them mingled with those of freshwater animals, and in others again the latter alone are found without any admixture of marine creatures. Together with the remains of freshwater animals, we get those of animals that lived upon the land—some of them large mammalia, like tapirs, or intermediate between tapirs and rhinoceroses and other thick-skinned or ruminant quadrupeds, often filling up apparent gaps in the existing creation, and completing by a number of otherwise missing links the chain of gradation in animal life. Abundance of palm-like fruits, and seeds like coffee and other berries, are preserved in some of these deposits.

11. *The Miocene Period.*—The proportion of existing to extinct species of shells becomes higher in the deposits of this period. Among the remains are the bones of large animals, one of which seems to have been like a great water elephant with down-curved tusks, proceeding from the lower jaw instead of the upper. It is called a *Dinotherium* from its bulk.

12. *The Pliocene Period.*—The number of existing species of shells is in these deposits even greater than that of the extinct ; while in

13. *The Pleistocene Period* the absolutely extinct species of Mollusca become the exception, the great majority either living in the seas surrounding the lands, in the rocks of which they are found fossil, or in some neighbouring waters.

14. *The Modern or Human Period* is thus gradually introduced, when apparently all existing species of animals and plants

plants were already living, and man at length was placed upon the stage prepared for him.

During these Tertiary periods our attention is naturally attracted from the study of the remains of the lower classes of animals to that of the higher class Mammalia, to which we ourselves belong. Mammalian animals are abundant in the rocks of all the Tertiary periods. Those in the earliest or Eocene period are so different from any now existing, that new generic names had to be invented for almost all of them. One kind of animal, of which eleven or twelve species were found, 'some as large as a rhinoceros, others varying in size from that of a horse to that of a hog,' had in its skeleton some of the characteristics of the tapir, others like those of the rhinoceros, others like those of a horse. It was called a *Palaotherium*. Another genus, christened *Anoplotherium*, of which five species have been found, was in one respect intermediate between the rhinoceros and the horse, and in another between the hippopotamus, the hog, and the camel.*

More than twenty genera have been formed to include various species of animals, and seventeen of these have never been found in any deposits more recent than the Eocene. Others survived into the Miocene period, and became the contemporaries of new genera, of which we have already mentioned one, the *Dinotherium*, but there were many others, as the strange *Sivatherium* with its four horns; and with these there were extinct species belonging to genera which still exist, such as the hippopotamus and rhinoceros, deer and giraffe; together with numerous kinds of elephantine animals, some of them allied to the two existing elephants, others varying so much as to require the generic name of *Mastodon*. Different species of these, and of many other existing genera, as well as species of genera now extinct, came into existence in various parts of the world during the Miocene and subsequent periods, so as to introduce, as it were, in each large division of the globe the present peculiarities of mammalian life. Australasia is now the exclusive home of kangaroos and wombats, and all other Marsupials, except the *Didelphys*. Large fossil kangaroos and wombats, &c., have been found in the more recent Tertiary deposits of Australia. South America is now the only country in which sloths and armadillos are found. Great extinct animals, allied to sloths and armadillos, known as *Megatherium*, *Myodon*, and *Glyptodon*, have been found in the recent Tertiary rocks of South America. New Zealand, the country of the singular wingless bird called *Apteryx*, contains the bones of the gigantic

* Owen's Notes to the 3rd Edition of the 'Bridgewater Treatise.'

wingless

wingless *Dinornis*. The true swine (*Sus*) are now confined to the Old World; the peccary (*Dicotyles*) to the New; no fossil species of hog has been found in the New, nor of peccary in the Old. The rhinoceros, a genus now confined to the Old World, where several extinct species of it have often been found fossil, has never been found fossil in America. Monkeys have been found fossil in the tertiary deposits of both the Old World and the New, but those found in the Old belong to the Catarrhine division of monkeys, and those in the New to the Platyrrhine—such division being now restricted as formerly to the respective continents.*

We have evidence that in the Pleistocene period (that which immediately preceded our own) the temperate parts of the northern hemisphere experienced a peculiar change of climate; large parts of Europe, Asia, and North America being depressed beneath the sea, and the mountains (then islands) being covered with glaciers, while their coasts were surrounded by icefloes and icebergs. The severe climate continued after these lands were lifted up again, and connected by plains still more extensive than the present. During this Glacial Period, as it is sometimes called, a woolly elephant (*Elephas primigenius*, or Mammoth) and a woolly rhinoceros (*Rh. tichoshinus*) roamed over the plains from Siberia to Britain, and their remains are now found more or less intimately associated with those of lions, bears, hyænas, Irish elks, and other forms, most of which died out before the creation of man, while others survived to be his contemporaries, and were, perhaps, finally exterminated by him. Many shells, now inhabitants of Arctic seas, ranged into our latitudes during this glacial period; while others, that had previously inhabited British seas, retreated southwards to Mediterranean shores, but have again spread northwards as the cold climate receded towards its present limits.

In this rapid sketch we have not related a thousandth part of what is to be told of the ancient history of the earth and its inhabitants. In Britain alone more extinct species of mammalia have been found than there are species of mammalia now living in our islands. Ten times as many extinct reptiles, five times as many extinct fish, seven times as many extinct echinodermata, nine times as many extinct shell-bearing molluscs, and six times as many extinct zoophytes, have been found in British rocks, as now exist in British waters or on British lands. Nor is this all. The eager search of naturalists must have nearly exhausted the discoveries to be made among the surviving species of those

* Owen's Address to the British Association at Leeds.

animals that inhabit our particular region of the earth ; whereas new species are daily being exhumed from the rocks, and future research will greatly augment their number. Even did we know the fossil species to be found in Britain as completely as we know its living fauna, we cannot suppose that those fossil species are all that ever lived in our area. Hundreds may have perished and left no remains.

Volumes might be written, not merely on the history of the contemporary assemblages of animals belonging to the different periods, but on the history of any one class of animals, tracing its progress, and the changes introduced into it as it passed from one period to another. We are tempted to give, as an example, a sketch of the chambered-univalve shells, belonging to the class Cephalopoda, or that class of which the cuttlefish is a member.

The class Cephalopoda is divided into two great orders,—1st. The Dibranchiata, or those having two branchiæ; 2nd. The Tetrabranchiata, or those having four branchiæ. The first order includes the common cuttlefishes, which are divided into two groups,—*a*, those with eight arms, of which the Poulpes and the Argonaut are examples; *b*, those with ten arms, of which the Squids are examples. Some of these latter, as the *Sepia* and *Loligo*, have internal hard supports, popularly called ‘bones’; others, as the *Spirula*, have chambered shells more or less internal; and there formerly existed (in the Secondary epoch only) a family called *Belemnites*, in which the internal so-called ‘bone’ was curiously modified into a conical form with an internal chambered conical compartment, from which proceeded a nacreous sheath inclosing the ink bag.

The second order, or Tetrabranchiata, is represented by but one living animal—namely, the *Nautilus*, which inhabits the first large chamber of a coiled many-chambered shell, all the chambers being traversed by a tube proceeding down the centre of the shell. This simply formed shell existed at a very early period. Shells differing from *Nautilus* only in some modification in the coiling of the shell, whence they receive the name of *Lituities* (or trumpet-shell), existed in the Cambro-Silurian, others in the Silurian period. True *Nautili* make their appearance in the rocks of the Devonian and Carboniferous periods; and ever since there seems to have been one or two species of shell in existence, which, however they may have differed among themselves in shape, size, or proportion of parts, yet agreed in the essential characters of a *Nautilus*. During the whole Palæozoic epoch there was another very remarkable form of the order, which was like a *Nautilus* unrolled and pulled out into a straight, conical, horn-like shell, called an *Orthoceras* (or straight horn). As in the

the Nautilus, so in the Orthoceras, the septa or divisions of the chambers were plain, like saucers, and the siphuncle or internal tube was central. Different groups of species of these shells appeared at different periods, some of them being strangely modified into fusiform or pear-shaped outlines with diversely pinched-up mouths, and with many variations in the structure of the siphuncle. In the Carboniferous period one or two very large species, of which the shells were at least as big as a man's leg, made their appearance; and shortly afterwards the whole family of Orthoceratidæ died out and became extinct.

In the mean time one or two other genera or families of coiled chambered shells had come into existence, as the Clymenia, of which the siphuncle was on the internal margin, while the septa of the chambers were either simple or sinuous; and the Gyroceras, of which the septa were simple, but the siphuncle was on the external margin; and, lastly, the Goniatites, of which the siphuncle was on or near the external margin, but the septa of the chambers were deeply indented by very acute, tooth-like folds, both on the sides and the back of the shell, the edges of the saucer-like divisions being pinched into Vandyke frills.

Soon after the commencement of the great Secondary epoch all these forms, with their many species and varieties, had disappeared (except the Nautilus); but now commenced a new set of variations on the same great theme. The sharp-toothed folds in the septa of the Goniatite were first modified into bold and regular semicircular curves, each alternate curve, as it waved from the mouth of the shell, being notched by several little short cuts, while the curve that waved towards the mouth of the shell was left plain. This form, which lived in the Triassic period, is called a Ceratites, and it introduces gradually the great genus Ammonites of the two more recent periods. In the Ammonites the siphuncle still remains on the back of the shell, which retains its regularly coiled, discoidal form: while every imaginable variation takes place in the curvature, indentation, corrugation, and ramification of the septa of the chambers, which produce sometimes the most intricate leaf-like patterns on the sides of the shell. Equal variations occur in the shape and the size of the shell itself; some being nearly globular, others almost as flat as pancakes, with a sharp edge like a quoit; some being no bigger than a shilling, others as large as a cart-wheel. Nearly six hundred different species of Ammonites are known, *all of which have been found in rocks belonging to the Secondary epoch, and in those only.* Besides this immense development of species in the genus Ammonite, there are found additional modifications

In the external form of the shells, which become so great as to compel us to give them other generic names. In one of these the coils of the shell are slightly separated, so as not to touch each other,—this is called *Crioceras*; in another the shell is partially unrolled, and then turned up at the end, so as to assume a boat-like form, whence it is called a *Scaphites*; in a third, called a *Hamites*, one part of the shell is straight, and the other bent up like a hook; while in a fourth, known as a *Baculites*, the whole shell becomes as straight as a stick. In external form this latter resembles an *Orthoceras*; but as it has its internal septa convoluted and corrugated, it is evident that it bears the same relation to an *Ammonite* that the *Orthoceras* does to the *Nautilus*. Another form, again, is called *Turrilites*, being like an *Ammonite* internally, but having an external form more like a whelk, as if some one had taken the centre of a flat *Ammonite* and pulled it up till the shell became a tower instead of a disc. There are several intermediate forms between those now mentioned, and it is very remarkable that all these strange and rapid variations in the external form of the family *Ammonitidæ* are found chiefly in the Cretaceous rocks, and appear, therefore, to have been produced just before the whole type of the cephalopodous shells with corrugated internal septa and dorsal siphuncles was on the point of being laid aside for ever. In the *Ammonitidæ* the varieties seem to have been prodigally introduced, and the whole type rapidly exhausted, as if it were desirable for some reason to get rid of it, but it was intended first to show of what a multitude of adaptations it was capable.

In the Tertiary epoch, and down to the present day, we find only the *Nautilus*,—one indeed in the Eocene period having zigzag divisions in the chambers, but the others remarkable, like the present *Nautilus*, chiefly for their simple structure, their graceful outline, and the nacreous lustre of the inner portion of the shell.

A similar 'strange, eventful history' might be told for other classes of the animal kingdom, of which the data are to be procured with greater or less completeness, and probably might be told for every class of animal and plant, if the entire records of their history could be recovered. Truly may it be said that there are more 'sermons in stones' than Shakspeare ever thought of; and that, whether in their native beds or when ticketed and arranged on the shelves of a museum, they tell a story which, if it be once listened to, speaks to the mind of man in terms that cannot fail to awaken the highest interest. This wonderful biological law of the succession of species, and the gradual modification

tion of the types of living forms in progressive ages, is not only a remarkable scientific fact, but has a direct economical value when applied to practical purposes.

It has happened that particular substances of great value to man, such as rock-salt or coal, have been deposited over certain areas. Let us select coal as an example. Coal has been formed during many, and might have been formed during any geological period. There was one however, in which its formation was unusually frequent, and took place over many areas of the earth's surface, that period being hence called the Carboniferous period. In Britain and Western Europe, although coal does occur in the rocks of other periods, yet it is in those of the Carboniferous only that it has ever been found in sufficient abundance and of sufficiently good quality to be of any great value. It would not therefore be worth while to go to any expense in the search after coal, unless in rocks of the Carboniferous era. How are we to ascertain this cardinal fact? It is true that coal-bearing rocks generally consist pretty largely of dark-coloured clays, grey and black shales, and similar deposits. But then equally dark shales and clays occur in abundance in the formations of other periods which have never been found to contain any beds of coal. Neither is there any other indication to be found in the nature of the rocks, or in that of the ground, which will give any trustworthy information as to the period at which those rocks were deposited. When, however, the geologist has worked out his series of organic remains, and knows that, during the Carboniferous period, such and such animals and plants existed on the globe, and those only, he looks to the fossil fragments in the rocks in which the exploration is being carried on, certain that if he can discover a specimen it will give him the information he seeks. If he find Carboniferous fossils he knows the rocks to be of Carboniferous age, whether they happen to contain beds of coal in that place or not. If, on the other hand, the black shales contain fragments of Graptolites or of Silurian shells, corals, or trilobites, he knows that these are of Silurian age, and that no coal worth working has ever been found in our area of the world in or beneath any beds belonging to a Silurian formation. If, again, he finds fragments of Belemnites or of Oolitic or Cretaceous shells, &c., he knows that the rocks in which they lie, whether they be black shale or white sandstone, were deposited long after the Carboniferous period, and that, although the rocks of the Carboniferous period may possibly be below him, yet that in order to reach them he will have to pass through not only the whole of the formation in which he is commencing to dig, but also probably through great series of
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beds

beds deposited during the Permian and Triassic periods, and therefore that the Carboniferous formation lies at too great a depth for him to reach it. Moreover it is quite possible that, even if he pierced the intervening strata, it might happen that no Carboniferous rocks had ever been deposited in that particular spot, or, having been deposited, had been removed by denudation before the upper strata were formed. Want of attention to these simple rules has, within the last twenty or thirty years, caused a fruitless expenditure of many hundred thousand pounds, and is even now involving the waste of a few hundreds in one place and a few thousands in another, to an amount that would be almost inconceivable if unbounded ignorance were not known by experience to be unbounded in its credulity.

There are many persons desirous of knowing something of geology, who find an insuperable difficulty in understanding geological classification and nomenclature. The reason of this difficulty appears to be the double signification of many of the terms used by geologists in speaking of their stratified rock-groups, and it may be as well perhaps here to give an explanation of it. The original name given to a formation has often been descriptive of the kind of rock of which it was principally composed, or the most important mineral substance it contained. Thus the Cretaceous formation was so named, because in the district where it was first studied a large part of it consisted of chalk; the Oolitic formation contained in the typical district many beds of oolitic limestone, the Carboniferous many beds of coal. Other names had a geographical signification, such as Devonian, the formations to be seen in Devonshire; Silurian, those in the district of Siluria. As soon, however, as these names are once established, they rapidly lose their original import, and acquire a purely chronological meaning. When, for instance, we trace the Cambrian, Devonian, or Silurian rocks beyond the borders of the district where they were first observed, it is clear that the strictly geographic term becomes no longer literally applicable. It is indeed somewhat of a bull to speak of Cambrian, Silurian, or Devonian rocks as existing in Ireland or Scotland. What is meant is, that the Cambrian rocks of Ireland or Scotland are a continuation of those of Cambria; in other words, that they were deposited together with them, *at the same time*, in the same seas, or in neighbouring seas, as the case may be. In like manner, when we come to trace the Cretaceous, Oolitic, or Carboniferous formations from one area to another, it often happens that the nature of the rock gradually changes. Each formation consists of a vast number of separate beds of rock, every one of which varies almost indefinitely in extent. The beds of coal which gave their
their

their name to the Carboniferous rocks, because of their economical importance, are very few compared with the whole bulk of those rocks, and sometimes get thinner and fewer till they disappear altogether; while the other portion goes on and spreads perhaps over large areas, in which we may have the apparent contradiction of 'Carboniferous' rocks almost or entirely destitute of any carbonaceous matter. In like manner the Oolitic formations in many parts of the world contain no oolites, and the Cretaceous formations no chalk. Indeed the Cretaceous formations of South America consist of blue clay slate, not differing, in any essential character as a kind of rock, from the slates found in the old Palæozoic rocks of our part of the world. These terms then necessarily lose all their original lithological significance, and are to be understood in a chronological sense. In speaking of Cretaceous rocks, we mean merely rocks that were consolidated in that great period during a part of which the chalk of Europe was formed, and so of all other similar terms.

The process is this: geologists first of all examine some part of the earth's crust which exposes a great series of stratified rocks,—they observe the rock groups of which this series consists, and the fossils which each of these groups contains. They find that the fossils of one group of rocks differ from those of another, and that there is a series of groups of peculiar fossils coincident with the groups of rocks. The mere varieties of rock, however, are found to be comparatively few, and are apt to recur in the different groups. Moreover, each group is apt to vary when followed from one place to another. The fossils, on the other hand, always remain the same in each group, and none of them ever recur in the different groups. In examining any detached bed of rock, therefore, the fossils are a better guide than the nature of the rock. The determination of the order of the groups of fossils is in the first instance based upon their discovery in the series of rocks; but when that order has been established, and when it has been tested by its application to many different parts of the earth's surface, and found to be invariable, then it is accepted as a guide in the classification of the rocks of other parts of the earth's crust, where the order of the series of rock-groups would not be otherwise discoverable.

The beginner in Geology will find his progress greatly facilitated if he keep steadily in view that the classification and nomenclature of the stratified rocks is fundamentally *chronological*. When once he knows how to recognise limestone, sandstone, and clay, and their more ordinary varieties, he knows all the varieties of stratified rocks, so far as the nature of the rock is concerned. If he learns to distinguish granite, syenite, greenstone, felsstone,
basalt,

basalt, and scoriaceous lava, he knows all he need know of the igneous or unstratified rocks. Beyond that he need not trouble himself with rocks and their varieties, until he has made considerable progress in the science, and is prepared to go more minutely into the subject. Before he can do that, however, he must learn to recognise the general characters of the groups of fossils, and as many of the characteristic species as he can. The formations of any period will consist of different kinds of stratified rocks in different localities, and may consist of any kind whatever, or may be associated with any description of igneous rocks; while they can only contain the remains of such animals and plants as lived during the time when they were deposited.

The learner must also recollect that any given area may have been an area of destruction during one period, an area of production during another, or what we have called an area of neutrality during a third. In any particular place therefore the series of stratified rocks may be very defective, the rocks of period 8 or 10 resting on those of 2 or 5; but it is quite impossible, from the nature of the case, that the order of the series can be ever inverted.

Is there any fevered student or over-worked man of business in the seething caldron of London life, who wishes for some pursuit that shall impart a new direction to his hard-strained thoughts, and give healthy exercise to his toil-worn frame, let him peruse in the stony records themselves the history we have been recounting. He has only to furnish himself with a good geological map, a hammer, a stout pair of walking boots, and a knapsack, and either walk, ride, or drive about the country with his eyes open. He must take note of all the quarries and cuttings he may see, and mark the external features of the country he traverses, connecting them with the internal structure which he discovers here and there at intervals. He will then find that the whole structure of the country, and all the wonderful history of the first formation of the rocks, and the occurrences that have since befallen them, will insensibly be unfolded before him and gradually grow up in his mind. If once he get hold of the clue, and make one or two steps in the investigation, his attention will be arrested, his interest excited, and he will feel like one just entering into the plot of some well-told story, eager to know more. Every quarry, every cutting, almost every stone by the way-side will be anxiously scanned for additional facts, every hill side breasted, and every dingle penetrated. The Book of Nature too has this advantage over the stories composed by men, that it has no end, and its interest grows with every fresh perusal. To read it we must breathe the free air and live for
a time

a time in the open field, with not only the mind amused, but with the muscles invigorated, the nerves braced, and the blood coursing through the veins with that pleasurable glow that makes every breath we draw a pleasure in itself—'while good digestion waits on appetite, and health on both.'

As regards maps, the novice in this country will find the guide he requires in the beautiful map of England and Wales, by Professor Ramsay, which contains, in a condensed form, the result of the labours of many men, continued through half a century. It has all the latest discoveries, is excellently coloured, and of a scale just large enough to be distinct. The smaller map, by Sir R. I. Murchison, is equally good in execution, but from its smaller scale not quite so serviceable as that of Professor Ramsay. For a glance over the structure of Scotland, we may take as our guide the very useful map published by Professor Nicol. Excellent as it is, however, it has to our eyes some drawback in its colouring, since he makes the Old Red Sandstone of Scotland a pale dirty green, and indicates the Coal-measures by a minute cross-hatching, which it is torture to the eye to look through in search of the names, and which is moreover scarcely distinguishable, either in colour or character, from that employed to indicate Chlorite slate. The geology of Ireland has been most admirably delineated so far as the labour of one man, with but little assistance, could accomplish such a vast work, by the maps of Sir Richard Griffith. The last edition of his large map will be an enduring monument to his name; and a small and cheap edition which he has published is well adapted to give a general notion of the structure of Ireland.

Maps of sufficient accuracy to enable us to give even a slight outline of the structure of the British Islands, were the result of the labours of many men for many years. M'Culloch laid the foundation in Scotland; Weaver and Portlock, and others, had laboured in Ireland both before Griffith and contemporaneously with him. Greenhough, in England, had combined with his own explorations the results of those made by W. Smith, Fitton, Conybeare, Buckland, De la Beche, Phillips, Sedgwick, Murchison, and many more. Similar maps, more or less complete, had been published abroad by equally enthusiastic cultivators of the science. Still it was felt that this was not enough. The maps and the descriptive memoirs thus put forth by individuals, or by societies, only showed what might be done, and the great practical value and utility that would be obtained if surveys, still more detailed, and on a systematic plan, were to be undertaken. This could only be accomplished at the public expense. Some of the European Governments, and, still earlier, some of the United States of America,

America, ever foremost in works of practical utility, established state or government surveys: some of our own colonies followed the example, and at last the British Government, at the instance of Sir H. T. De la Beche (and after he had commenced the work at his own labour and cost), founded a Geological Survey, which has since grown into an institution, which appears likely to become permanent. Since then Canada, India, Australia, the Cape of Good Hope, and other places, have commenced or extended their geological surveys, chiefly under officers trained in the school of the mother country.

The Geological Survey of the United Kingdom is conducted under the powers of an Act of Parliament passed in the 8th and 9th year of Victoria (1845). Sir H. T. De la Beche, the first Director-General, was succeeded by Sir R. I. Murchison in 1855. It is divided into two branches—the survey of Great Britain, under the local directorship of Professor A. C. Ramsay, and that of Ireland, now under Mr. J. Beete Jukes. In Ireland and in those parts of Great Britain which have been laid down on the scale of six inches to the mile, the field observations are inserted in the maps, while the results are published by means of geologically-coloured copies of the maps on the scale of one inch* to a mile, accompanied by printed explanations and memoirs. The amount of labour expended on these works can only be rightly understood by the field geologist. If any wishes to put it to the test, we recommend him to take one of the maps of North Wales, and try, among the rugged precipices of Cader Idris or Snowdonia,† to trace out by its guidance the complication of intrusive and contemporaneous igneous rocks, and their associated ‘ashes’ or ‘tuffs,’ variously interstratified with different kinds of aqueous rocks, and to follow these multifiform and often irregular structures through all the complex intricacies of flexure and contortion, fracture and dislocation, into which subsequent disturbances have thrown them, and over all

* We believe that some of the districts of the north of England and of Scotland will shortly be published on the six-inch scale, geologically coloured, and that two sheets of the one-inch map of Scotland are nearly ready for issue.

† The only man capable from his own knowledge of forming a judgment on the maps of North Wales was Professor Sedgwick. He had, unassisted, except by his own inexhaustible bodily energies, keen perceptive faculties, and sagacious grasp of intellect, unravelled all the intricacies of the mountainous districts of North Wales and the Lakes (to say nothing of other regions), and had in his mind as perfect a model of those countries as could be constructed by any surveyors. In North Wales indeed he was, in some of his conclusions, more accurate than the first work of the survey. All geologists must ever regret that the failing health of subsequent years has prevented this *man of science* from doing that justice to his earlier labours which they so richly deserved, while no geologist can forget him as one of the ablest pioneers of the science, as well as its most eloquent and spirit-stirring expounder.

the abrupt declivities of mountain, valley, and ravine, which subsequent denudation has worn in them. Or if he has not nerves and sinews for such a task as this, let him take one of the maps of a lead or copper mining district, and examine the net-work of gold lines that represent the mineral veins; or a map of a coal district, and study the convoluted black lines that mark the outcrops of the various beds of coal, and the numerous white lines that cut across them and represent the faults which dislocate them, and he will begin to acquire some notion of the labour, and patience, of which the colours and marks on the maps are the external signs. Whatever errors of detail may here and there exist in the earlier sheets, either of Great Britain or Ireland, will, doubtless, disappear hereafter, when the enlarged experience acquired in the progress of the task can be brought to bear on their revision. Such a work as this, indeed, is almost endless. Even could we look forward to the completion of a Geological Survey in the most perfect manner possible, there would still be need for an establishment in which to preserve the vast mass of records that will have been accumulated, and of practised officers familiar with them, ready to give to every applicant the precise piece of information he requires.

Necessary, however, and inevitable as we consider Government Geological Surveys, they will never supersede individual investigation. Their especial duty is to accumulate data that it would be impossible for individuals to procure, in consequence of the great time required to be expended on them. There are many problems, both in geological physics and in palæontology, of which it is no part of a Government Survey even to undertake the investigation. It is obvious that, in a work requiring a combined action, each man must be confined within a certain district until he has completed its examination, and carefully recorded everything that is to be seen in it; while there are other problems which can be solved only by rapid motion over a whole region, or even regions, for the purpose of examining widely-separated points, and comparing quickly the rocks and fossils of different countries, so as to bring into one view the scattered facts belonging to one class of objects.

This individual research is necessary even for descriptive geology itself, and gives a special value to such books as Sir R. I. Murchison's '*Siluria*,' of which we have now to hail, with pleasure, the appearance of a third edition. We expressed our opinion of the excellence of this work when it first appeared, and its supreme importance to geologists who were engaged in investigating the Palæozoic, and especially the Lower Palæozoic rocks. The improvements introduced in the last edition have almost

almost made it a new work. In addition to the results of his own personal investigations, Sir Roderick has now supplied an abstract of the most recent labours of the Geological Survey, together with information gathered from almost every quarter of the globe. He has himself re-examined his native Scotland. The latest work of Ramsay, Aveline, and Salter, in Wales, appears in it, as well as the newest information on Ireland. Professor Ramsay has contributed a condensed classification of the Palæozoic rocks of America; Messrs. Salter and Morris a most valuable catalogue of Lower Palæozoic fossils; Mr. A. R. C. Selwyn has given very interesting matter from Australia; Sir W. Logan from Canada, and many of the first authorities from different parts of the continent and other quarters of the globe. The mass of matter contained in this book is, indeed, so enormous, that it would be impossible for us here to give an idea of it. It requires close study on the part of a professed geologist, and must then remain with him as a book of reference for constant use.

Sir R. I. Murchison is a singular instance of a man who, having passed the early part of his life as a soldier, never having had the advantage, or disadvantage as the case might have been, of a scientific training, instead of remaining a fox-hunting country-gentleman, has succeeded by his own native vigour and sagacity, untiring industry and zeal, in making for himself a scientific reputation that is as wide as it is likely to be lasting. He took first of all an unexplored and difficult district at home, and, by the labour of many years, examined its rock-formations, classed them in natural groups, assigned to each its characteristic assemblage of fossils, and was the first to decipher two great chapters in the world's geological history, which must always henceforth carry his name on their title-page. Not only so, but he applied the knowledge thus acquired to the dissection of large districts, both at home and abroad, so as to become the geological discoverer of great countries which had previously been 'terræ incognitæ.'

With such a training he was well entitled to publish the Geological Map of Europe, which he put forth some time ago in conjunction with Professor Nicol. After the appearance of the beautiful Geological Map of Russia, which accompanied his second great work (that on 'Russia and the Ural Mountains'), he had enclosed Europe, as it were, on two sides, in a frame of his own handiwork. He had, moreover, harmonised the work of many other observers and combined it with his own, with respect to more recent formations in the centre and south of Europe, in his paper on the structure of the Alps, Apennines, and Carpathians,

Carpathians, published in the 'Journal of the Geological Society.' His map bears the date of 1856; the other map of Europe, which we have mentioned in the list at the head of this article, is, unfortunately, without a date. It was compiled by the late M. Dumont, the excellent geologist of Belgium. In the great outlines the two maps agree, as must necessarily be the case if they be correct; in portions of the details there are differences, and in some of these the English work is, we think, the more correct of the two. The Belgian map, however, is on a rather larger scale, and in many places is more minute; while, as to the beauty, distinctness, and permanence of the colouring, the map of Dumont not only excels that of Sir R. I. Murchison, but is, beyond all comparison, the best coloured map we ever remember to have seen. The various colours are so clear and sharp, that no overlapping can be detected, even by the lens when applied to dots not larger than a pin's point, or to small spaces having the most sinuous and deeply-indented outlines. Why is it that equally good lithographic colouring is not produced in Britain, and applied to our own maps? why, above all, should not the maps of the Geological Survey—a great national work—be coloured in this beautiful fashion, and their cost reduced at the same time that their value would be increased? The best specimen of a chromo-lithograph map published in Britain is that of Yorkshire by Professor Phillips—a most excellent pocket map for any one who wishes to explore the geology of that interesting county.

The little map of a small part of Sweden, round the neighbourhood of Upsala, by Mr. Axel Erdmann, is remarkable, because, unlike most other geological maps, it delineates not only the solid rocks, but all the different matters that occur between the upper surface of those rocks and the actual vegetable soil; so that we see the areas occupied not merely by 'peat,' but by 'moss not yet converted into peat,' by 'shell marl,' 'infusoria clay,' 'alluvium,' 'black fucus marl,' 'stratified clay,' 'fir-tree sand' (as it is called), 'angular gravel,' and 'rolled gravel,' the solid rocks rising only here and there like islands through these various superficial deposits. Such information must be most valuable to the agriculturist, and it will remain for the Geological Survey of the United Kingdom to undertake the construction of similar maps of the superficial deposits, after the record of the formations beneath them has been completed.

Of the United States of America and the British American colonies the most recent results are contained in Sir W. Logan's 'Reports on the Survey of Canada for the years 1853 to 1856,' and Professor Rogers's 'Geology of Pennsylvania.' The method

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to be pursued in a partly-uninhabited country, of which no complete topographical map exists, must necessarily be very different from that adopted in older lands, fully opened by roads and accurately delineated. Sir W. Logan has accordingly been compelled in many cases to confine his observations to the borders of rivers and lakes, where alone they could be made with accuracy and their locality precisely determined, while he has as yet been unable to construct a general map of sufficient correctness to receive his observations, though one is said to be in process of completion. The reports, however, contain many detached remarks of value to the geologist, and teach him what to expect when the remainder shall be published.

Professor Rogers's 'Geology of Pennsylvania' is a most remarkable work. It is called a Government Survey, and it was commenced and partly carried on under the auspices of the State, and at the public expense. Owing to the vacillation, however, which too often characterises assemblies of men ignorant alike of the theoretical value and the practical importance of scientific research, the funds were more than once withdrawn from the undertaking, and Professor Rogers was at last compelled to complete it chiefly at his own expense. Maps, sections, drawings, diagrams, and figures of fossils, besides descriptions of countries and rocks enough to fill three great quarto volumes of letterpress, are all the work of Professors H. D. and W. Rogers. When we reflect that they had to deal with a country containing about 44,000 square miles (or only about 6000 less than England and Wales), traversed by a complicated mountain range, composed of a very varied series of rocks, thrown into a wonderfully complex form, we shall be able in some degree to appreciate the amount of their labours; especially when we also remember that, like Sir W. Logan, they had often to make their own maps of the surface before they could even commence their more proper labours of representing upon them the boundaries of the rocks below. It is truly a noble work, and will form an enduring monument to the ability, as well as to the perseverance and public spirit of the authors. The sole objection we have to make is to that fantastic nomenclature which no person, we think, except Professor Rogers, will ever dream of adopting. We hope that he will take the earliest opportunity of laying aside a 'façon de parler' of which the result is to render himself partially unintelligible to the geologists of the rest of the world, and to throw around him a barrier of isolation which separates him from his brethren of the hammer.

The reports hitherto received from the Geological Survey of India have been brief and detached; but this may well be excused,

excused, when we consider the size of the country to be examined and the circumstances under which it has been lately placed. The surveys of the Australian colonies, especially that of Victoria, under Mr. Selwyn, have already been fruitful in results of the highest interest to the man of science, and of daily-increasing value to the inhabitants of the countries examined. Tasmania is about to be surveyed by a young geologist, the son of the eminent ornithologist, Mr. Gould.

Ars longa, vita brevis est:—Who is there that takes up any pursuit in earnest who has not this aphorism always recurring to his thoughts? If he is engaged in a science which, like geology, has its practical as well as literary side, how impossible he finds it to master both! If he buries himself in a library or museum, surrounded by books, maps, papers, and specimens, how often he longs to examine facts for himself ‘in the field,’ and finds time, and distance, and money alike difficulties in his path! If, on the other hand, he be a field workman, how deficient he often finds himself in the knowledge of what others have recorded in books! The very sight of a thick quarto is enough to appal any one who has but snatches of time at his disposal. Geological works become so numerous, that even professed geologists must need despair of reading them all; therefore we would, above all things, beseech geological writers to study condensation. Doubtless, each may say with Horace, ‘*Brevis esse laboro, obscurus fio*,’ but we do not mean so much brevity of expression as selection of matter. Minute details are in many cases necessary for those who may wish to follow the writer in all his steps, but those persons must be few compared with the increasing number of such as wish merely to grasp the leading points, and to acquire a general notion of the country, rocks, and fossils. It will be for the interest then, we think, of future geologists to make a careful abstract of their observations, whether for the use of men of science or ordinary inquirers, and keep distinct the details which may be necessary for the few. This opinion has been forced upon us while examining the books enumerated at the head of this article; and we have often felt inclined to paraphrase St. Augustine’s exclamation on Persius, and say ‘*Si non vis legi, non potes intelligi*.’

- ART. VI.—1. *Journal of a Cruise among the Islands of the Western Pacific, including the Feejees, and others inhabited by the Polynesian Negro Races, in H.M.S. 'Havannah.'* By John Elphinstone Erskine, Capt. R.N. London, 1853.
2. *Fiji, and the Fijians: the Islands, their Inhabitants, and Mission History.* By Thomas Williams and James Calcraft, late Missionaries in Fiji. London, 1858.
3. *Lettre concernant l'Etat actuel de Tahiti, adressée à Sa Majesté Impériale Napoléon III.* Par Alexander Salmon. London, 1858.
4. *La Nouvelle-Calédonie; Voyages, Missions, Mœurs, Colonisation, 1774-1854.* Par C. Brainne. Paris, 1854.
5. *What is Fiji, the Sovereignty of which is offered to Her Majesty?* By William Arthur, A.M., Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, Fellow of the Ethnological Society, &c. London, 1859.

THE part of the world to which these works refer demands just now no small degree of public attention. The islands of the Pacific Ocean are historically interesting, especially as regards the period of our early intercourse with them. They have furnished a larger addition to our commerce than might have been expected, while they have afforded means for the advancement of science in some of its most attractive departments; but their geographical position, and the progress of those events which are so rapidly changing the relations of different parts of the world towards each other, have given to them, in the present day, a degree of political importance which they never before possessed. Viewed under the latter aspect, the occurrences of the last twenty years have drawn to them an amount of attention scarcely less than that which, nearly a century ago, followed their discovery. It is true that the contemplation of happy shores,

'Where none contest the fields, the woods, the streams;
The golden age, where gold disturbs no dreams,'*—

though attractive as a picture painted rather from fancy than reality, was not likely to produce lasting impressions. The discovery of the Islands of the Pacific furnished no evidence of the existence of a fertile southern continent—the fondly-cherished hope of many an ardent spirit in that age; afforded no signs of any hidden treasures of precious metal; no field whence commerce could draw the wealth it sought; and the new-found lands appeared likely in a short time to be forgotten by the

* Byron.

majority of the persons who had been so charmed at the outset. These feelings of indifference found expression in the language of Cowper, who, picturing the distant islander as waiting for a repetition of the visits of his European friends, says—

‘Expect it not ; we found no bait
To tempt us to thy country ;
And must be bribed to compass earth again
By other hopes and richer fruits than yours.’*

To others these discoveries appeared not destitute of promise. To them it seemed that in ‘so vast a field there would be room to acquire fresh knowledge for centuries to come, coasts to survey, countries to explore, inhabitants to describe, and perhaps to render more happy.’ Recent events have shown that this opinion was to some extent correct ; and though the occasions on which public attention was recalled to these remote regions were but few, the circumstances which roused attention were of no ordinary kind.

The first of these circumstances was the voyage of the ship ‘*Bounty*,’ which was sent out in 1787, by King George III., at the request of a number of West India merchants in London, to transport plants of the bread-fruit tree from Tahiti to the British West India colonies. Returning from Tahiti, with a thousand plants, the quarrels on board caused a mutiny, which ended in the captain being cast adrift in a boat near the Friendly Islands. The mutineers returned to Tahiti, obtained a supply of live stock and poultry, persuaded a number of men and women to accompany them, and finally reached Pitcairn’s Island, where they burned the ship, and sought concealment in that small and uninhabited spot.

The life of unrestrained indulgence which for nearly six months the Europeans had spent at Tahiti, the mutiny which so speedily followed their departure, the subsequent voyage in search of these misguided men, the fearful wreck of the ‘*Pandora*,’ in which a number of them were being brought as prisoners to England, the trial and acquittal of some, and the public execution of others after narrowly escaping a watery grave, the tragical end of most of their comrades in their solitary island home, the unexpected discovery, twenty years afterwards, of their descendants in a state of peculiar simplicity and innocence, and their recent removal to the fertile and beautiful shores of Norfolk Island, render the mutiny of the ‘*Bounty*’ more like a tale of romance, or a chapter in the history of the buccaneers of earlier days, than

* ‘*The Task*,’ book i.

a part of the modern naval annals of our country. The passage again of the commander of the 'Bounty' and his companions, eighteen in number, in a small boat twenty-three feet in length, over a wide and, at that time, rarely traversed sea, suffering unusual hardships, and sailing, in forty-one days, over nearly four thousand miles, has rendered the achievement of Captain Bligh in the 'Bounty's' launch one of the most remarkable voyages on record.

Ten years afterwards another voyage, as novel in its character and more remarkable in its results, was made to the South Sea Islands. This was the voyage of the ship 'Duff,' with thirty English missionaries, to convert the natives of Tahiti and the other islands to Christianity: one of the manifestations of the pious zeal of the nineteenth century, fraught with a promise very different from that of the crusades of the middle ages. The enterprise, though treated at the time with ridicule by some, proved the most important of any which had been undertaken in this quarter, for the natives owe to it the chief moral and social advantages which distinguish their present from their original state. The pioneers of religion and civilization have indeed been benefactors to both natives and foreigners; they have prevented subsequent intercourse from being little else than a series of unjustifiable aggressions by one party, and murderous retaliations by the other; and while their teaching and example have been a blessing to the barbarous tribes among which they have dwelt, their influence has ensured safety and assistance to the Europeans engaged in the pursuits of science or of commerce.

The presence of the missionaries protected all vessels touching at Tahiti and the adjacent islands; but after the missionaries had been driven away by the civil wars in the island, the first ship that arrived was seized by the natives. The disastrous termination of the original mission to the misnamed Friendly Islands, where four of the little band were killed by the natives and the rest obliged to fly for their lives, was followed by the destruction, in 1816, of a large vessel, the 'Port au Prince,' and the massacre of the captain and the chief part of the crew. The good understanding which had marked the earlier intercourse between the islanders and their visitors, had been succeeded by hostility, which frequently ended in sanguinary conflicts. This state of feeling had arisen on the one hand from the eagerness of the natives after fire-arms and articles of iron, and on the other from the plunder and violence of which foreigners were often guilty. To such an extent did the antagonism prevail, that in a short time no unarmed vessel was safe amongst the islands.

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The inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands, though behaving in the most friendly manner to Vancouver in 1792-3, had seized the 'Fair American,' when becalmed near the shores of Hawaii, and thrown the Captain into the sea. Another island of the same group was the scene of a similar tragedy. Captain Brown, of the 'Butterworth,' returning, in 1795, to the harbour of Honolulu, on the west side of Oahu, from a warlike expedition, in which he had assisted the king of the island, fired a salute in honour of the victory which had been achieved, when the wadding from one of his guns entered the cabin-window of an American sloop and killed her captain. The English burial service was read at his interment on the adjacent shore. This the inhabitants believed to be a solemn sorcery, and rifled his grave the same night for the sake of the winding-sheet in which the body had been wrapped. Captain Brown and Captain Gardner, of the 'Prince Le Boo,' were afterwards murdered here by the natives, who seized their vessels, which were retaken by their respective crews. 'Such were some of the occurrences which marked the first intercourse between these Sandwich Islanders and the English and Americans; and they serve to show rather vividly the contrast between the contact of civilization and barbarism little more than sixty years ago with the polka réunions of the descendants of these races in the same place at the present day.'*

The earliest commercial advantage resulting from the discovery of the South Sea Islands was the means of refreshment which they furnished for English and American ships engaged in the sperm-whale fishery in the Pacific. The pearl-oyster being found among the low coral islands of Eastern Polynesia, and the Bech-le-Mer, as well as the fragrant sandal-wood so highly esteemed by the Chinese, being also discovered in these and other islands of the same ocean, a number of vessels of small tonnage, chiefly from New South Wales, were sent in search of these products. In the pearl-shell fisheries a number of natives were employed as divers; and the ill-treatment they received from the Europeans occasioned fierce quarrels, which frequently ended in the destruction of the vessels engaged in the trade, as well as in the murder of their crews. The sandal-wood traffic was carried on in a manner still more iniquitous, and bore a far greater resemblance to a system of piracy than to legitimate commerce. The ships were armed, and the inhabitants were compelled to collect the sandal-wood, while the promised reward was sometimes withheld. Another plan was

* Hunt's 'Merchant's Magazine,' Feb. 1858.

to take gangs of armed natives from other islands to cut the wood, while the natives of the islands where it was found were treated with barbarous cruelty. The insatiate cupidity and fierce brutality of many of these traders necessarily produced frightful retaliations; and a commerce that might have been advantageous to both parties was often only a series of acts of rapine and bloodshed. Entire tribes were almost annihilated. The vessels employed generally sailed from New South Wales; but, as much secrecy was maintained, the extent to which the traffic was carried on, as well as the mode in which it was conducted, appears for a long time to have been only known to the persons immediately engaged. A change for the better has now happily commenced.

Immense injury has been inflicted on the natives by a number of escaped convicts from New South Wales, who, by the forcible seizure of boats and other means, have at different times made their way to the South Sea Islands, and are often found associated with deserters from European or American vessels. These men, formidable from their possession of fire-arms, have often surpassed in fiendish cruelty the most savage of the tribes with which they have mingled.

The murderous collisions between the natives and foreigners, and the frequency with which the men belonging to small trading vessels were cut off, led to the visits which have for many years past been made at intervals to the islands by armed government vessels. The object was to punish offenders and to protect our commerce, by teaching the natives to dread our power; though, in some instances, little was at first attempted beyond appearing at islands where a white man had been ill-treated, and demanding, heedless of the provocation which might have been given, the life of the culprit. Not unfrequently the villages were burnt, and the people—innocent and guilty—fired upon indiscriminately. Proceedings such as these could only perpetuate the evil by calling into action the vindictive feelings and the cunning of the savage, and inducing him to take fearful vengeance, at whatever risk, on the next white men who might fall into his power.

The almost incredible number of small low coral islands and reefs, which spread like a net-work over large portions of the Pacific, renders the navigation of these parts extremely perilous, and has caused the loss of many vessels. To diminish these dangers, several surveying expeditions have been sent thither. They have been accompanied, in most instances, by men of scientific eminence, and large additions have been made to various branches of knowledge, more particularly to physical geography, which

which is every year becoming more attractive and important. For the investigation of the different kinds of coral formations this region presents a field of unequalled extent, while for examining the different phenomena of volcanic action it affords opportunities scarcely inferior to those which are presented by Iceland or Sicily. The whole of the Polynesian Islands, with but few exceptions, are either of coralline or volcanic origin, and the agencies by which these formations have been produced, though in themselves most dissimilar, appear from a remote period to have been in contemporaneous action and often immediate contact.

The mountainous islands of the Pacific are nearly all volcanic, and most of them apparently of modern origin. In a few of the islands of the western portion of the southern hemisphere, as among the New Hebrides and the Friendly Islands, earthquakes are common, and there are several active volcanoes; but the most extensive volcanic action is in the North Pacific at the Sandwich Islands. These islands, eight in number, appear to have been formed at different periods. Oahu would seem to be the most ancient; while in Hawaii, the largest of the cluster, the igneous process in which they originate is still in powerful operation, enlarging the dimensions and increasing the elevation of the island. The length and breadth of the entire group cover a surface of more than 6000 square miles, while the height of some of them reaches the line of perpetual congelation. Yet this vast mass, not only from the highest summit to the level of the sea, but as far below this as any excavations have been made, is constructed of different kinds of lava in various stages of decomposition. There are no signs here of stratified rocks upheaved into their present position by subterranean forces, but the whole consists of fused matter poured out from the vast furnaces around which it has accumulated in its present lofty and stupendous forms. The only exception to this occurs where erupted volcanic matter rests on a fringing coral reef.

The vestiges of volcanic action presented by the island of Maui would, in any other part of the world, render it an object of peculiar attraction. Its fertile, well-watered, and cultivated base, extends over about 620 square miles, while the rim of its extinct crater on Haleak'ala, its highest mountain, was estimated by Commodore Wilkes to be 10,200 feet above the sea. But, imposing as such an object would elsewhere be, Maui is insignificant compared with Hawaii, from which it is separated only by a narrow strait. This latter island covers a space of 4000 square miles. Commodore Wilkes gives the altitude of Mouna Kea (or white mountain) as 13,953 feet, and Mouna Roa (long mountain)

mountain) as 13,760 feet above the sea. 'I can never hope again,' he says, speaking of the latter, 'to witness such a sublime scene. It was not without some nervous excitement that I placed my instrument on the highest point of Mouna Roa, within a few feet of its crater. The very idea of standing on the summit of one of the highest peaks in this vast ocean, in close proximity to a precipice of profound depth, would have been exciting even to a strong man, but the sensation was overpowering to one exhausted by breathing the rarified air, and by toiling over the lava which this huge caldron must have vomited forth in quantities sufficient to form a dome sixty miles in diameter, and nearly three miles in height.'* Kirauea, one of the largest craters in the world, is on the eastern side of this island, about 4000 feet above the sea, and midway between the two highest mountain summits. It is situated in a plain many miles in extent, and sunk 300 feet below walls of volcanic rock, the probable foundations of some fused mountain. The crater is an oval, nine miles in circumference, and from 1000 to 1200 feet deep, the bottom covered with liquid rock, and surrounded by a number of small cone-shaped craters, pouring forth smoke, flame, or lava. Ledges of lava round the inside walls of the crater indicate the height to which the fiery liquid rises in this immense caldron, whence it flows, apparently through a subterranean channel, to the lower levels on the coast, and into the sea, and thus continually extends the circumference of the land.

The ancient cosmogony of the Sandwich Islanders, like that of the New Zealanders and other Polynesians, taught them to regard all things as proceeding from a state of night, and they believe the territories they inhabit to have been subject to volcanic action throughout all the immediate ages between the present time and that primeval period; for they describe the fires as having burned '*mai ke po mai*,' from the state of night until now. There is therefore reason to conclude that volcanoes have existed from a period anterior to the arrival of the first inhabitants. The earliest account of Kirauea was given, in his '*Polynesian Researches*,' by Mr. Ellis,† who visited it in company with some American missionaries in 1823. In 1843 two new craters opened on the top of Mouna Roa, and sent forth for the space of six or eight weeks torrents of burning lava which formed three different

* United States Exploring Expedition, vol. iv. p. 160.

† This enlightened and accomplished missionary has since continued his labours for a quarter of a century, and has lately given to the world an account of Madagascar, which is not inferior to his admirable '*Polynesian Researches*.' An Englishman may well feel proud when such a representative of his race—so mild, so zealous, so upright, and so well-informed—is presented to the observation of heathens.

rivers, five or six miles in breadth, and flowed down the sides of the mountain for twenty or thirty miles towards the sea. These eruptions were accompanied by thunder and lightning, and other atmospheric convulsions. But the most extensive and appalling eruption which has taken place within the memory of the oldest inhabitants occurred in 1855, when a crater near the summit of Mouna Roa continued for ten months to pour forth burning lava which formed a stream seventy miles in length, from one to five miles wide, and from ten feet to several hundred feet in depth.* At times the resistless torrent rolled on to a line of perpendicular rocks that rose along the shore, and for days continued to fall in fiery cascades over the steep precipices into the sea, displacing the water of the ocean for some miles, and destroying numbers of fish, which floated dead on the surface. So inexhaustible is the volcanic force, that the latest accounts bring intelligence of a new eruption in the lava-piled island of Hawaii. Many of the phenomena are still imperfectly understood; and when subjected to enlightened investigation, these regions may yield important additions to the knowledge we possess of the changes effected by this igneous agency in the surface of our globe.

Although the volcanic islands, either when covered with a rich soil of decomposed lava and clothed with luxuriant vegetation, or when furrowed with rugged streams from extinct or still burning craters, are the most conspicuous objects in the Pacific, they are small in comparison with the coralline formations which extend throughout a large portion of its waters. Much information respecting these truly wonderful structures may be found in the voyages of Flinders, Kotzebue, Beechey, and FitzRoy. No attempt has been made to calculate the number of reefs and islands spread like stars in the firmament over this ocean. In the eastern part of the Pacific they rise, often in close proximity to each other, throughout a space of 1000 miles in length and 600 miles in breadth. In the north-western portions they are more extended, if not equally numerous. They are generally curved or circular, and often present singularly beautiful ring-like islands, rising like a natural breakwater from the ocean depths to a few feet, perhaps, above the level of the sea. They are from twenty or thirty yards to a mile in width, with a surface composed of sparkling white coral or sand, and surmounted along the higher parts by the dark foliage of the graceful cocoa palm, and other tropical verdure, which shade the simple dwellings of the natives. Many of these rings enclose a placid lake of varied

* Journal of Geological Society, 1856.

depth, occasionally diversified by knolls of coral rock or gem-like miniature islands. The different size of these structures is as remarkable as their number. Some of the smallest include but a few yards; others encircle a space fifty miles in length and thirty wide, enclosing lagoons twenty fathoms deep; while every intermediate size may be found. The largest continuous reefs are in the western Pacific, where, according to Erskine, a reef surrounds, with the exception of short distances, the whole coast of New Caledonia, which is 200 miles long and 25 miles broad. This reef, which rises from two to twenty miles from the shore, presents numerous openings for shipping. It encloses the Isle of Pines to the south-east, and stretches for 150 miles to the north-west, thus presenting two parallel lines united at each end, and extending nearly 400 miles. According to Flinders, the great barrier reef which fronts the north-east of Australia, and is from twenty to fifty miles from the coast, stretches over a distance of nearly 1000 miles. Mr. Williams concurs in the opinion of Commodore Wilkes, that 'the coral islands are undergoing dissolution.' This may be the case among the reefs in the neighbourhood of the Fijis, from which Mr. Williams derives his experience, but it is not apparent in many other parts of the Pacific. The probability is that the corals are never in one uniform state throughout so vast a region, but that some parts indicate a state of growth, while in other parts the signs of decrease are apparent.

Several theories of coral formations have been propounded at different times by scientific men. The last, and most generally received, is that of the distinguished naturalist Mr. Darwin,* who supposes these stupendous piles to have been reared, according to one uniform law, by minute marine animalcula, which separate the calcareous particles from the sea, and therewith build up these wonderful structures. He conceives that at the commencement of their formation the corals are attached to the land like a fringe at or near the surface of the sea; that in those instances where the reef is at a distance from the land, the land has subsided; and that, as the land has gradually sunk, the corals have built up the reef to the surface. Wherever a portion of land remaining above the water is encircled by a reef at a distance from the land, he believes that the barrier reef rests upon the line of the shore at which the corals commenced their work; that the outer reefs rise perpendicularly; and that the distance of the barrier reefs from the present junction of the sea with the land, marks the inclination of the land inwards

* On the Distribution of Coral Reefs.

or towards the centre, from the line at which the corals began their operations. In reference to the circular reefs without any land in the centre, this theory assumes that the whole of the land has sunk beneath the water which now fills the entire space within the coral walls. In process of time breaches occur in these ramparts through which the ocean currents force their way, and, breaking down other parts of the reef, carry off the fragments until the whole is dispersed. Mr. Darwin's reputation as a profound and sagacious student of nature is so well established, that his conclusions have been received with that general confidence to which they are justly entitled; and, though his theory may not apply to all the phenomena, it is much more satisfactory than any other, and is the nearest approach yet made to the elucidation of this branch of science.

One of the difficulties which his explanation fails to remove arises from the large spaces of comparatively deep water which occasionally exist between the outer or barrier reef and the shore, in parts where there are no rivers or other apparent cause to interrupt the operations of the corals. If the present barrier reefs were at their commencement border reefs attached to land since submerged, there appears no satisfactory reason why the law, in obedience to which these corals attached their structures to the land in the first instance, should not have caused them, as it subsided, to carry up their perpetually-rising structures in continuous contact with it. Or, if any law required the original builders to continue perpendicularly the wall which they had begun, others at least would have commenced new foundations at the point where, by subsidence, the unfringed land attained the same condition in regard to depth as that on which the first corals began their labours. The continued operation of the causes in which the structure commenced would have kept the corals in contact with the land, and have prevented the wide and sometimes deep spaces of water which interpose between the barrier reef and the shore; more especially as some of the corals found in shallows within the barrier appear to be of the same species as those composing the outer reef, although many of them are of smaller and less massive kinds.

In addition to the low islands and reefs, there are higher coral islands, such as Henderson's Island described by Capt. Beechey; Rurutu, one of the Austral Islands, where coral rocks rise 300 feet above the sea; Maniaa, among the Harvey Islands, and others of equal elevation, all of which are of submarine coral formation, but have since undergone several changes, and present new arrangements of the calcareous matters. A scientific examination would probably furnish valuable additions to our present knowledge.

ledge. But enough is already revealed to fill our minds with wonder at the myriads upon myriads of almost invisible living agents employed, and the imperceptible, but ceaseless processes by which the Divine Architect of the universe rears these vast and beautiful structures. Captain FitzRoy, says Mr. Darwin, 'found no bottom with a line 7200 feet in length, at the distance of only 2200 yards from the shore; hence this island (Keeling's) forms a lofty submarine mountain, with sides steeper even than those of the most abrupt volcanic cone. The saucer-shaped summit is nearly ten miles across; and every single atom, from the least particle to the largest fragment of rock, in this great pile, which however is small compared with very many other lagoon-islands, bears the stamp of having been subjected to organic arrangement. We feel surprise when travellers tell us of the vast dimensions of the Pyramids and other great ruins, but how utterly insignificant are the greatest of these when compared to these mountains of stone accumulated by the agency of various minute and tender animals! This is a wonder which does not at first strike the eye of the body, but, after reflection, the eye of reason.'*

There are several works which treat of these islands, and which are rich in the aid they afford for the study of human society under some of its extreme and almost incredible aspects. The journal of 'The Cruise of the Havannah' is the work of an able officer, and is as honourable to the service to which he belongs, as his considerate proceedings must have been advantageous to the people with whom he came in contact. 'Fiji and the Fijians,' especially the first volume, is replete with valuable information, some of it of a startling kind, respecting the people of whom it treats, and who seem to form the connecting link between the inhabitants of Eastern and Western Polynesia, partaking in some respects of the peculiarities of both, though in others different from either. The second volume adds another page to the history of the remarkable moral and social changes which the introduction of Christianity has produced in numbers of the most superstitious as well as the most barbarous races of men, proving that the Fijians, whose ferocity was at one time invincible, can, by means of religious teaching, attain a considerable amount of spiritual enlightenment, and by the use of letters and the stimulus of commerce acquire a good degree of civilization.

The languages of the people inhabiting the several groups of islands are curiously interwoven with each other. In some respects they bear a resemblance to the languages of antiquity.

* Darwin's 'Naturalist's Voyage,' p. 465.

Their double dual, and plural pronouns, viz., using one word for the speaker and the party spoken of, and another word to signify the speaker and the party spoken to, is a perfection which belongs to few other tongues. These peculiarities, together with the connexion which exists between the dialects of the lighter coloured races of Polynesia and those of the races inhabiting the Asiatic Archipelago on the one hand, and the inhabitants of the remote island of Madagascar on the other, if not also with some of the tribes of South America, render the philology of these regions unusually important in our endeavours to trace the migrations of the human family. In this department the missionaries have led the way, and by their elementary books, grammars, dictionaries, and translations, have afforded essential aid to other labourers who may extend their researches far beyond what the missionaries have attempted. A commencement has been made by Sir George Grey, now Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, from whose extensive collection of works in the native language of the New Zealanders, and of other Polynesians, as well as from his specimens of the languages of Southern Africa, good results may be expected.

The ethnology of these tribes presents a number of features of great interest. Physically considered the Polynesians are a fine race. Few are below the middle stature, most of them above, especially the chiefs, many of whom are more than six feet high. On this account it has been supposed by some that the latter belonged to a race distinct from that of the general population; but the difference is probably due only to the superior care taken of them in childhood, and the better quality and more regular supply of their food. Besides the chiefs, there are in most of the tribes a number of tall and stout men. Of eleven persons belonging to ten different tribes in Polynesia, only one was so short as five feet two inches, one was six feet ten inches, and their average height was five feet ten. The biggest men are not the strongest. In general their frames are well proportioned, their limbs firm and muscular, their joints flexible, the head not too large. The face, sometimes, though but seldom, flat and approaching slightly to that of the Tartar and the Hottentot, is usually oval. The forehead is good, the features moderate-sized, the under-lip rather projecting, the teeth exceedingly white and regular, and the hair black. Many shades of colour occur amongst them. The prevailing hue is an olive-brown. The fairer tribes, viz. the Marquesans in the east, the natives of Phoenix, or Union Groups, in the west, said to be the fairest in the Pacific, and perhaps some of the families of the eastern islands, might compare with the inhabitants of Southern Europe; while amongst the

the darker-skinned tribes in Western Polynesia some are nearly as dark as negroes, or the natives of Mosambique. The deep tint of others, as the Fijis, is almost a bluish-black. Many of the Polynesians, especially among the Marquesans, are perfect models of symmetry, and are singularly graceful in their movements. Some of the women, more particularly among the chiefs, are handsome; but in this respect they are far inferior to the men, probably on account of their coarser food as well as their greater exposure and toil. Numerous instances of the dignified and portly bearing of the chiefs of these islands have been recorded. Admiral Erskine thus speaks of a king of the Fijis. 'The chief himself, the most powerful, perhaps, of any in the Pacific, and certainly the most energetic in character, was seen seated in the attitude of respect to receive us. He rose, however, as we entered, seeing that it was expected, unfolding, as he did so, an immense train of native cloth, eight or ten yards long, from his waist, and invited me to occupy the one chair he possessed, the others taking their seats on rolls of cloth, or, like the natives, sitting cross-legged on the floor. It was impossible not to admire the appearance of the chief: of large, almost gigantic size, his limbs were beautifully formed and proportioned; his countenance, with far less of the Negro cast than among the lower orders, agreeable and intelligent; while his immense head of hair, covered and concealed with gauze, smoke-dried, and slightly tinged with brown, gave him altogether the appearance of an eastern sultan. No garments confined his magnificent chest and neck, or concealed the natural colour of the skin, a clear but decided black; and in spite of this paucity of attire—the evident wealth which surrounded him showing that it was a matter of choice, not of necessity—he looked "every inch a king."' *

The Polynesian ethnology points out the kind and degree of relationship which, in physical organisation, in language, in mythology, traditions, and social usages, exists between these small communities widely separated, long excluded from intercourse with each other, and all of them isolated for ages from every other portion of the human race. The present state of these people shows the tendency of men to descend lower and lower in the social scale as they become more widely scattered and separated into small isolated bodies. The Fijians are represented as equal, if not superior, to other tribes of Polynesia, not only in strength and courage, but in industry and skill, as their canoes, weapons, pottery, and other articles of native manufacture,

* Erskine's Voyage, p. 136.

abundantly testify. They are also as numerous as any other tribes living within distances which admit, by the means at their command, of frequent intercourse; yet their wanton destruction of human life equals that of the worst types of humanity, and their cannibalism far exceeds all that had ever been imagined as possible amongst beings bearing the semblance of men. Other races in Polynesia have sunk as low, and perhaps lower, in some kinds of debasement which outrage the instincts of our nature; but in feasting upon human flesh the Fijians surpass them all. This practice was not an occasional, but almost universal habit; and the various means used to enhance the horrible pleasure it afforded elevated it among them to the rank of an *art*. 'Human bodies,' according to Mr. Williams, 'were eaten in many of the frequently-occurring events of life: on building a temple, commencing the structure of a canoe, launching the canoe; and men were sometimes killed to furnish blood with which to wash the decks of a newly-made canoe, and the bodies of such men were eaten.*' On the arrival of a new canoe at an island, fourteen or fifteen men have been killed and baked to make a feast. The same frightful orgy has taken place on lowering the mast for the first time. On one occasion, when the number of bodies procured was more than could be consumed, the legs and arms were cooked, and the trunks were thrown away. Two days were occupied in cutting off and cooking the limbs. In the year 1851 fifty bodies were cooked at one time on Namena. Prisoners taken in war, and those who escaped from shipwreck, were usually eaten—the former being first offered to the war god, and then prepared for food. Sometimes the body was baked whole, and, when removed from the oven, was fixed in a sitting posture. It was then covered with black powder, and carried about as if alive.

Revenge was the frequent, but not the only, cause of this revolting practice. The sole motive was often the relish for human flesh. A Fijian has been known to lead his wife to the plantation, and, when the work was finished, has sent her to fetch fuel for the oven and a bamboo knife to cut up the victim. His orders having been obeyed, he killed and baked her. Young women were sometimes placed alive amongst heaps of vegetables and other food presented to the chiefs before being cooked. The victims were confined to neither age nor sex: grey-headed persons and children of both sexes were all devoted to the purpose. Some of the chiefs never ate human flesh, but they were exceptions to the mass of the people; women seldom touched the unhallowed

* 'Fiji and Fijians,' vol. i. p. 206.

food. When a chief has wished to have the skull of an enemy for a soup-dish or drinking-cup, orders have been given not to strike the victim on the head. The butchery was sometimes rendered more horrible by the infliction of tortures—such as cutting off the limbs of the victim while still living, cooking and eating them before him, and even making him partake of his own flesh. The number of bodies consumed by some of the chiefs appears also almost incredible.

The abandonment of this and other hateful usages of the South Sea Islanders—the approach of men so circumstanced even to the borders of civilization under the influence of Christianity—are amongst the most remarkable events of modern times. Contrasting strangely with these sources of encouragement is the fact of the rapid depopulation of the islands since they have been visited by white men. This diminution of numbers has extended to all portions of the race from New Zealand to the Sandwich Islands, and appears to be in some respects as unaccountable as it is ominous. The natives themselves state that after the departure of the earlier ships with which they had much communication, and after white men had become residents amongst them, some disease unknown before generally appeared amongst them, affecting a large portion of the population, and proving fatal to numbers. They add that this has happened when no sick person had been taken on shore, and when, so far as they knew, the disease had not existed among the foreigners at the time of their visit. The ravages of such diseases have, however, been of but short duration, and after a season the inhabitants have recovered their wonted health. The depopulation, therefore, can be ascribed only in a small degree to the introduction of European maladies, and indeed has taken place where no active disease was manifest.

When the Sandwich Islands were discovered in 1778, their population was estimated by Cook at 400,000. This was more than double its actual amount. In 1825 it was estimated at 142,000; and when the census of 1836 was taken, the number was reduced to 108,579. The decrease of the people has continued. The mortality every year has been in excess of the births, much beyond what the occasional epidemics could have produced. In 1857 the deaths throughout the whole group were 2007, and the births during the same period only 1615. In some years the disproportion was greater still. Captain Cook estimated the population of Tahiti at 200,000, Forster stated it to be 121,000; both were greatly beyond the mark, for the missionaries residing there did not believe that the island contained,

tained, in the beginning of the present century, more than 8000 inhabitants. At present the number is less than 7000.

These instances are sufficient to show the rate at which depopulation has advanced among these islands, and, considering the former social condition of the Polynesians, their infanticide, human sacrifices, cannibalism, wars, and excessive debauchery, together with the introduction of intoxication and other vices, as well as maladies of foreign origin, it was not surprising that their race should have seemed verging towards annihilation. But the wasting away of the people has now continued for years after all the causes connected with their heathenism have ceased, while the vices and maladies of foreign origin affect only a portion of the population. Nay, the process goes on in spite of improved social habits, better food, better clothing, more comfortable dwellings, and notwithstanding that an appearance of health amongst the young would warrant the expectation of increased vigour.

The amount of mortality is not now so disproportioned to the entire population as is the fewness of the births. Numbers of the marriages are not prolific, even where the couples are hale and in the prime of life, of moral and comparatively industrious habits, and in circumstances which secure the means of comfortable subsistence. The depopulation appears to have been greatest where there has been the largest infusion of the white people, and it is also under these circumstances that the indications of a favourable reaction begin to appear. Various causes for the phenomenon have been assigned. Some suppose that it may have been produced in part by the altered mode of life among the females, by the exchange of the severe labour of the garden or the plantation, the exposure on the reef in fishing, and the accompanying coarse fare, for quieter and more sedentary occupations. It has also been ascribed to the long perpetuated consequences of gross licentiousness aggravated by excessive intoxication. But to whatever cause the decay may be attributed, which has threatened at no remote period to sweep the natives from the face of the earth, it would seem that the process is an inevitable condition of the transition from a state of barbarism to one of comparative civilization. It is but reasonable, therefore, to expect that, as their new modes of life become fixed, the wonderful powers of adaptation with which the human constitution is endowed will arrest the evil, and ultimately lead to an augmented population. There is no ground for concluding that the vitality and means of self perpetuation are extinct. On the contrary, we believe that with constitutions matured under the

the principles of religion, a higher state of morals, improved social habits, extended education, the stimulus to labour, and the rewards of enterprise which the advancement of commerce and industry will supply, the Polynesians may yet become an important portion of the population of that part of the world of which they have hitherto been the sole inhabitants.

While these changes are in progress, commerce is extending its influence over these distant regions. The political disasters which have in recent years befallen Tahiti and the Society Islands will sufficiently account for its decline in these localities. But though the traffic has been stationary, if not retrograde, since they have been under French authority, the increase of trade and the concurring signs of social advancement in some other parts of the Pacific have been astonishing. Forty years ago, when the last heathen ruler of the Sandwich Islands died, commerce had scarcely found its way to their shores. They were occasionally visited by a ship from the north-west coast of America, or an English or American whaler, and vessels in search of sandal-wood. Since that period, by the employment of foreign capital, and the energy and skill of a number of white men, naturalised subjects of the native sovereign, conjoined with the industry and enterprise of the indigenous population, these islands have become the most flourishing seat of commerce in the Pacific. The prosperity of the country in other respects has advanced with almost equal celerity. The government is efficiently administered, and its independence is guaranteed by England, France, and America. The public revenue amounts to about 140,000*l.* a-year. The discovery of gold in California, which is situated at but a short distance, and is easy of access in native vessels, has opened new markets, and increased the general wealth of the islands. The culture of the sugar-cane has been for some time carried on, and about 100 tons of sugar are made annually. Corn is grown, and large numbers of cattle are reared for the purpose of furnishing salt beef for exportation. A large fleet of coasting-vessels brings the greater part of the produce to Honolulu in Oahu, the chief port of the islands; and 2000 barrels of salt-beef, 3000 barrels of flour, equal to any imported, large quantities of fire-wood, potatoes, pumpkins, vegetables, and fruits of all kinds, are annually furnished to merchant and whaling-ships. Native as well as foreign seamen may usually be obtained there. Less than forty years ago there was only one house in Honolulu built after the European model, and the walls and thatch of the rest were chiefly of native grass. Simple barter was the only species of commerce. Now the population of
Honolulu

Honolulu averages about 9000. There are four ship-chandlery stores, about twenty importing houses, and from fifty to sixty retail stores; twelve hotels, nine or ten physicians, and five printing-offices. There are six churches, some of them very substantial specimens of architecture, and each capable of accommodating from 300 to 3000 persons. Schools both for native and foreign children are numerous.

To the other departments of productive skill has recently been added that of whaling. The whaling fleet of the Sandwich Islands now numbers fifteen vessels. The proximity of the islands to the fishing grounds, and other facilities, promise to render this a profitable investment of capital, while it will increase the market for native products. The present extent of the commerce of these islands will appear from the following tables, which contain a detailed statement of the several classes of imports at Honolulu in 1857, and were prepared by the collector-general of customs in the Sandwich Islands:—

Value of goods imported from—

	£.
United States, Atlantic side	55,381
Pacific	55,985
Great Britain	41,322
Vancouver's Island	899
Australia	1,992
Bremen	12,958
Hamburgh	1,173
Society Islands	3,217
Sea, &c.	4,300
China (Hong Kong)	4,454
Japan	228
Total	£181,905

Imports free of duty by—

	£.
Returned cargoes	3,659
Whalers	2,292
Missions	897
Charitable societies	332
Agriculturists	768
Rifle Company	557
His Majesty's Chamberlain	244
Fire department	111
Diplomatic agents	73
Total	£8,933

Goods

Goods and spirits bonded from—

	£.
United States, Atlantic side	22,354
„ „ Pacific	5,471
Great Britain, &c.	3,089
China (Hong Kong)	49
Sea	4,196
Society Islands	553
Bremen	1,139
Hamburgli	251
Total	£37,102

The aggregate value of imports at Honolulu was, in 1857, 227,943*l.* The value of the goods brought into the other ports were, *free*, at Lahaina, 2108*l.*; at Hilo, 652*l.*; at Kawaihae, 323*l.*; at Kealakeakua, 116*l.*; and of products paying duty, at Lahaina, 2136*l.*; at Hilo, 163*l.*; at Koloa, 11*l.* The total value of the imports of the Sandwich Islands was 235,448*l.**

Many causes have combined to advance these islands beyond all others in the same region. Among these favouring circumstances may be mentioned their geographical position, lying as they do in the direct route between the American continent and China, and the eastern seas; the convenient port for recruit and supply which they have for many years offered to whalers fishing in the Northern Pacific; the quantity of sandal-wood found during the earlier period of European intercourse; their comparatively strong government, and its friendly treatment of foreigners, attracting them to its shores, and guaranteeing their security; and the numerous intelligent and enterprising white men who have settled in the country. To these causes of prosperity must be added the large number of missionaries, school-masters, printers, &c., who, with their wives, have made these islands their home, and whose families have grown up amongst the people. The spiritual benefit of the natives was the chief object of the missionaries and their associates; but their educational establishments have contributed largely to the general prosperity.

The trade between the islands in the Southern Pacific and the adjacent coasts of America has been but limited. One article, as remunerative perhaps as any, is ~~is~~ fruit—chiefly oranges, the produce of seeds or plants first conveyed to Tahiti by Cook and Bligh. Cocoa-nut oil and arrowroot have occasionally been sent to England. Trade is carried on to some extent with

* 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' last edition, vol. xviii., p. 273.

Hamburg, but far more extensively with America and New South Wales. Among the articles of commerce may be mentioned sandal-wood and Bech-le-mer for the Chinese market, tortoise-shell, mother-of-pearl shell, cocoa-nut oil, arrowroot, sugar, matting and cordage, cotton of first-rate quality, indigo, spices, turmeric, and timber, including the New Zealand pine, and several kinds of useful woods for cabinet-work, together with clay for pottery. The supply of cocoa-nut oil, cotton, and arrowroot, all of which require lighter labour than the production of sugar, might be increased to an enormous extent. The trade at the Fijis, in American vessels only, from 1857 to 1858, amounted in imports to about 20,000*l.*, and in exports to about 32,000*l.* We have no means of knowing the amount of traffic carried on among these islands by France or Germany or the Australian ports, with the exception of Sydney. The total amount of imports to the latter from the South Sea Islands during the ten years ending with 1857 was 285,877*l.*, and the exports for the same period were 250,602*l.* The returns from which these statistics are extracted do not include the trade in sandal-wood, of which large quantities continue to be obtained among the islands, and of which the price fluctuates in the markets of China from 12*l.* to 40*l.* per ton. From information obtained in 1850 by Lieut. Pollard, who commanded the 'Bramble,' it appeared that the master of a sandal-wood vessel of 102 tons' burden had, during a season of about eight months, collected 200 tons of wood, which, after deducting the captain's share of one-twelfth and paying all expenses, would, at the low rate of 15*l.* per ton, leave a balance of 1182*l.* in favour of the owner. Forty years ago commerce was only beginning to find its way to the Pacific; but however rapid has been its increase, any scheme for forcing a premature development of the resources of the islands would hazard the introduction of slavery. It is true that a sort of slavery, comparatively mild in its character, already exists. Captives taken in war become the slaves of their captors, but, except in the loss of liberty, their condition differs little from that of the ordinary servants of the chief to whom they belong, and bears no resemblance to the condition of the field slave by whom our own sugar-producing colonies were formerly cultivated.

It is admitted that, as compared with the labouring classes of advanced societies, the natives of the South Sea Islands are idle, but the habit arises, in a great degree, from their low social state, which renders them satisfied with a precarious supply of their most pressing physical wants. They would labour steadily if sufficient motives were presented, and such motives the benefits of commerce and the enjoyment of their own earnings will supply.

Emigration too will increase with trade, and do away with every pretence for the forcible abduction from other islands of a number of ignorant and helpless men. Such a proceeding would be in reality a revival of the slave-trade, with all its inevitable enormities and crimes. The introduction to the Pacific of any modification of this inhuman traffic would consign the unhappy tribes from which the labourers were taken to perpetual barbarism: for among a people liable to be seized and sold improvement is impossible. New Guinea, and other large islands in the Pacific, would be doomed to become a useless waste, stained with human blood, and branded in the annals of the world with the infamy with which the slave-trade has disgraced commerce and cursed the continent of Africa.

With whatever interest we may regard the incipient commerce of these islands, it is in connexion with political considerations that the largest measure of attention has, in recent years, been directed to them. Most of the principal groups in this ocean were first made known to us by Wallis and Cook, who, hoisting the English flag on the newly-found shores, took formal possession in the name of their Sovereign. This custom, which had been observed by the subjects of Christian nations ever since the Pope had been supposed to have power to dispose of all newly-discovered countries inhabited by Pagans, is now seldom practised.* Whatever opinion the natives of Tahiti might have formed of the proceedings of Captain Wallis, when, in 1767, he hoisted and saluted the English flag on the shore of Point Venus, the King ordered it to be taken down during the night and conveyed to a temple, where it afterwards formed part of the ornaments of one of the idols. Even if the natives considered the conduct of the strangers as an act of aggression, they soon came to regard them as friends, and desired to become more intimately connected with them. The King of Tahiti, and afterwards the King of the largest of the Sandwich Islands, formally expressed a desire to hold their countries under the authority of the King of England. This kindly feeling was

* Unmeaning as this ceremony has now become, it is not altogether laid aside. About three years ago, the master of a ship sailing from England to a port in the Indian Ocean, after proceeding less than three thousand miles to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, saw a large island in a part of the ocean where, according to chronometer calculation, no island was known to exist. Satisfied of having made a discovery, the master of the ship and some of his crew proceeded to the shore, hoisted the British flag, and took possession of the country. While the discoverers were drinking Her Majesty's health in grog which they had taken for the purpose, they were startled by the sudden appearance of some French soldiers, who corrected their mistake, and lodged them in prison, until the authorities, satisfied that they had no hostile intention, allowed them to pursue their voyage.

reciprocated by successive governors of New South Wales, who frequently solicited the assistance of the King of Tahiti in obtaining supplies of provisions for the colony at Sydney during the earlier years of its existence. Respectable foreign residents were stationed at Tahiti, or the adjacent islands, to watch over the conduct and protect the interests of our countrymen. The appointment of these agents by the governors of New South Wales was the only political influence which, for many years, the English exercised among the islands of the Pacific.

But, though our Government never contemplated the occupation of any of the islands, and though they declined the sovereignty which the native rulers had formally tendered, the people long considered themselves as, to some extent, under the authority of the King of England. So far was the notion carried, that about thirty years ago the King of Tahiti wrote to George IV. to ask permission to use the English ensign as the national flag. In the answer which Mr. Canning, at that time (1827) Secretary of State, returned to the application, he observed that, 'although the customs of Europe did not allow the use of the flag as solicited, his Majesty George IV. would be happy to afford Pomare and his dominions all such protection as his Majesty could grant to a friendly power at so remote a distance from his own dominions.*' This communication induced the people to believe that England would secure them from injury by any other Power, until the proceedings of the French, in the reign of Louis Philippe, convinced them that they were mistaken. Before this period, however, a number of Russians had landed in Tauai, the most westerly of the Sandwich Islands, where they built a fort. At Oahu, the next island to the eastward, they hoisted the Russian flag, with the declaration, 'I take possession of the island,' and then commenced building a fort at the mouth of the harbour. The natives under Karaimoku, the chief minister of the King, whom the people used to call the *iron cable of the country*, came down armed, and bivouacked in such numbers round the spot occupied by the Russians, that the latter left their fort unfinished, hastened to their ships, and sailed away. The natives completed the fort, mounted it with guns, and have rendered it the chief defence in the islands. This was in 1816. Captain Kotzebue, a Russian naval officer, who, between seven and ten years afterwards, visited the Russian settlements in that part of the world, speaks of this transaction as 'the attempt of the insane Dr. Scheffer, in 1816, without the knowledge of our Government, to raise the island of Tauai against Tamehameha

* Parliamentary Papers.

(the King), in the hope of annexing it to the empire of Russia,' and adds that 'the absurd design was entirely discountenanced by the Emperor Alexander.' The attempt at any rate was not repeated; but it was some time before the natives were relieved from apprehensions of a second visit for a similar purpose.

Until the year 1833 a French trading-vessel had scarcely been seen among any of the South-Sea Islands. Circumnavigators, such as Duinont d'Urville, had, since the voyages of Bougainville and the unfortunate La Perouse, occasionally visited them; but French commerce was unknown, and the French influence, now extending so rapidly over the Pacific, first began in connexion with religion. A decree of the Propaganda in June, 1833, confided to the Society of Picpus the conversion of the inhabitants of the South Sea Islands to the Roman Catholic religion. Three Romish priests and one Irish catechist were employed in the work, and in 1834 reached the Gambier's Islands, the most easterly cluster in the Pacific. This small group thus became the starting point of Roman Catholic emissaries, whose object appeared to be the subversion of the Protestant faith already established by English and American missionaries, rather than the conversion of pagans and savages. In their own words, they went 'in the hope that those whom heresy had seduced, and placed under a yoke of iron, would voluntarily submit to the soft yoke of the Saviour and embrace the Catholic doctrine.' Some time afterwards a catechist was sent as a carpenter to Tahiti, and thence to the Sandwich Islands, to prepare the way for the priests. He wrote to his superior at Gambier's Island, inviting him to come to Tahiti, but informed him that the consent of the Queen and Chiefs was necessary to enable a foreigner to reside there. In the following year two priests landed without permission at an unfrequented part of the coast, and proceeding to the Queen, requested leave to remain. The native authorities decided against their stay; and the Queen, acting on the right of all Governments to prohibit foreigners from residing within their territories, if their presence is deemed injurious to the State, wrote to beg them to depart. They refused, and barricaded the door of their house. A short time afterwards they and their effects were taken, without violence, by the native officers to the ship, which, being ready for sea, sailed for Gambier's Islands. A year later two priests presented themselves again at Tahiti, but, not being allowed to stay, proceeded to Valparaiso, whence one of them returned to Europe. At Paris he was well received by the King and Queen, and, having obtained promises of redress, went back to the Pacific. Faithful to its pledge, the Government of Louis Philippe sent instructions

instructions to its naval officers in the Pacific. A 60-gun frigate appeared at Tahiti, and the Captain demanded a letter of apology from the Queen, and 2000 dollars 'as indemnification for the loss sustained by the priests.' At the same time she was required to sign a convention, obliging her to receive and protect all Frenchmen who might wish to establish themselves in her dominions. The Queen stated that she was willing to receive French merchants or mechanics, but did not wish to have the French priests forced upon her; to which the Captain replied that she might make Protestantism the religion of the country, and prohibit the introduction of any other. The next year there came another French captain, La Place. His frigate, in approaching the harbour, struck on a rock, and, after having been assisted by the natives for about three months in repairing the damage, he demanded that the Roman Catholic worship should be unrestricted, and that ground should be given for the erection of a church. There was then only one Frenchman on the island. La Place proceeded to the Sandwich Islands; and, because the islanders had designated popery as idolatry, he declared it to be an insult to the French nation, and made it one of his pretences for extorting an exorbitant sum from the Native Government, and for forcibly establishing Roman Catholic worship at the chief port.

In 1841 Dupetit Thouars was sent by the French Government to take possession of the Marquesas Islands. When he had accomplished this service he went on to Tahiti, where he arrived in September, 1842. Here, on the ground of alleged ill-treatment of Frenchmen, he demanded, within forty-eight hours, the deposit of 10,000 dollars, as a guarantee for future good conduct, or the surrender of the fort and other establishments to the French troops. Before, however, the stipulated time expired, a paper drawn up by the French, and purporting to convey a request of the Queen and the principal Chiefs to be taken under the protection of France, had been signed by four chiefs, without the knowledge or consent of their sovereign, whose signature was, at the last hour, extorted by intimidation. When the document reached Paris, the government confirmed the usurped Protectorate. Another year, and the Admiral repeated his visit to Tahiti. This time he deposed the Queen, and took absolute possession of the island, because the flag which she had hoisted over her own dwelling was not hauled down on his demand. This seizure of the sovereignty was disowned by the French Government; but notwithstanding the declaration of the Queen of Tahiti, that it was through fear alone that she had signed the document presented to her, the Protectorate was retained. It was even attempted to
extend

extend it to the Society Islands, but the French were in the first instance repulsed by the natives; and as it was afterwards discovered that these islands were neither under the authority of Pomare, nor politically connected with Tahiti, no farther steps were taken in the matter.

The French soon afterwards visited the Sandwich Islands, where they demanded the repeal of the laws prohibiting the sale of spirituous liquors, and established the Roman Catholic worship by force. An English officer, Lord George Paulet, about the same time, took possession of an island, and established a commission for its government. His act was disallowed as soon as it was known in England; but these proceedings created so much dismay that the Native Government sent an embassy to England, France, Belgium, and the United States, and a convention between these powers, in 1844, guaranteed the independence of the Sandwich Islands. These events show that the political interference in the affairs of the Pacific were commenced by the French, and that their armed vessels were primarily employed at the instance of the Roman Catholic priests. The securing a naval station in the Pacific, and the formation of a penal settlement, are objects that do not appear to have been originally contemplated.

Commercially and politically, Tahiti was unimportant to England; but the conduct of the French caused, at the time, considerable dissatisfaction in this country. Many persons had for a number of years cherished a strong desire for the welfare of these remote islanders, and ever since the close of the last century had employed means for their conversion to Christianity. This grand object had been at length gained; and the germs of civilization which sprung up promised, if the people were left undisturbed, continued improvement. Under these circumstances the religious part of English society felt themselves deeply wounded by the oppressive proceedings of the French at Tahiti. When the Protectorate was established no mention was made of the formation of a French naval station, but the people were deprived of their civil rights, and the Queen of her authority, because they had refused to receive the priests of Rome. The French minister, M. Guizot, with a view to allay the strong feeling in England, undertook that the religion of the natives should be respected, and that the ministers sent from France should be Protestants. But he promised more than he was able to perform. A number of Roman Catholic priests have been conveyed to the islands, but no Protestant missionary from France has yet reached Tahiti.

The present ruler of the French was no party to these transactions,

actions, and may probably deem it right to remove some of the causes of complaint, for the French have neither been successful in developing the resources of the island, nor in conciliating the people. The Queen seems to be reduced to a cipher; the ancient laws by which the lands of the chiefs descended to their children have been set aside; and the people are bewildered by a system of bureaucracy with a multitude of clerks and interpreters, better suited to the wants of a populous colony than to those of a few thousand people on a small island. Foreigners again feel such uncertainty on account of the frequent change of officers, and the want of security against exorbitant duties on native produce, that they refrain from investing capital in the cultivation of the soil. In the administration of justice, torture is inflicted, with the view of extorting confession; and where the sufferer is proved to be innocent no redress is obtained. The police regulations and the conduct of the policemen are peculiarly oppressive to the people. Mr. Salmon thus adverts to this latter subject of complaint:—

‘ Tout commentaire seroit inutile. J'appellerai aussi toute l'attention de Votre Majesté sur la brutalité avec laquelle la police remplit ses fonctions. On voit assez souvent les personnes traînées à la prison, couvertes de sang, causées par les mauvais traitements auxquelles elles ont été assujetties—hommes ou femmes, peu importe; des arrestations illégales ou illusoires sont de bien fréquente occurrence. Mais, comment peut-il être autrement? La police ne reçoit qu'une très faible solde, mais on lui donne une part de l'argent provenant des arrestations. Une personne est accusée; on commence d'abord par la mettre en prison; elle est reconnue innocente, n'importe, on lui fait payer les frais de prison ou d'arrestation—dix francs. Tout indigène doit rentrer chez lui à huit heures du soir; sinon, on le met en prison, et le lendemain on lui fait payer une amende de dix francs.’

Rigidly as this rule is enforced, it is relaxed in favour of the native women connected with foreigners, who may with impunity be out with them all night; but a native husband and wife, of unimpeachable conduct, if not home by eight, are taken to prison, and fined on the following morning. Mr. Salmon, an English settler and landowner in Tahiti, has, after a fruitless visit to Paris, addressed a letter on this and other points to the Emperor of the French, and appeals to his sense of justice for redress.

Had the Roman Catholic missionaries, when, little more than twenty years ago, they entered the Pacific, sought out, in that wide region, new fields on which to bestow their zeal, instead of forcing themselves almost at the cannon's mouth into fields which had been long cultivated by others, a large amount of suffering

suffering would have been avoided; and the interests of France would certainly not have suffered. We are not unmindful of the tribute so cheerfully paid by M. Brainne to the zeal of the late Mr. Williams and other English Protestant missionaries in the New Hebrides and adjacent islands, and only regret that the conduct of the earlier Roman Catholic missionaries was so different.* We fully admit their right to promulgate their doctrines, so long as they confine themselves to those means which Christianity itself enjoins, though we might even then question the prudence of perplexing the minds of men only partially enlightened, and sowing the seeds of religious animosity among communities situated like those in the South Sea Islands. But no Protestant can hesitate to condemn as a wanton abuse of power the enforcing any system of belief upon a people by the guns of a vessel of war.

In September, 1853, the French Admiral Despoints took possession of New Caledonia and the Isle of Pines. It was first stated that New Caledonia was to be a penal colony. It is since said to be intended as the chief French naval station in the Pacific; and for this purpose it is superior to Tahiti, where the harbours are few and small. It would also appear that an extensive scheme of colonization is contemplated, if it be true, as has been stated, that a contract has been entered into by the French government with a well-known English emigration agent for the transport of labourers to New Caledonia from New Guinea. This latter island, to the eastward of 141° , is in the possession of the Dutch. The part to the westward of that meridian has hitherto belonged to the natives, and it is from this western portion of New Guinea that the labourers are to be brought. It is asserted that the number to be carried to New Caledonia is 20,000, the sexes being equally divided, and that 10*l.* per head

* The efforts of the Roman Catholics in New Caledonia, as detailed by themselves, and quoted by M. Brainne, are sometimes strikingly suggestive, especially as regards one important part of their proceedings, the baptism of the natives. A Romanist missionary thus writes to the superior of the Society of Mary: 'Another day a New Caledonian, Michel, *touché de la grace*, came and demanded baptism. He was asked how many wives he had. He replied, two. He was told that baptism could only be conferred on those who would promise to be content with only one wife. Without asking further explanation, Michel returned home, anxious and sad. The next day he presented himself again, and demanded baptism. The missionaries answered, that the first step he must take towards baptism was to put away one of his wives. "But I have only one," replied Michel. "What have you then done with the other? Yesterday you had two." "I have killed her," said the savage, apparently without the least emotion, as if he was only recounting an ordinary occurrence. In fact, the man on returning home had killed one of his wives; perhaps he had also eaten her, and believed he had thus qualified himself for baptism.'—p. 80.

is to be paid to the agent who has taken the contract. We still hesitate to receive these reports with entire credence, notwithstanding the confidence with which they are circulated. No one acquainted with the degree of distrust with which a proposal to leave their own country would be heard by men unaccustomed to labour for hire, or for anything beyond the supply of the first necessities of life, could for a moment suppose that 20,000 natives of New Guinea would emigrate to New Caledonia unless compelled by their chiefs and captors, or deceived by the false representations of coloured men employed as decoys. They could only, in fact, be obtained by the same means as were formerly used to procure slaves from Africa or Madagascar. The form of what is called an engagement, were it possible for them to understand its meaning, would scarcely alter the nature of the proceeding, which would differ little from the slave-trade, except in name. The labourers themselves would in all probability have no more freedom of choice in the one case than in the other. We are not prepared, in addition to the many marvellous paradoxes of the present day, to witness the spectacle of the Emperor of Russia emancipating serfs, while the Emperor of the French, a nation eager to occupy the first rank in the march of civilization, are sanctioning any movement so retrograde in all its tendencies, as the revival of the slave-trade.

We can regard with no unfriendly feelings the efforts of France to extend her commerce. The traffic of the world is not now, and never can be, the monopoly of any single nation; for, vast as has been its increase during the present century, wider fields still are opening to the enterprise of Europe and America; and there is more than scope enough for the exercise of all the energies which England and France united can put forth. Associated efforts, or honourable rivalry in this bloodless career, will afford a surer basis for the durability of our relations than any diplomatic alliance or any combination of forces for war. But we cannot be blind to certain indications which impel us to the conviction that the views of our allies are not all commercial. After the furtherance of the schemes of the Church of Rome by the government of Louis Philippe, the next aim of the French was the establishment of a naval station and a penal settlement in the Pacific. Both these objects were attempted at Tahiti and the Marquesas; and more recently in New Caledonia. The sole indication of colonization is the reported contract for labourers from New Guinea. Whatever purposes this new possession is expected to answer, one consideration, not overlooked by M. Pigeard, whose views we are told were submitted to the French administration,

administration, is its proximity to the English colonies of Australia and New Zealand. "La position géographique," he observes, 'qui la met aux portes de plusieurs grandes colonies Anglaises et à petite distance du continent, lui donne une sérieuse importance politique, si l'on considère qu'avec la possession d'îles à l'est elle pourrait nous assurer une croisière sûre et lucrative, en cas de guerre dans toute l'Océanie centrale, en ménageant à nos escadres des ports au vent et sous le vent pour se ravitailler. Mais, si cette île peut devenir un point militaire, elle n'est pas moins destinée, selon nous, à figurer comme colonie commerciale importante.'

Large as New Caledonia is, being according to Erskine about 200 miles long and 25 broad, it has not been deemed sufficient for the purposes contemplated by the French; and the Loyalty Islands, an adjacent group of three large and a number of smaller islands, were, we are told, occupied early in 1857, and orders are said to have been sent out to add the New Hebrides, a numerous cluster of islands situated to the north-east of the latter group, to their possessions in western Polynesia.

The increase of the naval force of France has kept pace with the additions to her territory. Her squadron in the Pacific, when augmented, as is said to be intended, by the addition of five of the ships employed in Cochin China, would amount to fourteen or fifteen armed vessels. Her commerce in the Pacific is but trifling, and few of her merchant vessels visit western Polynesia. We cannot therefore conceive that so large an armament can be required for the protection of her trade or settlements in this region, more especially when it is considered that one frigate of twenty-six guns and four smaller vessels is all the force the British Government has provided for the protection of English trade, and the English colonies of New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land, Adelaide, Victoria, Queen's Land, and New Zealand.

No difficulty need be apprehended from the increase of French force or influence in the Pacific, so long as the *entente cordiale* continues; but these movements seem to point to ulterior objects. In the contingency of war, to which M. Pigeard adverts, the existence of a large armament in proximity to our Australian colonies, and in the lines of our trade with the Asiatic Archipelago, China, and Japan, might create considerable embarrassment.

England has hitherto shown no inclination to acquire possessions in the South Seas. But the events of the last few years have altered the relation of these islands to other parts of the world,

world, and these altered relations may demand a change of policy. Though our Australian colonies make the interests we have at stake in that region greater than those of any other power, we have as yet no centre of influence, or depôt of commerce, in the Pacific; no halting or recruiting station for any of the postal lines that will soon traverse these waters. It is under these circumstances that the supreme chief of the Fijis, the most important cluster of islands in Polynesia, voluntarily sends the British officer accredited as consul to his country to tender the sovereignty to her Majesty. The demand by an American commander of a sum of 9000*l.*, to be paid by this chief within a year, but which he has no means of paying, has occasioned this proposal.* The example of Tahiti, of which the seizure was preceded by the levying of a fine, in conjunction with what has more recently occurred in New Caledonia, has caused the chief of the Fijis to feel that he is no longer safe. He has selected England as the country under which he and his people prefer to place themselves, and the choice is natural. The English were their earliest, and have been their most constant friends. To the disinterested efforts of our missionaries they are indebted for the great religious and social changes which are now in progress amongst them. The officers of British government-vessels, by which they have been visited, have, by their justice, gained their confidence, and inspired the hope of upright treatment in the closer relations they now seek to form with us.

Of the position, extent, and capabilities of these islands, the author of 'What is Fiji?' has given a succinct but satisfactory account. The group, which is 1500 miles from Sydney, com-

* In this proceeding the Americans have imitated the French, who seem to be pursuing a similar course in other parts of the world. Our commercial relations with Madagascar were interrupted by our uniting with France in 1846 in disregarding the laws of the country; and though unrestricted trade with all nations has been resumed by the people, this does not seem to satisfy the French. Mr. Ellié, in his recent 'Visits to Madagascar,' gives (p. 387-8) an account of the destruction of a station which had been formed on the north-west coast of Madagascar, and fortified with cannon by several Frenchmen, contrary to the law of the country, and without the authority of the government. Since that time a number of these restless spirits have been expelled the capital for revolutionary movements, by which they endeavoured to set aside the Queen, and place on the throne a native prince favourable to their views. In the spring again, of the present year, during the passage of a French ship with African labourers on board, the Africans rose upon the crew, killed the *deleque*, and took the ship into Bally, or Ibali, a port on the north-west coast of Madagascar. The natives could not prevent this, but it was said that they had afforded protection to the Africans; and the French corvette 'Cordelia' was sent to Bally, the town was bombarded, the chief or queen taken prisoner, and a heavy fine levied before she was liberated; after which the town was occupied by the French. These proceedings do not seem to have been authorized by the home government.

prises 80 inhabited islands, the principal of which is 360 miles in circumference. The area of the entire cluster is estimated at 13,000 square miles, and the surface of two of the largest islands is equal to the kingdom of Belgium. Two-thirds of the soil are stated to be available for cultivation. The harbours are capacious, the land fertile and well watered, the forests yield pine and other valuable kinds of timber. The inhabitants of the Fijis, computed at 200,000, are active, energetic, and ingenious; and though formerly ferocious cannibals, they are now easily managed when kindly treated. The products which would probably be most successfully cultivated are sugar, coffee, and cotton. The latter, though grown without care, is, nevertheless, pronounced by our cotton manufacturers to be well adapted for the English market. The proved capability of these islands to yield an article so indispensable should be sufficient of itself to secure for the proposal which has been made to us a favourable consideration. If, under the sanguinary and despotic rule of savage chieftains the soil yields such valuable products,* what might not be expected from the employment of European skill and capital, under the security and encouragement that would be guaranteed to both natives and foreigners by the English occupancy of these islands? One of the advantages of the establishment of British authority in the Fijis, the influence of which would soon extend to the adjacent groups of Tonga and Samoa, would be to put an end to those fearful massacres of natives, and of ships' crews, which now disgrace some parts of our traffic in the western Pacific. Deeds of violence could then no longer be perpetrated with impunity.

The prosperity of our Australian colonies will probably become increasingly connected with maritime pursuits, and their security must in a great measure depend on the naval force in their waters. The natives of the Fijis—active, daring, and half amphibious in their habits—make excellent seamen on board large ships; and, though unable to bear the severe cold of high latitudes, would, with suitable training, furnish good sailors for the traders, and even the armed vessels stationed in those regions. But one of the chief advantages which the possession of the islands would afford is the open route it would secure for the postal line to Australia, New Zealand, and Panama or Honduras, or, more important still, for the line to British Columbia.

The cost of the contemplated occupation of the Fiji islands

* The exports from the Fijis during one year, in American ships only, amounted to 32,000*l*.

need not be great. No expensive establishment would be required. A few upright English functionaries and a small force is all that would be needed. With frank and judicious treatment, the chiefs might be relied on for effective assistance, and a police force might be organized that would prove adequate to the duties which the internal well-being of the islands would require. The small outlay necessary would certainly yield a satisfactory return. Any way these islands cannot remain as they are. The tide of emigration, which is fast peopling Australia, will not stop there, but will spread over the Pacific. Foreign powers are occupying station after station, as centres of future operations. Both commercially and politically these islands will hereafter be more important to our Australian colonies than at the present day; and we should not let slip an opportunity of securing to ourselves advantages which will soon be lost to us for ever.

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- ART. VII.—1. *The Scouring of the White Horse.* By the Author of 'Tom Brown's School Days.' Cambridge, 1858.
 2. *The Ecclesiastical and Architectural Topography of England—Berkshire.* 1849.

BERKSHIRE, 'the royal county,' as its children love to term it, because the chief palace of our Sovereigns is in it, has scarcely changed its name or boundaries since Alfred's time. It is called 'Bercheria' by the monkish writers who used Latin, and 'Berroc-scyre' by the Saxon chroniclers; the name being derived, as some eminent persons tell us (Asser among the rest—if indeed without drawing on us the wrath of modern historians we may still be allowed to call that pleasant old acquaintance a person), from 'Berroc,' a wood where much box grew, while Brompton and others assert that the word 'Beroke' means a disbarked or bare oak, at which the natives used to meet in troublous times in their 'gemot,' to take counsel; in short, a trysting-tree. Whatever be the derivation, there is the name, as old as the Conquest at any rate, be it 'Barkshir,' as Leland writes and the natives call it, or Berkshire, as her Majesty, the members of both Houses of Parliament, and Mrs. Grundy more politely say.

In form the county resembles nothing in the world, unless it be the worn-out highlow of some early frequenter of Covent Garden, which has been cast out into the street. As the ragged non-descript, neither boot nor shoe, lies there waiting for the dust-man's

man's cart, its outline, especially if there be a rent in the toe, and a piece of the leather sticking up, is not at all unlike that of the royal county.

Berkshire naturally divides itself into four districts. Of these the northern district is the Vale of White Horse, answering to the upper leather, and the southern, the Vale of the Kennet, answering to the sole of our highlow, from the heel to the ball of the foot. Each of these two vales runs east and west, and between them the hill district, a high chalk range, the continuation of the Wiltshire downs, runs right across the county, from Lambourn and Ashdown in the west, a little above the heel, to Streatley in the east, on the instep. This is the watershed of the county, from which its two native rivers, the Ock and the Lambourn, flow down, the first in a north-easterly course through the Vale of White Horse into the Thames near Abingdon, the second in a south-easterly course into the Kennet at Newbury. At Streatley the Thames runs through this range of hills, which, after the temporary interruption, march away north-east through Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire; but, as though unwilling to let the queen of English rivers slip entirely away from them, the hills re-cross the stream into Berks at Wargrave, and from that point to Maidenhead confine the Thames again in a chalky embrace. This small outlying district of chalk forms the northern part of the fourth, or forest district, of Berkshire, and answers to the ragged piece sticking up on the toe of our boot. The remainder of the forest district, comprising the towns of Windsor and Wokingham, Windsor Forest, Ascot Heath, and the neighbouring villages, is separated from the Vale of Kennet by the river Loddon, which enters the county at Swallowfield, under the ball of the toe, and runs almost due north till it joins the Thames at Wargrave.

Each of the four districts has its distinct characteristics, and each has minor divisions of its own. Thus, the Vale of White Horse comprises on its north side a low range of secondary hills, which run along the bank of the Thames from Faringdon to Radley, and include Cumnor and Bagley Wood. These are sand-hills, while the soil of the vale proper is for the most part a strong grey loam, mixed with large quantities of vegetable mould.

The Hill district includes the high chalk range, of which the White Horse Hill and Cuckhamsley Hill (or Scuchamore Knob) are the highest points. Towards the north the range is bold, and the descent into the vale steep, and the hills are indented with a number of little 'cooms' or hollows, clothed with copse, while towards the south it melts away gradually into the Vale of the

the Kennet. There is very little soil over the chalk on the higher part of the range, which is still used chiefly for sheep-walks.

The Vale of the Kennet comprises the low lands which lie along its banks, and include clays, gravels, and a large and deep bed of peat, and the strip of wild and high sandy common land which runs along the extreme southern boundary of the county.

The Forest district comprises the small outlying piece of the chalk range which has strayed back over the Thames at Wargrave, and leaves it at Maidenhead, and the forest proper, which however includes towns and flourishing hamlets, and many hundred acres of good enclosed land, from Windsor to the Loddon. Formerly the forest stretched right away up the Vale of Kennet to Hungerford, some forty miles as the crow flies.

Berkshire can boast of no minerals of any importance, and even in the chalk district fossils are comparatively rare; but the surface atones in some measure for the shortcomings of its interior. The flora of Berkshire is as rich, and perhaps more varied than that of any of the neighbouring counties; and the entomologist will find the county a happy hunting-field of rare butterflies.

With the exception of St. George's Chapel at Windsor, there is no remarkable specimen of the later Gothic amongst the Berkshire churches; but the lover of church architecture may find interesting specimens of Norman and Early English scattered all over the county. Of the former Avington church is perhaps the most perfect; Great Shefford, Welford, Faringdon, and many other churches, combine the two styles, and Uffington is perhaps the best specimen of the Early English. From the time of the Reformation till within the last thirty years, no place of worship was built by the members of the Established Church in Berkshire.

There are traces of three Roman roads in Berkshire. The great road from Gloucester to London enters the hill district to the south of Lambourn, and falls into the Bath road, after crossing Wickham Heath, near the 58th milestone. The Ikenild street enters the county over the Thames at Streatley, and runs due west into Wiltshire, but whether on the top of the hills along the track called the Ridgeway, or under the hills along the road still known as the Ickleton-way, antiquaries seem unable to agree. The road from Silchester to London may be still traced on Bagshot Heath, where it is known as the Devil's Causeway.

Drayton, writing in Henry VIII.'s time, gives 'the clownish
blazons

blazons to each county long ago.' Of the Western counties he writes :—

' Cornwall and Devon cry " Let's wrestle for a fall ;"
Then Somerset says, " Set the bandog on the bull ;"
And Glostershire again is blazoned, " Weigh thy wool ;"
As Berkshire has for hers, " Let's to't and toss the ball ;"
And Wiltshire will for her " Get home and pay for all."
Rich Buckingham doth bear the blazon, " Bread and beef,"
Where if you beat a bush 'tis odds you start a thief.'

Some of the counties may wear their old clownish blazons yet, but that of Berkshire has no longer any meaning, for it is not a cricketing county, nor is football played except in a few villages. In fact, here, as elsewhere in England, the schoolmaster is abroad ; local peculiarities are rapidly wearing away, and even the accent of the people is much modified within the last few years.

It was remarked by Fuller in his time that ' the lands of Berkshire are very skittish, and apt to cast their owners,' and it has held true to the present day. With the exception of the Eystons of Hendred, we are not aware of any family which has in lineal male descent held the same estate and resided in the county for 300 years. The Hungerfords, Fetiplaces, De la Beches, Besils, Englefields are extinct. The last male Pusey died more than a century ago, and the estate and the Pusey horn passed from his daughters to a younger branch of the Bouveries, who also represent in the female line another old Berkshire family, the Pleydells. The Throgmortons are originally a Warwickshire family, and only migrated to Berkshire on the marriage of a cadet of their house with the heiress of the Yates'. We believe that the present Lord Braybrooke is still the owner of some of the old Neville property in Berks, but he is an absentee. The Cravens have had estates in the county for two centuries and upwards.

The estates of the nobility and gentry are small also, as compared with other counties, but the number of freeholders is very large. At the beginning of the century Mavor states that the number of yeomen farming their own lands was greater than in any other county of the same size, and in proof of their independence he quotes a saying of Mr. Pitt's, ' that no minister of this country could command ten votes in Berkshire.' In both respects Berkshire still holds her position. About one-third of the county is, we believe, occupied by proprietors, and two-thirds by rack-rent tenants. No manufacture of importance has flourished in the county since the great civil wars ruined the cloth trade.

We

We have never been able to satisfy ourselves what it is that gives to running water its fascination for Englishmen; nor have we space here to speculate on the subject; but is it not the fact that the riverside and the brookside are the parts of our country which we haunt most with our bodily presence, which we think on oftenest, and with the most love, when absent? It is possible (though we rather doubt the fact) that mountaineers may put their hills before their streams; but we, the dwellers in common English counties, should run much more risk of becoming idolaters in respect of the rivers 'which run amongst the hills.' Having regard therefore to the national fondness for water in general, and to the enthusiasm which every Englishman ought to feel for the Thames in particular, we think that, in order to make our readers acquainted with the county, we cannot do better than ask them to embark with us on the father of English rivers at the north-western corner of Berks, opposite Lechlade in Gloucestershire, and to drop gently down, with our eyes on the southern bank. We must limit ourselves thus on our voyage, because the Thames is in no place within the county of Berks, but forms its northern boundary, running along the top of the boot, down the instep, and so on to the extreme point of the toe, separating it first from Gloucestershire, then from Oxfordshire, and lastly from Buckinghamshire. The direct distance from the point where the river first touches the county, to Datchet, where it leaves us, is 52 miles, but measured along the bank upwards of 105 miles.

We are scarcely embarked before we find ourselves on classic English water, for the first bridge we shoot under is Radcot Bridge. Here 'Thomas Duke of Gloster, the Earls of Arundel, Warwick, Darbye, and Nottingham encountered with Robert Vere Earl of Oxford and Duke of Ireland, mantayned against them by King Richard II. Where the s^d Duke was put to flight, and in swyming the Thames hardly escaped drowning. There in his behalf Sir Tho^m Molyneux with many others were slaine,' in the year A.D. 1387, the Earl of Derby having broken down Radcot Bridge behind them.

Crowning the gentle rise at a distance of two miles from the river lies the little town of Faringdon, where the Saxon kings had a palace, in which Edward the Elder died. In the wars of Stephen, which raged fiercely over the whole of the Thames valley, the Earl of Gloucester built a castle here, which was afterwards taken by Stephen and levelled to the ground. On its ruins he founded a Cistercian priory, subject to the Abbey of Beaulieu in Hampshire, at which Henry III., his Queen, and Prince Edward were entertained, at the cost (according to a MS.

in the Bodleian) of 100*s.* 6*d.* for the King, 75*s.* for the Queen, and 50*s.* 6*d.* for Prince Edward. The manor belonged to the Untons for some centuries. There is a monument in the church to Sir Edward Unton, Knight of the Garter, and last of this noble family, who was Queen Elizabeth's Ambassador to the French Court. While filling this post he sent the following curious challenge to the Duke of Guise, which act we submit fairly entitles him to rank amongst notable Berkshire worthies:—

'Forasmuch as in the lodging of the Lord Dumayne, and in public elsewhere, impudently and indiscreetly, and over boldly, you spoke badly of my sovereign, whose sacred person I in this country represent, to maintain both by word and weapon her honour, which was never called in question among people of honesty and virtue, I say you have most wickedly lied in speaking so basely of my sovereign, and you will do nothing but lie whenever you shall dare to tax her honour. And hereupon I do defy and challenge your person to mine, with such manner of arms as you shall like to choose, be it on horseback or on foot. Nor would I have you think there is any inequality of person between us, I being issued of as great a race and noble house in all respects as yourself. So assigning me an indifferent place, I will there maintain my words and the lie which I have given, and which you should not endure if you have any courage at all in you. If you consent not to meet me hereupon I will hold you and cause you to be held for the arrantest coward and most slanderous knave that lives in France.'

What a strange diplomatic person her Majesty seems to have got hold of in this furious Sir Edward, with his lies, and choice of weapons, and all that! This is 'having the honour to be' with a vengeance. The matter got itself hushed up, but Sir Edward it seems never lost favour at Court after all. The Pye family flourished here, and the story of Hamilton Tighe, so admirably told in the 'Ingoldsby Legends,' belongs to them and to Faringdon. The hero's real name was Hampden Pye, who was the heir of the house, and was serving in the navy when his father died, leaving a second wife and a young son, Hampden's half-brother, surviving him. Hampden's step-mother is said to have incited her brother, the captain of her stepson's ship, to put him in some post of danger, where he was killed; but the succession thus gained proved a 'damnosa hereditas' to her and her son, for the ghost of Hampden—seen by them only—accompanied them everywhere, even to church, for the rest of their lives. Henry James Pye, the poet laureate, was also of this family, and planted the clump of trees, commonly called Faringdon Folly, on the hill above the town, which perhaps, on the whole, may be taken as the most poetic act of his life.

From

From this point the range of low hills already noticed runs along the Thames, until the river, taking a sudden turn to the north, goes for a few miles out of its easterly course to receive the waters of the Evenlode coming down from Blenheim and Woodstock. There is nothing to detain us on the way unless we are enthusiastic enough to stop under the village of Appleton, and go up and visit the curious old manor-house, probably the oldest in Berkshire, and the house at Besils Leigh, out of respect for the memory of 'that weak tool of a rebellious Parliament,' Speaker Lenthal, who bought the manor and lived here. It is a mile or two beyond, at the ferry below Cumnor, that the river turns northwards; and here at least we must leave our boat with the ferryman for an hour, and stroll up to the quiet, mournful little village, to see all that is left of the 'haunted towers of Cumnor Hall,' and the monument of Anthony Forster, servant to the Earl of Leicester. Happily for Englishmen, Sir Walter Scott, when a boy, read Mickle's ballad of Cumnor. The ballad is long, not to say wearisome, but has a plaintive music in parts which took hold of the poet's imagination; for instance, in the opening—

'The dews of summer night did fall,
The moon, sweet regent of the sky,
Silver'd the walls of Cumnor Hall,
And many an oak that grew thereby.'

The story of the murder of the poor young Countess, as told in 'Kenilworth,' is for the most part faithful, though Sir Walter has needlessly, we think, altered the character of Forster, who, 'being a man formerly addicted to hospitality, company, mirth, and music, was afterwards observed to forsake all this, and, being affected with much melancholy (some say with madness), pined and drooped away.' Sir John Robertsett, the Countess's father, caused the body to be taken up, and the coroner to sit upon it, but nothing came of it; and 'the good Earl, to make plain to the world the great love he bore to her while alive,' says Ashmole, 'caused her body to be reburied in St. Mary's church, Oxford, with great pomp and solemnity.' Unfortunately Dr. Babington, who preached the funeral sermon, 'tript once or twice in his speech,' speaking of 'that virtuous lady so pitifully murdered'—trippings, let us hope, not thrown away upon 'the good Earl' sitting below in widower's weeds.

It was to Cumnor Hall that Thomas Penthecost, *alias* Rowland, the last Abbot of Abingdon, retired after the suppression of his convent by the commissioners of Henry VIII., on a pension of 200*l.* a-year allowed him by the King, in consideration of his haste in acknowledging the royal supremacy. The other mitred

Abbot of Berks, he of Reading, came to quite another end, as we shall see, and, to our mind, an honester one. Cumnor is a melancholy place in all its memories, whether of temporizing old abbots or captive countesses, and we shall not be sorry to get back to our boat again.

We pass on under Ensham bridge, and through Godstow pound-lock, catching a glimpse of Witham, now the seat of Lord Abingdon, where once lived the Lord Norris, who was beheaded on suspicion of an intrigue with Anne Boleyn, and begin to encounter skiffs and pair-oars, manned by hungry undergraduates bent on lunching on the marvellous Godstow eels, and playing skittles while the cooking goes on. And now we are passing Pool meadow, and, shooting under the Faringdon-road bridge, are within the precincts of the University. But Oxford is, un- luckily for itself and us, not in Berkshire, so we pass along the ugly outskirts of the town, and under the second bridge, where the old familiar scene bursts on us—the great boat builders' establishments, the University barge and the College barges moored along the shore, Christchurch meadow, with the noble avenue of the Long Walk, and the grey colleges in the background. The river is alive with boats, from the racing eight to the freshman's tub starting for a voyage of adventure and discovery, as we pass the mouth of the Cherwell, and pull gently down the noble reach below, full of the memories of neck-and-neck races, of dry throats, benumbed arms, and bounding hearts. And now the well-known 'thud, thud' comes floating up to us; our ear tells us that it is the music of no mean performers, and we lie-to in mid-stream and watch the Gut. Here she comes! the bows of an eight-oared outrigger, bearing the little dark-blue flag, shoot round the corner. She takes the course up under the willows; the crew swing as one man to the long sweep of the stroke; the cockswain makes himself small on his perch, and swings too—we just catch his low 'Steady,' 'Time in the bows,' 'Pick her up fine,' as she flits by us. It is the University crew training, and there go the dozen or so of enthusiasts who run with the boat, toiling up along the towing-path on the Berks side. That brings us back to our senses: the Berks side is our subject, and a pleasant enough side it is on the whole. Bagley Wood and the Radley grounds are pleasant places, though not perhaps to be named with gorgeous Newnham, under which we pass in due course, after stopping for a glass of ale at Sandford, and watching two crews of College eights taking their pastime of skittles by way of resting. And now the stream severs, and we take the right branch, and soon come under Abingdon Bridge, built in the year 1416. There are some quaint old contemporary
verses

verses which give a lively account of the building, and of the reasons why the 'pepul' worked so hard upon it. They begin by declaring that holy Church is the 'chefe werk' in this world, and then go on—

'Another blissed business is briggès to make
There that the pepul may not pas-e after greet showers,
Dole it is to drawe a deed body out of a lake
That was falled in a fount stoon, and a fellow of oures.
Kynge Henry V. in his fourthe yere
He hath i-found for his folke a brige in Berkeschure
For cartis with cariage may goo and come clere
That many wynters afore were marred in the myre,
And som oute of her sadels flette to the grounde
Went forthe in the water wist no man whare.

John Huchyns layde the first stoon in the Kynge's name;
Sir Peter Besils, curteys and keend,
For his fadir soule, and his frendes, he dyd as he scholde,
He gaf hem stonys i-nowhe into the werkys end
Al so mony as they neded fetche hem if they wolde.'

Then—

'The pepul preved her power with the pecoyse
And mattoek be man-handeled right welle a whyle,
With spade and schovells they made suche a noyse
That men might here hem thens a myle.'

And so the bridge was built, and there were great rejoicings:—

'For now is Culham Hithe (the ferry) i-com to an ende,
An al the contre the better and no man the worse.
Few folke there were coulde that way wende
But they waged a wed, or payed of her purse;
And if it were a beggar had breed in his bagge,
He schulde be ryght soone i-bid for to goo aboute,
And of the pore penyles the hire-ward wolde have
A hood or a girdel, and let hem goo withoute.
Many moo myschevis there were, I saye,
Culham Hithe hath caused many a curse;
I-blyssed be oure helpers we have a better waye,
Without any peny for cart and for horse.'

We must moor our boat here below the bridge, and spend an hour in hunting out the old bits of wall and gateway which are all that remain of one of the most splendid abbeys of England. Here we may remark once for all that in no county of England have Henry's commissioners, Cromwell's soldiers, and other breakers-down of strongholds, done their work more thoroughly than in Berkshire. Of the abbeys and priories there is scarcely a trace;

a trace ; Windsor and the gateway of Donnington Castle are the only remains of fortresses ; of Newbury, Reading, Faringdon, and the other castles, the sites are not certainly known. The work, perhaps, could not be done negligently so close under the master's eye.

The abbey of Abingdon was founded about the year 680 by Heane, nephew of Cissa, king of the West Saxons, who had a palace there. At the time of Domesday survey the abbey owned upwards of thirty manors in Berkshire ; and here William I., keeping his Easter in 1084, left his son Henry to be educated, under the care of Robert D'Oyley, his favourite, so that the monks of Abingdon have the honour of having turned out the most accomplished of royal English scholars. Henry III. held his Court here in 1276, from which time the abbey seems not to have been visited by our kings. The revenue at the dissolution was 1876*l.* 10*s.* 9*d.* After this the cloth trade, which was the chief trade of the town, was almost disused in Abingdon, and thus, both their mainstays having gone, the citizens fell into great poverty, so that Sir John Mason (a native of the town, who held an office in the royal household, and was afterwards Chancellor of the University of Oxford) applied to Queen Mary on their behalf, who gave them a Charter of Incorporation, and also a grant of lands, of the value of 102*l.* 6*s.* 7*d.* per annum, to enable them to pay their fee-farm rent and maintain the state and reputation of the town—a quiet melancholy old place, rather going astern in these competitive days, but worth a visit from Oxford student or sentimental traveller.

Gliding by Sutton Courtenay, we reach the quiet little village of Wittenham, which belonged to the Dunches, one of whom married Cromwell's aunt. Their son, Edmund Dunch, was a favourite with the Protector, who made him a peer by the title of Baron Burnell, of which title he was divested at the Restoration, whereupon the author of 'The Mysteries of the Good Old Cause' (1660) says sneeringly, 'He was the husband of that fine Mrs. Dunch, and a great favourite with the Protector, and had a patent to be lord of the Lord knows what, and how little he deserves it.'

Passing Sinodun Hill, with the earthworks of unknown defenders on its quaint round top, and the hamlet of Brightwell at its foot, where was another of the castles levelled in the wars of Stephen, we approach the oldest bridge probably which now spans the Thames. It is not known by whom the nineteen stone arches of Wallingford Bridge were laid down, but whoever he may have been, they do their architect great credit.

Those of our company who do not value old associations,
unless

unless some fair ruin or venerable church remains to speak to their senses of the times that are gone, had better sit quietly in the boat and get their luncheon, while we explore the little borough-town of Wallingford, for there is nothing of the picturesque to be found therein. But let the rest follow us, and we have no fear of not interesting them. This piece of an old wall near the river must be our text, for it is all that remains of Wallingford Castle, and it is the castle that has given the town a history.

The famous Duke of Schomberg went to see the site, and is reported to have said that he scarcely knew a place 'that might be made so fit as this for securing any person in the time of danger and distress;' and from the times of the Britons, who gave it the name of Gualihen, 'the old fort,' all ruling persons seem to have been of the same opinion. But we shall not take our audience back beyond the Conquest, at which time Wallingford was a hold of the first importance, for we find William marching there almost immediately after the battle of Hastings. Here he received the submission of Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, and found a well-disposed Saxon Thane, named Wigod, in possession of the town, who, besides his other merits, was getting old, and had one only child, a marriageable daughter, by name Aldith. This young lady was forthwith married by the Conqueror to Robert D'Oyley, his favourite, whom we have already come across at Abingdon, and who was left to spend his honeymoon in Berkshire, with orders to make the castle as strong as might be. Robert set to work diligently, and finished the fortifications; even the three dikes, large, deep, and well watered, with 'embatteled waulle about eache of the two firste dikes,' which Leland visited, and 'all the goodly buildings with the toures and dongeon which be within the three dikes, the size and magnificence of which used to strike me' (Camden) 'with astonishment when I came thither a lad from Oxford' (as we used to do in those days when the plague or other sickness broke out), and which lasted until the Order in Council of the Lord Protector Cromwell, dated the 18th of November, 1652.

Robert D'Oyley left an only daughter and heiress, Maud by name, who, with her second husband, Brian Fitzcount, declared for her namesake, the Empress Maud, when she arrived in England. There is a romantic story of the escape of the Empress from beleaguered Oxford, in white garments, almost alone, over the frozen Thames, and through the deep snow, to Wallingford, followed, in a few days, by the baffled usurper and his army. Brian Fitzcount held out manfully against siege, storm, and
blockade,

blockade, till in 1153 matters began to look serious, Stephen having built a castle at Cromarsh, on the opposite bank, while the supplies were running short. In good time Henry II. came to the rescue, and blockaded Cromarsh, and Stephen hastened to its relief. The armies lay only three furlongs apart; but their leaders, for once, had the sense not to risk all on a battle, and the treaty of Wallingford settled the succession, and ended that cruel war.

Brian and his wife were sick of such doings: they had no children—so she took the veil at a convent in Normandy, and he, still bent on fighting, but desirous, at the same time, to make the most of this world and the next in the manner of his own day, carried his strong body off to the Crusades, and left it in the Holy Land. Wallingford reverted to the Crown, and Henry II., on the Easter after his accession, held here a general council of barons and bishops.

For the next century Wallingford had a stormy time of it. John seized it during his brother's absence, and the barons took it from him. After he came to the throne he got up a meeting and mock reconciliation with the barons here, and managed to repossess himself of the castle, which he gave to his son Richard, king of the Romans, who entertained the Court here splendidly on St. Cecilia's Day, on the occasion of his marriage. Edward II. gave it to Piers Gaveston in 1308, who, at a tournament held here in 1309, by his insolence to the Earl of Lancaster and other nobles, laid the ground for that hatred which cost him his head in 1312. In the war which followed, Lord Mortimer surprised the castle for the king. The Lords Berkeley and Audley were then sent there as prisoners; whereupon Sir John Goldington and Sir Edward De la Beche, *a priest, afterwards Archdeacon* of Berks, endeavouring a rescue in 1323, got with their band into the castle by a postern near the Thames, and, after a severe fight, are beaten and made prisoners for their pains. But the barons must have got in somehow within the next year or two, for (in 1325) we find Sir Roger d'Amory besieging it for the king, taking it in thirty-five days, for which feat he received the sum of 51*l.* 7*s.* In the very next year, however, we find the king a prisoner at Kenilworth, and his disconsolate queen keeping her Christmas at Wallingford, and entertaining a great company of knights and barons. A mad world! No wonder that all the poor folk who were not killed found this sort of place too hot for them; and whereas in the thirteenth century there were eleven churches (Leland says fourteen) in Wallingford, in the sixteenth there remained three only.

Sir Wm. Blackstone (the author of the Commentaries) was a native

native of Wallingford, and did much for the improvement of the town; his house and estate have only very recently passed from his descendants.

We are now rounding the highest part of the instep of Berkshire, and the scenery begins to change. We are leaving the rich Vale of White Horse, which has stretched far away to our right ever since we passed Radley, and approaching the chalk-hills which form its southern boundary. We are not ashamed to acknowledge, that, notwithstanding all the lectures on physical geography which scientific friends have for many years poured upon us, we are still possessed with wonder when we see a river deliberately running right through a range of hills. Here is this range of chalk-hills coming up from distant Wiltshire, and sweeping away north-east through Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire, as brave and strong as you please; and, just at this point, at Cholsey in the county of Berks, the Thames runs right into them as if it were the most natural thing in the world. When in our college days we attended the course of an eminent professor of geology, he began a most interesting lecture with, 'If any of you should ever hear a man talk about a convulsion of nature, set him down as an ass;' our reverence for the memory of the lecturer, therefore, forbids our believing that a convulsion of nature has enabled the Thames to run through the chalk range; so, having nothing to substitute, we will return to the river with our wonder unabated. But before entering the hills we must go and see Cholsey barn, for its like does not occur again in Berkshire, or elsewhere, so far as we know. It was one of the tithe barns where the monks of Abingdon garnered their share of the harvest. The Abbey is gone, but the barn stands yet, a monster in brick 303 feet long, 54 wide, and 51 high: on a small tablet near one of the doors you may read, 'In this barn John Lanesley threshed, for Mr. Joseph Hopkins, 5 quarters 7 bushels and a half of wheat in 13 hours, on March 15, 1747'!! Worthy deed to be done in the monster barn. Was ever so huge a barn, or so tremendous a thresher! But there is no question of the fact. John Lanesley lived some years into the present century, and earned full labourers' wages till he was 92 years old: he, and the Hopkins family, who were still tenants of the farm, vouched for the truth of the story to Lysons, who records it. There are several more of these tithe barns in Berkshire, of which the one at Coxwell, near Faringdon, stands next to the Cholsey barn. It is 148 feet long and 40 wide, and is reckoned a magnificent piece of brickwork by the initiated. It belonged to the Abbey of Beaulieu in Hampshire. If the worthy monks could fill such
barns

barns as these with their tenths of the yearly harvest, what crops there must have been in those days!

We now pass under the Great Western Railway and come upon pretty little Streatley, which lieth opposite to Goring station on the said railway; taking its name, people say, from 'stratum,' for it was the Roman station at which the Ickenild Way entered Berkshire. The hills, clothed with finer wood than is generally met with on this range, rise at the back, and grand English views may be seen by those who will climb them. And now we are, for the next ten miles, in one of the choicest pieces of Thames scenery—steep hills, noble woods, and gentlemen's seats scattered thickly along either bank, but nothing to detain us, save the exquisite river scenery, until we come to Pangbourn. Here we must stop, and those of our crew who are not anglers should walk, while the eels are frying and the chops broiling, up to quaint, quiet, old Bere Court, out of reverence for Hugh Faringdon, the last Abbot of Reading, whose arms may still be found in the painted glass of the old Hall windows. Bere Court was the summer residence of the Abbots. Here too Sir John Davis, the friend of Drake, the rough old hard-fisted sea-king, created a knight banneret at the taking of Cadiz, and better known than loved by the Dons on the Spanish Main, spent the last twelve years of his eventful life 'in studious retirement.' He was an excellent mathematician, and entered deeply into the science of judicial astrology. A poor ending for the old sea-king, this twelve years of judicial astrology. Those who can throw a long line, and make their minnow spin as it touches the water, will do well to take a cast in the waters of the great lasher; for, deep down along the willowy side, under skirting-board, or behind old pile or swaying weed, lurk monsters of the deep—trout, fabulous weighted, pink as salmon, game as pheasants. But let no tyro waste his time trying for these, which are given only to the hand of the master; are there not punts for the beginner, stocked with ground-bait and gentles, and much coarse fish, with perch and chub, to be thankful for—punts which will sway lazily in the stream, while he fishes or paints, or dreams, gazing into the joyous water as it leaps into the lasher and comes swirling and eddying past him? No wonder that the poor wearied Cockney finds rest and pleasure in coming down here to angle out his short holiday.

And now we cast off the boat again, and dropping down under the well-timbered banks pass Maple Durham pound, and, after some three quarters of an hour steady pulling, shoot Caversham bridge, and come to Reading, our county town, lying on gentle rising ground between the Kennet and Thames, quiet, quaint,

quaint, and respectable to look upon. The town has seen stirring scenes since the building of those old walls, which rise gaunt and bare by the side of the new gaol—gaunt and bare, but almost indestructible. The contractor for the new Assize Courts is even now at his wits' end, for in digging his foundations he has come upon masses of the Abbey wall, of which it is a day's work for a man to prize away a few feet with heavy pickaxe. The tough old wall makes itself respected still, and the labourer with numbed fingers wonders what the mortar could have been made of in those days, and offers you a small fragment as a curiosity.

The old town turns its worst side towards the railway, and no wonder; for the Great Western embankment ruthlessly cuts it off from its fair and rich river side, from King's mead, and Brigham's mead, and goes far to spoil the view of the townsfolk with its straight unplanted banks, huge ugly sheds, and unmeaning stations.

Reading, named (we will believe for want of a better derivation) from 'redyng,' the British name for fern, first appears in English history in A.D. 871, when it was taken and sacked by the Danes, and a fierce battle was fought within and about it, in which Æthelwulf, Alderman of Berkshire, was slain, and Alfred first saw blood drawn, and learnt what it was to be beaten. It was burnt again by the Danes in A.D. 1006, and had scarcely recovered itself at the Conquest, for in Domesday Book we find only 29 houses in the town paying tax to the king. But in the early years of Henry I., who was its great benefactor, and founded the magnificent Abbey, in which kings held high feasts and parliaments, and whose revenue at its dissolution was returned at 2116*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.*, Reading took its place finally at the head of Berkshire towns.

It is pleasantly told in the old story of 'The Six worthy Yeomen of the West,' how King Henry came to love Reading and to build his great Abbey here. The authenticity of the story, which turns upon the state of the cloth trade, is, perhaps, more than doubtful. No doubt in early times (as the author of the 'Six worthy Yeomen' begins) 'among all crafts this was the onely chiefe, for that it was the greatest merchandize by the which our countree became famouse throwout alle nations;' no doubt Reading was through several centuries one of the centres of this trade; but it could hardly have been so flourishing as he represents it to have been in Henry I.'s time; in fact, we believe that Cole of Reading, the great clothier, lived in Edward I.'s reign, if not later: nevertheless, having no other suggestion to make, we give the story for what it is worth.

' King

‘King Henry, riding with divers of his nobility to appease the fury of the Welshmen, met a great number of waines loaden with cloth comming to London, and seeing them still drive one after another so many together, demanded whose they were. The waine men answered in this sort, “Coles of Reading” (quoth they). Then by and by the King asked another, saying, “Whose cloth is all this?” “Old Coles,” quoth hee; and againe anon after he asked the same questions to others, and still they answered “Old Coles.” And it is to be remembred, that the King met them in such a place so narrow and straight, that hee with the rest of his traine were faine to stand as close to the hedge, whilst the carts passed by, the which at that time being in number about two hundred was neere hand an hour ere the King c^d get roome to be gone; so that by his long stay he began to be displeased, altho’ the admiration of that sight did much qualifie his furie.’

On his return from Wales the King ‘entred into communication on the commoditie of cloathing,’ and gave order to have old Cole brought before him ‘to the intent he might have conference with him, noting him to be a subject of greate abilitie,’ and soon after having to provide for his French wars, sent for the other clothiers, who provided him with men and money, and in return obtained from him many benefits, especially the fixing of the cloth yard measure for the whole kingdom.

Henry, on his return from France, visited Reading, and was loyally entertained; so the King said,

‘“that for the love these people bore him living, hee would lay his bones among them when he was dead. For I know not,” said hee, “where they may be better bestowed, till the blessed day of resurrection, then among these my friends, which are like to be happy partakers of the same.” Whereupon his Majestie caused there to be builded a most goodly and famous Abbey, in the which hee might shew his devotion to God by encreasing his service, and leave example to other his successors to doe the like.’

And here in his own abbey Henry Beauclerk was buried, and parts of his coffin, or what is taken for his coffin, may be seen to this day. Here also was buried, after all her fightings and sorrowings, his daughter Maud, widow of the Emperor Henry IV., and mother of our Henry II., and over her grave the couplet (too neat we fear for the monks of the twelfth century) is said to have been carved:—

‘Magna ortu, majorque viro, sed maxima partu,
Hic jacet Henrici, filia, sponsa, parens.’

However, be the coffin of Henry I. and the epitaph of his daughter apocryphal or no, certain it is that in 1124 the abbey was finished, with the object of providing the poor and all travellers with necessary entertainment.

Reading

Reading Castle was given up to Henry II. in 1153, under the treaty of Wallingford, and by him levelled to the ground; the site of it was not known in Elizabeth's time, but it was probably to the west of the town, not far from the present Castle Street. The local history hangs round the eastern end, where the great abbey stood, overlooking King's-mead and the Thames on one side, and stretching its walls down to the Kennet on the other. And a most interesting history it is, and told most elaborately, though not without a strong mixture of Dryasdust, in Coates's *History of Reading*, illustrating too, in a striking manner, the history of the kingdom at large; for, take any side we will of the national life, from the twelfth to the seventeenth century, and the history of Reading will help us to realize it. Are we in the humour for chivalry? In the King's-mead in 1163 a single combat was fought in the King's presence, between Henry de Essex, his hereditary standard-bearer, and Robert de Montford. The latter was the challenger, and accused Essex of abandoning the royal banner, on a false rumour of Henry's death, in a battle with the Welsh. Essex was vanquished and left for dead on the field, his lands were forfeit to the Crown, but the monks carried his body to the abbey and cured him, and he died a Benedictine.

Are we looking at the ecclesiastical side of our history? Here we find Thomas à Becket consecrating the great abbey church in 1164 A.D.; Convocation meeting in 1184 to elect an archbishop of Canterbury; Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, meeting the King and barons in 1185 A.D., to ask aid against the Turks; in 1212 the Pope's legate, Cardinal Pandulph, holding a council for the reconciliation of John to his exiled bishops. On the other hand, Hugh, the eighth abbot, looks out on us through the centuries in a humbler but more real way, who, finding that the intentions of King Henry were performed in a decent manner towards the richer sort, but had miscarried to the poor, built a hospital outside the abbey gates for the entertainment of those who were not admitted to the refectory; and so the history of the abbey rolls on with great and solemn pageants, and feastings of kings and nobles, alternating with retrenchments, under Abbot Quapode and others, till the Dissolution in 1539 A.D., when it winds up with the hanging, drawing, and quartering of Hugh Cook, alias Faringdon, the last abbot, with two of his monks, Rugg and Onion, for denying the King's supremacy. The abbey was then turned into a palace, which was the occasional residence of Henry and Elizabeth.

Are we in a constitutional humour? Parliaments sat at Reading in the reign of almost every Plantagenet king from Richard I. downwards, the last occasion being in 1466, when it was adjourned

journed from Westminster on account of the plague. Of these we shall only mention that of 1314 A.D., to which Nicholas At-Oke presented his petition, stating that the King's (Edward II.) servants had seized twenty-three quarters of oats belonging to him for the King's chickens, and also much litter which he had provided for his landlord, the Bishop of St. David's, whereupon the Parliament awarded that his oats and litter should be paid for, and they were valued at 3*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.*; and that of 1389 A.D., at which John of Gaunt succeeded in reconciling the King and his barons.

Are we fond of municipal history? That of Reading is full of character. The corporation or guild, claiming a charter from the time of Edward the Confessor, struggled like sturdy Britons with their mitred abbots; would go armed in their own town, and repelled by force the bailiffs of the said abbot. But the Crown sided with the Church, and set the sheriffs on the guild; and, at last, in 1254 A.D., the right of the abbots to elect the master, from three burgesses presented by the guild, was recognised. The guild, however, did not wholly succumb, but, by the help of the cloth trade, held an independent position, and the town suffered less from the suppression of the abbey than almost any other similarly situated. They reached the height of their renown in 1625 A.D., when Michaelmas term was held at Reading, on account of the plague which was raging in London.

Then again we may disport ourselves in the lives of pious children of the old town, who became munificent benefactors to the place of their birth. The most remarkable of these are—Sir Thomas White, the founder of St. John's College, Oxford; Archbishop Laud, John Kendrick, and John Blagrave, the mathematician, author of the *Mathematical Jewel*, all clothiers, or sons of clothiers. Kendrick's munificent bequests, amounting to 7500*l.* of the then currency, have been sadly misapplied, as the records of the Court of Chancery show; and his attempt to perpetuate the trade, by the purchase of a strong and commodious house where poor clothiers should be instructed in their calling and live rent free, has proved a failure. The house, known by the name of the Oracle, may still be seen, but the trade never held up its head after the civil wars.

And now, unmindful of the minor antiquities of Reading, we must return to our boat, and pull away. We pass sweet Sonning, nestling round its church, and the house where Sydney Smith wrote '*Plymley's Letters*,' and dash along by Earley Court, though the memory of Lord Stowell, whose it was in right of his wife, tempts all who can value his work as a jurist to linger a little at the retreat he loved so well. On we go past the mouth
of

of the Loddon, and in again amongst the chalk hills at Wargrave, where stands the house which belonged to Cowper's friend Hill, at which the poet spent much time; and in the church the tomb of Thomas Day, the author of *Sandford and Merton*, who died of a fall from his horse while on a visit to his mother at Bear Hill in this parish in the year 1789. And now the chalk hills rise again to the height of 300 feet above us, well clothed in parts with groves of beech and other timber, amidst which stands Park Place, where dwelt, towards the end of the last century, Marshal Conway. That illustrious soldier indulged in his retirement in landscape gardening on a large scale; and, besides carrying off and bestowing in his extensive grounds large portions of the ruins of Reading Abbey, and erecting a ruined Roman amphitheatre, he set up here, in their original circular form, the forty-five huge stones which were sent him by the inhabitants of Jersey, together with a more modern slab, inscribed, '*Cet ancien temple des Druides, découvert le 12^{me} Août 1785, sur la montagne de St. Hélier dans l'isle de Jersey, a été présenté par les habitants à son Excellence le Général Conway, leur Gouverneur.*'

We have scarcely pulled out of sight of Park Place and the Druidical and Roman remains so strangely fallen there, when Henley Bridge, and the pretty little town on the Oxfordshire bank, lie before us. But we are not concerned with Oxfordshire, and cannot even land to visit the old hotel overlooking the river, on a window of which Shenstone inscribed his well-known verses; so we pass under the bridge, and down the magnificent reach below, on which year after year the picked crews of stalwart young Englishmen contend for the championship of the inland waters at the Henley Regatta. Long may they contend there and elsewhere! It will be a black day for England when her young men begin to neglect this, the sternest and most trying of all their grim sports.

At the bottom of the reach we pull stroke-oars hard all, and, turning due west, pass Medmenham Abbey—the place where Wilkes, Sterne, and the other roystering wits of their time, met, until they made the neighbourhood too hot to hold them, and handed down the shameful memory of the doings of the 'monks of Medmenham' to our times—and come in sight of Lady Place, in the parish of Hurley. Lady Place was once a Benedictine monastery, and came into the possession of the Lovelace family soon after Henry VIII.'s time. Sir Richard Lovelace, the companion of Drake, built him a house on the ruins of the monastery, where his descendant, John Lord Lovelace, of Hurley, kept house and ruined himself in the reigns of James II. and William and Mary; not however until, under cover of hospitality, he had here

here organised private meetings of the nobility in one of the vaults underneath, resulting in the overtures to the Prince of Orange which brought him to England. 'On which account,' says the inscription, 'this vault was visited by that powerful Prince after he had ascended the throne.'

The river scenery holds us more and more with its soft and fresh beauty as we pass the fair lawns and mansions, and the little islands sparkling with wild flowers, and letting down their willow tresses into the stream. And now we open another splendid reach, with Marlow in the distance, and the grounds of Bisham Abbey on the right. The old grey house bursts on us suddenly; parts of it probably were there when the Knights Templars held it as a preceptory. Many a bronzed warrior of the Cross sleeps under those gables without a name. After the suppression of the order, Bisham was granted by Edward III. to William Earl of Salisbury, who founded the monastery here for Augustine monks; and the quiet monks lived on, and received and sung masses over the bodies of one after another of that line of princely founders, carried back here to their last home from battle-field or scaffold, till in the fulness of time William Barlow, the last prior, surrendered the house quietly to his king in 1539, the annual revenues being then 661*l.* 14*s.* 9*d.*, and was made Bishop of St. Asaph's, lived to see the Reformation and marry, and rear five daughters, all of whom married bishops. One almost wonders that our virgin Queen should have been able to live under the roof which had not fallen on Prior Barlow. Here, however, she dwelt for some time, in a sort of honourable imprisonment, during her sister's reign, and revisited it, as the guest of Sir Thomas Hoby, more than once after her accession. The Queen's chamber, and the cloister where she walked, are to be seen to this day.

And now we shoot under Marlow Bridge, and thread our way through pounds and past islands, for the river winds about in a fantastic manner, lingering by Cookham and Hedsor, and then bursting away south, down the splendid reach which may be seen from Maidenhead Bridge. Maidenhead thicket lies a mile or two to the west, a wild district still, though harmless enough; but in former times of so bad repute, that in the Act of 39 Elizabeth, c. xxv., passed 'for enlarging the statutes for following Hue and Cry,' the hundred of Beynhurst, in which the thicket stands, was specially exempted from penalties where there had been no voluntary default; and in the same reign the vicar of Hurley, who served the cure of Maidenhead, was allowed an extra salary for the danger of passing the thicket.

There is nothing to detain us at Maidenhead, which has never,

so far as we know, been the scene of any more important historical event than the flight of the Irish in 1688. They were left to defend the bridge which was fortified by the King, but the townspeople came down in the night, 'beating a Dutch march,' and the Irish at once decamped. And now, passing under the viaduct of the Great Western Railway, we emerge into flat country, with Windsor full in sight, and Bray Church and Monkey Island close at hand.

Bray is supposed to be the '*Bibracte*' of Richard of Cirencester, where the Bibroci submitted to Cæsar on his crossing the Thames, but is better known to Britons in general as the residence of the most sagacious of vicars. He lived and remained vicar under Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, and not a century later, as the song has it. When taxed with being a turncoat and unconstant changeling, Fuller says, he answered, 'Not so, for I always keep my principle, which is this, to live and die vicar of Bray;' and adds, 'such are many nowadays, who, though they cannot turn the wind, will turn their mills, and set them so, that, wheresoever it bloweth, their grist shall certainly be grinded.' The remains of the old manor-house of Ockwells in this parish, now used as a farmhouse, are full of interest and beauty; and with a little careful and reverent restoration the house might be made equal to anything of the kind in the kingdom.

And now we get frequent glimpses of the towers of Eton; and outriggers, manned by gallant boys in the uniforms of their respective boats, dash by us heedlessly, or perhaps with a glance of pity at the fogies in their safe tub of a boat, pottering along with note-book lying open in the stern. But before we venture past the watery domain of the boys we must stop for a few minutes at Clewer, to visit the church and copy the inscription on a brass-plate in memory of a doughty Berkshireman. It runs:—

'He that lyeth under this stone
Shot with 100 men, himself alone.
'This is true that I doe say,
The match was shot at Oldfield, at Bray;
I will tell you before you goe hence
That his name was Martyne Expençe.'

It is not our purpose to dwell on those places and matters which are famous already. There is small need for us to lionize Windsor, sorely tempted as we may be to do so, now that we have at length come under the shadow of the great Round Tower. Every man who speaks the English language knows the place and its traditions nearly as well as we. Never-

theless we cannot pass in silence the grand old pile, regal in association, bound up as it is with the memory of every monarch who has ruled in England, from Edward the Confessor to Queen Victoria ; regal in position, with the Thames at its feet, and the banner of England on its highest tower, looking over twelve fair counties ; regal in its architecture, in its decorations ; in its past, its present, and, let us hope, in its future. One must allow that they *could* build in those mediæval days, when the Castle as it now stands was planned and much of it built. So they could in Solomon's days, when the Temple was built ; and the process in the two cases was not unlike. Edward III., who was born in the old castle at Windsor, and loved it much, was a bit of a Solomon in some things, though he was a terrible fighter, and so far as we know did not trouble himself with natural history. Edward's method of getting his work done was simple enough ; he issued writs to the sheriffs of his counties under a penalty of 100*l.* to impress for him as many hewers of stone, carpenters, and other artificers as might be necessary (in most years 360 or thereabouts) to work at '*the King's wages* ;' and when divers of these did clandestinely leave Windsor and were employed by private persons at higher wages, 'to the King's great damage, and manifest retarding of his work,' the sheriffs were ordered to make proclamation that all persons who should employ the runaways should forfeit all their property, and to arrest the men and commit them to Newgate. Then, having a kingly eye for the person who could do his work, Edward pitched upon William of Wykeham, a young clerk, and set him over the impressed masons, with a salary of 1*s.* a day for himself, or 2*s.* if he had to travel, and an allowance of 3*s.* a week for a clerk of the works, and said unto him, 'Build.' A summary, not to say arbitrary, way of getting one's house up ; and the nineteenth century intellect, rejoicing in the imminent prospect of a new Reform Bill, and the final acknowledgment of the 'rights of man' to a 6*l.* rating suffrage, has doubtless much to say against it. Nor are we about to defend such process. Nevertheless let the nineteenth century consider its own ways before casting stones. There are other methods of oppressing hardhanded men besides making them work at the King's wages under William of Wykeham. It must be confessed that the great William had but a poor time of it, from 1357, when he was appointed, down to 1373, when his work was finished, what with the plague coming to Windsor, his men running away, the sheriffs getting negligent, and the King in hot haste to get the job done. And we find him altogether justified in placing the three words '*This made Wyckham*' on a stone in the Winchester Tower. A sycophant courtier, however,
reported

reported to the old King that William had inscribed '*Wyckham made this*' on the royal castle; whereat the kingly wrath had like to have blazed out against the architect, but was appeased by the explanation, that the fame of building the castle had been the making of him the aforesaid William, and that nothing more was meant.

Windsor Castle saw its proudest days in the reign of its restorer, for in his time two captive kings and a king's son—David of Scotland, John of France, and his son Philip—were here at one time on their parole, with the liberty of taking the diversion of hunting and hawking at their pleasure; and the Order of the Garter was founded, and the festival of St. George held year by year, with great solemnity and display of tilts and tournaments.

And here have lived and reigned the sovereigns of England ever since, and here many of them have died and been buried. Henry VI. sleeps near his rival Edward IV., and bluff King Hal by the side of Jane Seymour. The body of Charles I. too is laid here, notwithstanding the story of the syndic of Berne, who knew Ludlow well in his exile, and had heard him affirm,—

'That though Ireton and Cromwell were buried under Tyburn, yet 'twas a comfort to him that the royal martyr kept them company; "for," said he, "foreseeing that his son would undoubtedly come in, we took care that his father's body should not be idolatrously worshipped by the cavaliers, and therefore privately moved it to the place of common execution."'

But we are not writing a history of England, and must pass over the splendid memories of Windsor, to bestow our remaining space on humbler places. So lingeringly we drop down the last few miles of the stream, gazing up at the receding castle and the grand masses of old trees in the Great Park; passing Datchet Mead with our heads full of the Merry Wives, and Herne's Oak, and poor old Sir John. His memory forbids us to grow sentimental, so let us wind up our voyage with a laugh. Here is Datchet Bridge, the last in Berkshire, over which took place one of those bloodless battles which could happen in no land on which the sun shines save dear, wrongheaded, self-governing, perverse old England. In the year 1836 the counties of Bucks and Berks found out that their bridge at Datchet was no longer safe for man and horse. The '*medium flum*' of the Thames is the boundary of the two counties; consequently each county owns and is bound to keep in repair one half of the bridge; and on former occasions the magistrates of both counties had agreed on one plan, which had been carried out at their joint expense. Now, however, the Berks magistrates insist on rebuilding and using iron, the Bucks J. P.s on the other hand declare for re-

pairing and timber. Neither party will yield, and Berks refuses to allow Bucks to lay joists across her half of the central arch; so, some bucolic Achitophel prompting them, the Bucks magistrates find a cunning man who undertakes to repair the Bucks half of the bridge, including her half of the central arch, without any further support from the Berks side than can be got from fastening the new joists to the old joists, which spanned the central arch from pier to pier. The plan is executed, and the Berks magistrates hear at Quarter Sessions, October, 1836, that Bucks has outwitted them. Whereupon the Berks Court of Quarter Session proceed to deliberate, and pass an order (a copy of which they unluckily despatch forthwith to the Bucks Clerk of the Peace) directing their surveyor to cut through the old joists of the central arch on the Berks side, 'and then let us see, gentlemen of Bucks, what comes of your fine new plan for repairing your end without our privity.' But the Bucks magistrates, instead of riding to the bridge with the posse comitatus and then and there fighting it out, send off their clerk swiftly unto the High Court of Chancery; and the clerk institutes the suit of 'The Attorney-General v. Forbes;' and the question is fought with vigour before the Vice-Chancellor, and on appeal. 'Shall the Berks magistrates not cut through their own old oak joists on their own bridge?' Wondrous are the arguments of counsel for Berks, the best of them being 'Don't interfere with either of us;' which, however, is torn in pieces by the Chancellor, who remarks:—

'I know no more effectual mode of interfering with the magistrates of the county of Bucks than by telling the Berkshire magistrates that they are at liberty to cut away the beams which support the central arch. There would then be an open space reaching from the Berkshire extremity of the bridge to the outermost pier on the Bucks side, and those who had to cross the bridge would be left to pass over this space as best they might. Nevertheless that is represented as the *best way of carrying the repairs into effect.*'

His lordship, however, being of another opinion, launches his thunderbolt at the Berks magistrates in the shape of an injunction, and so the bridge at last gets mended, and the folk do pass over it, blessing Chancellor Brougham unto this day.

Here, then, we must stop on the bank, although Runnymede is almost within sight; while the glorious river rolls on, full-tided, and as yet bright, almost unsullied, down to the mighty city and the eastern sea, like one of the manliest of those Eton boys, whom we left but a mile back plunging in the dimpling pool, or skimming over the surface in faultless wherry, when he shall leave school and home, and go forth strong, hopeful, and unconscious,

unconscious, to his life-battle in the great world. The river must lose its brightness mile by mile as it travels on; must go down amongst the great palaces and the vilest haunts of men, through honour and dishonour; must struggle long and sore with the tide of the ocean, which shall ever seem to undo what has been done, rolling the weltering filth and the over-matched river waters wearily backwards again and again. The boy (if he will be a true man, and do a man's work) must leave behind him all dreams of golden days, of rest and pleasure, and close in death-grips with the follies, and weakness, and sin of his own heart and his brethren; ever staggering onwards under the task which is laid on him, steadfast to the last, though in weariness and painfulness; many times striking out for dear life when the tide of circumstances is carrying him up and down, and ready to overwhelm him. What then? Would we choose for river or for boy, whom we love, any other course or end than this? No.—Let the river flow down amid the busiest haunts of men and the pollutions of great cities, struggling with and carrying away, however slowly and wearily, all impurities; making a broad path for the traffic of the nations; till its waters regain their freshness in the bosom of the smiling sea. Let the boy cast in his lot where he can best help forward the work, and bear the sins and sorrows of his brethren; turning from no task, sickening at no pollution, shrinking from no sorrow, while he has the God-given power to act, to purify, to sympathise; until, travel-stained and weary with the strife, he may lie down at the end on the bosom of the all-embracing love, and yield up his life to Him who is the Life indeed.

And now, having come to the furthest point of the fourth or forest division of Berks, we must spend a short time in glancing at the notable places therein. As may be supposed, there is plenty to keep us employed in the immediate neighbourhood of Windsor. The able-bodied tourist should take his lunch with him, and walk across the Great Park, and out on the west side near Fern Hill, where lived the brave General Clayton, who was killed at Dettingen; then turning south he will cross Ascot race-course, on which, if of our mind, he will not linger, but will strike across the remains of Bagshot Heath, listening to the sweet, quick notes of the yellow-hammers, and trying to trace the old Roman road (now called the Devil's Causeway); and if he will let his fancy run upon the works and ways of last century, he will mark many spots where the gentlemen of the road may have camped and caroused while qualifying for the gallows. As he leaves the heath he will see Easthampstead Park on his right, an old royal hunting seat, to which Catherine retired, and where

Henry

Henry VIII.'s privy councillors vainly strove to gain her consent to a divorce; but he must keep on south, and in another mile or so he will come upon a hill, round the summit of which runs a double ditch, enclosing a Roman camp—'Cæsar's Camp,' of course, it is called by the natives. Here he may eat his luncheon, and think of Agricola; and then, if he wishes to extend his walk, may descend southward still, and visit the Military College at Sandhurst—the most important place of education in the county; otherwise, contenting himself with a distant view of Sandhurst, and the fine wild, sandy tract beyond, with Eversley nestling down on the borders of it, and Aldershot in the distance, he may turn north-west, taking for his guide a small brook, which rises close by Cæsar's Camp, and will conduct him, in about four miles, to Wokingham. Of course he will put up at the Rose Inn, and order his dinner in the parlour, where Swift and Gay and their company caroused one wet day, and wrote the song of 'Molly Mog' in their cups. John Mog, the father of the fair maid of the inn, was then landlord of the Rose, and had two daughters, Molly and Sally, of whom Sally was in fact the cruel beauty, and the subject of the song. But the wits were too far gone to distinguish; and so the honour, if honour there be, has clung to Molly, who, after all, died a spinster, at the age of 67.

When he is ready to leave Wokingham, he may take his choice between several charming walks. Perhaps, however, his best will be by Arborfield, with the old Manor House sketched in 'Our Village,' under the name of 'the Old House at Aberleigh,' where the Standen family lived—the last of whom was the ill-used suitor of Molly Mog, and died at 27, of love—to Swallowfield, where Clarendon wrote his History in a house which he acquired, together with the manor, by his marriage with Dame Backhouse, and which Governor Pitt, commonly called 'Diamond,' bought from his grandson; and then crossing the lazy Loddon, the Lodona of Pope (who spent the years of his boyhood at Binfield), may turn northwards to Shinfield, to our mind one of the prettiest villages in England; and so, diverging slightly from the direct road, to visit Three Mile Cross, or 'Our Village,' where Mary Russell Mitford lived and died, may enter Reading.

We have now done with the forest district, and may follow the Bath road due west for thirty miles, through the Vale of Kennet, or southern division of the county, to Hungerford; which pleasant little town is close to the borders of Wilts, and has been celebrated from time immemorial for its trout fishing; and since John of Gaunt's time for the horn presented by him to the town when he granted them the right of fishing. It may still be seen in the house of the constable (as the mayor of the town for the time being

being is called), and on it the inscription, 'John a Gaun did give and grant the riall of fishing to Hungerford toune from Eldren Stub to Irish Stil excepting som several mil pound—Iehoshaphat Lucas was constabl.' Our space will not allow us to pause often on the road between Reading and Hungerford, though bordered with fair seats and spots full of enticing legends; so our first halt must be about three miles from Reading, opposite a large and square brick house with wings, backed by splendid timber, and looking out due south over the pleasantest of parks, full of dappled fallow deer. This is Calcott Park, the seat of 'the Berkshire lady,' whose story we must shortly tell, for the benefit of such of our readers as love a romance.

The story lives both in prose and verse, the best version being a ballad, which we cannot give, because it is in four cantos, but from which we may borrow with advantage. It begins:—

' Bachelors of every station,
Mark this strange but true relation,
Which to you in brief I bring;
Never was a stranger thing.
You shall find it worth your hearing;
Loyal love is most endearing
When it takes the deepest root,
Yielding gold and charms to boot.'

The John Kendrick who bequeathed 7500*l.* to build the Oracle at Reading, for the maintenance of the cloth trade, left a noble fortune, a large slice of which descended towards the end of the century on a beautiful Miss Kendrick, a young lady who had a will and a way of her own, and was skilled in embroidery, the use of the small sword, and other accomplishments of the period.

' Many noble persons courted
This young lady, 'tis reported;
But their labour proved in vain,
They could not her love obtain.'

Nevertheless, at last,

' Being at a noble wedding,
In the famous town of Reading,
A young gentleman she saw,
Who belonged to the law.'

This young gentleman was one Benjamin Child, a strapping and probably briefless barrister on the circuit, some say an attorney, who was pleased to enjoy a wedding feast and accompanying flirtations, little thinking of what was in store for him: for the lady goes home and writes him a challenge to mortal combat, naming Calcott Park as the place of meeting. Child, though much astonished, goes to the rendezvous with a friend,
where

where they find a masked lady, who informs them that she is the challenger,—

‘So now take your choice, says she,
Either fight or marry me.’

Here is a sudden predicament for a briefless barrister. What in the world is to be done?

‘Said he, Madam, pray what mean ye?
In my life I ne’er have seen ye;
Pray unmask, your visage show,
Then I’ll tell you, ay or no.’

Lady. ‘I will not my face uncover
Till the marriage rites are over;
Therefore take you which you will—
Wed me, sir, or try your skill.’

A most positive young woman in any case. He consults his friend, who, having regard to B. Child’s chance of briefs, advises—

‘If my judgment may be trusted,
Wed her, man, you can’t be worsted;
If she’s rich you rise in fame,
If she’s poor you are the same.’

So Benjamin Child, Esq., elects to marry the masked swordswoman. The three get into her coach, which is waiting, and drive to church; the knot is tied, and then—

‘With a courteous, kind behaviour,
She presents his friend a favour;
Then she did dismiss him straight,
That he might no longer wait.’

She and Benjamin drive to Calcott House, where, to his no small surprise and annoyance, she leaves him alone in a ‘beautiful and fair’ parlour, where, after two hours’ waiting,

‘He began to grieve at last,
For he had not broke his fast.’

Besides—

‘There was peeping, laughing, sneering,
All within the lawyer’s hearing,
But his bride he could not see—
“Would I were at home,” said he.’

It certainly may be allowed a trying position, even for a briefless barrister, especially when the steward comes in and questions him, as though he had an eye to the spoons. At last the mistress herself enters, and opens in like manner:—

Lady.

Lady. ‘ “ Sir, my servants have related
That some hours you have waited
In my parlour: tell me who
In this house you ever knew? ”

Gent. “ Madam, if I have offended,
It is more than I intended;
A young lady brought me here.”
“ That is true, said she, my dear.”

Then comes the disclosure, and Benjamin Child, Esq., finds himself married to the heiress of Calcott, without any embarrassing settlement of her property to her separate use: how that thought must have added to the pleasure of the surprise! The ballad winds up with a flourish of trumpets:—

‘ Now he’s clothed in rich attire,
Not inferior to a squire—
Beauty, honour, riches, store!
What can man desire more? ’

In the register of the parish of Tilehurst, in which Calcott stands, may be seen the entry of the birth of two daughters of the Berkshire lady and Benjamin Child, in Sept. 1712, and Sept. 1713. It is but a century and a half ago that these events happened, in times more prosaic than our own.

As we pass westward, along the old Bath road, we must not leave Englefield unnoticed. For in the park, or chase, the Ealder man of Berks beat the Danes in 871, when those marauders first appeared in Wessex. The magnificent house was built by John Powlet, the famous Marquis of Winchester, whose body lies in Englefield church—‘a man,’ as his epitaph shortly states, ‘of exemplary piety towards God, and of inviolable fidelity to his Sovereign, in whose cause he fortified his house of Basing, and defended it against the Rebels to the last extremity.’

Our last halt in the Vale of Kennet will be at Newbury, perhaps the most interesting of all Berkshire towns—a quiet, solid-looking town, lying round the fine old grey church, on the banks of the swift Kennet. It was one of the most flourishing seats of the cloth trade, and sent two burgesses to Parliament in Edward I.’s time, and three members to the great council convened at Westminster in Edward III.’s time, ‘concerning trade and manufactures.’ But the Newbury cloth-trade produced its hero towards the end of the fifteenth century. John Winchcombe, better known as Jack of Newbury, was a poor clothier, who had raised himself to great local eminence, and kept one hundred looms at work. When, in Henry’s absence, the Scotch invaded England, he was ordered to set out four men armed with pikes, and two horsemen,

men, for the King's service, and answered the call by marching north at the head of fifty tall men well mounted, and fifty footmen with bow and pike, 'as well armed and better clothed than any.' Whether he reached Flodden is doubtful, though the ballad of the 'Newberrie Archers' gives the particulars of the exploits of his men. On Henry's return from France Jack had the honour of entertaining him at Newbury, which he did in splendid fashion, and refused the honour of knighthood. But Jack's crowning work was his carrying to a successful issue the clothiers' petition, when, 'by reason of the wars, many merchant strangers were prohibited from coming to England, and also our own merchants, in like sort, were forbidden to have dealings with France and the Low Countries,' so that the cloth-trade had fallen very low. The deputation seemed at first likely to miscarry, for Wolsey, to whom they were referred, put the matter off from time to time, being of opinion (as was not unlikely) that 'Jack of Newbury, if well examined, would be found to be infected with Luther's spirit.' Jack, in his turn, exasperated the Cardinal by saying, 'If my Lord Chancellor's father had been no hastier in killing calves than he in despatching of poor men's suits, I think he never would have worn a mitre.' But the King took the matter up, and the clothiers got their order, 'that merchants should freely traffic one with another, and the proclamation thereof should be made as well on the other side of the sea as the land.' 'The Steel-yard merchants, being joyful thereof, made the clothiers a great banquet, after which each man departed home, carrying tidings of their good success, so that in a short space clothing was again very good, and poor men set to work as before.' Such are the most trustworthy of the legends about this popular hero; the others, though characteristic and quaint, are too doubtful to be seriously stated.

Jack of Newbury was buried in the parish church in 1519. Another great clothier, Thomas Dolman, built Shaw House in 1581, and retired from trade, exciting thereby the envy of his neighbours, which has been perpetuated in a doggerel couplet—

'Lord have mercy on us miserable sinners,
Thos. Dolman has built a new house and turned away all his spinners.'

Shaw House was the key of the King's position in the second battle of Newbury, but fortunately escaped injury, and remains almost untouched, one of the most interesting houses in the county.

The parish of Shaw-cum-Donnington, which is almost a suburb of Newbury, must detain us yet for a short space. Half-way
between

between Shaw House and Donnington Castle stands a house of the sixteenth century, built on the site of the old Priory, which, with its revenues of 19*l.* 3*s.* 10*d.*, was surrendered, in 1539, by Henry White, the last prior. At the top of the hill stands all that is left of Donnington Castle, a block of grey ruin, covered with ivy, looking out over the vales of the Kennet and Lambourn, with the town of Newbury lying almost at its feet. It was rebuilt by Sir Richard Abberbury, the guardian of Richard II. during his minority. It then became the property of the Chaucers. The inquisition on the death of Sir Richard Abberbury is missing, so the question whether Geoffrey Chaucer lived during the last years of his life here can probably never be settled. Camden says that many of the poems were written under an oak at Donnington; Britton states positively that Chaucer retired to Donnington in 1397; and Drayton, Ashmole, and others mention the fact of his residence here; but, so far as we know, all that can be proved is, that it belonged to his son Thomas Chaucer, who married an heiress, and was sheriff of Berks in 1400 A.D. Thomas's daughter and heiress, Alice, was three times married, the third time to William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, who survived her; on the attainder of his grandson the estate vested in the Crown, and Henry VIII. gave Donnington to Charles Brandon. The hill is well wooded, but the oaks now growing here do not equal their grandsires. Evelyn, in his 'Discourse on Forest Trees,' speaks of these 'memorable trees: '—

' amongst which three were most remarkable from the ingenious planter (if tradition hold), the famous English bard, G. Chaucer, of which one was called the King's, the other the Queen's, and a third Chaucer's Oak. The first was 50 foot in height before any bough or knot appeared, and out 5 foot square at the butt-end, all clear timber. The Queen's was felled since the wars, and held 40 foot excellent timber, as straight as an arrow in growth and grain, and cutting 4 foot at the stub, and near a yard at top. This oak was of a kind so excellent, cutting a grain clear as any clap-board (as appeared in the wainscot which was made thereof), that a thousand pities 'tis some seminary of the acorns had not been propagated to preserve the species. Chaucer's Oak, tho' it were not of these dimensions, yet was it a very goodly tree.'

Berkshire has the honour of having received the doctrines of the Reformation as early as any part of England, and Fuller says, 'Let other places give the honour to the town of Newbury, because it started first in the race of the reformed religion.' Whether it be literally true that Newbury was the first in that race may be doubtful, but it was certainly amongst the first, for
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in 1518 A.D. Christopher Shoemaker was burnt there for reading the Gospels to a disciple, one John Hay; and in all the histories of English martyrs there is none more touching than that of Julius Palmer, Fellow of Magdalen College. He had been a Romanist at Oxford, and, full of the zeal which urged St. Paul to hold the garments of those who stoned Stephen, had been a partaker in the burning of the Bishops at Oxford. The spectacle of their heroic deaths led him to inquire for himself. He was soon suspected of heresy, resigned his fellowship, and became master of Reading grammar school. The suspicions soon followed him; he had to fly from Reading, and went to Ensham to see his mother. Here he found no rest: his mother cursed him for not believing as his father, and she, and all his forefathers had done, instead of 'what was taught by the new law in King Edward's days, which is damnable heresy.' 'Fagots I have to burn thee,' ended the old woman; 'more thou gettest not from me.' He departed, blessing her, the tears trickling down his cheeks, whereat 'she hurled an old angel after him, and said, Take it to keep thee a true man.' He then visited his friend Cope at Magdalen; went to Reading to get his arrears of salary; was there arrested, and sent with a bill of instructions to Dr. Jeffery, who was holding a visitation for the Bishop of Sarum at Newbury.

He was arraigned with two other 'silly brethren,' Thomas Askine and John Quin by name, in Newbury church, on the 15th of July, 1556, before Dr. Jeffery, Sir Richard Abridges, Sir William Rumsford, H. Winchcombe, Esq., and the parson of Englefield, in the presence of 300 persons, for denying the Pope's supremacy, maintaining that the priest sheweth up an idol at mass, and other charges. At first Palmer answered guardedly, offering to recant whatever in his teaching 'will not stand with God's word.' But his clerical judges were worthy successors of the high priests, and it must have soon become clear to Palmer that a recantation was required which he could never make. He becomes careless of picking his words, and, seeing himself face to face with the deepest of all realities, calls things by their names in a way which causes his questioners to shout blasphemy and gnash their teeth upon him. The parson of Englefield comes to the help of Dr. Jeffery, who is fast losing his temper before the 'beardless boy,' with a short test going to the root of the matter:—

'Parson (pointing to the *pir*). What seest thou yonder?

'Palmer. A canopy of silk bordered with gold.

'Parson. Yea; but what is within it?

'Palmer. A piece of bread in a clout, I trow.

'Jeffery.

'Jeffery. Thou speakest wickedly; but tell me—Is Christ present in the Sacrament or no?

'Palmer. He is present.

'Jeffery. How is he present?

'Palmer. The doctors say, "modo ineffabile;" therefore why do you ask me? would God ye had a mind ready to believe it, or I a tongue able to express it unto you!

'Jeffery. What say you to the baptism of infants?

'Palmer. I say that it standeth with God's word, and therefore ought of necessity to be retained in the Church.'

'Jeffery. Ye have forgotten yourself, I wis, for ye write that children may be saved without it.

'Palmer. So I write, and so I say.

'Jeffery. Then it is not necessary to be frequented and continued in the Church?

'Palmer. Your argument is not good, Mr. Doctor.

'Jeffery. Will ye stand to it?

'Palmer. Yea, Mr. Doctor, God willing.

'Jeffery. Note it, Registrar.

'Parson. Thou art as froward a heretic as ever I talked withal.'

Of a surety, parson. Not much to be got out of this sort by means of tongue fence. Fire and faggot is the only argument which remains to the parson of Englefield. So Palmer and the two 'silly brethren' are duly handed over to the secular arm.

The secular arm in this case is one Sir Richard Abridges, Knight, sheriff of Berks; which knight and sheriff has an honest English heart in him; has throughout the examination been trying to get fair play for Palmer; honours the youngster's courage, and for his part does not like the work he is about, and would gladly get out of the sort of work altogether. So the old knight sends for Palmer after dinner to his lodgings, and 'friendly exhorted him, in the presence of divers persons, to revoke his opinions, and spare his young years, wit, and learning:'

'If thou wilt be conformable, and show thyself corrigible and repentant, in good faith I promise thee before this company I will give thee meat and drink, and books, and ten pounds yearly, so long as thou shalt dwell with me; and if thou shalt set thy mind to marriage, I will procure thee a wife and a farm, and help to stuff and fret thy farm for thee. How sayest thou?'

Books! meat and drink, and 10*l.* a year! a wife and a farm! these are good things; but there is one thing better, Sir Richard, even the truth of Almighty God. So Sir Richard perceiving that he would not retract—

'Well, Palmer,' saith he, 'then I perceive one of us twain shall be damned, for we be of two faiths; and certain I am that there is but one faith that leadeth to life and salvation.'

'Sir,

'Sir, I hope we both shall be saved,' answers Palmer.

But for the present there is no help for it, and 'Sir Richard, and the bailiffs of the town, with a great company of harnessed and weaponed men,' conduct Palmer and the two 'silly brethren' to the fire:—

'They put off their raiment and went to the stake and kissed it; and, when they were bound to the post, Palmer said, "Good people, pray for us that we may persevere unto the end, and for Christ his sake beware of Popish teachers, for they deceive you." As he spake this, a servant of one of the bailiffs threw a faggot at his face, that the blood gushed out in divers places. For the which fact the sheriff reviled him, calling him cruel tormentor, and with his walking-stick brake his head, that the blood likewise ran about his ears. When the fire was kindled and began to take hold upon their bodies, they lift their hands towards heaven, and quietly and cheerfully, as though they felt no smart, they cried, "Lord Jesu, strengthen us; Lord Jesu, assist us; Lord Jesu, receive our souls." And so they continued, without any struggling, holding up their hands and knocking their hearts, and calling upon Jesu until they had ended their mortal lives.'

And the place where they bore their witness may be seen to this day, at 'the Sand Pits,' some quarter of a mile from Newbury on the Enborne road.

Thus the little town and its suburbs bring before us livingly the most notable phases of English history. The Norman Castle, with its ecclesiastical offshoot, carrying us back to the middle ages; the 'sand pits' and the church speaking of the Reformation; the great Elizabethan house, and the Jack of Newbury Inn, reminding us of the rise of the manufacturing towns and middle class, and the two battle-fields of the struggle in which they won their place in the commonwealth; and the huge deserted Pelican Hotel, the Bath road, the Kennet and Avon Canal, and the line of railway, each reading us the lesson of change and progress in their own quiet and truthful way.

The pleasantest way of getting from the Vale of Kennet to the hill district of Berks is to follow the river Lambourn, from its junction with the Kennet at Newbury up to its source in the chalk range. There is an old legend, still believed by the dwellers on the Lambourn, notwithstanding the witness of their own eyes, which Joseph Sylvester gives in these words:—

'All summer long, while all thy sisters shrink,
Then of thy waters thousands daily drink,
Beside that water which in haste doth run
To wash the feet of Chaucer's Donnington;
But while the rest are full unto the top,
All winter long thou dost not show a drop.'

The real fact is that the stream varies very little all the year round,

round, a remarkable fact which has never been explained ; but the statement of Sylvester and the topographers who have followed him is a gross exaggeration. Following the valley of the Lambourn, we get back to the extreme west of the county, on to the breezy downs on the southern slope of the White Horse range. This is the fairy land of Berks : we find ourselves at once in an atmosphere of legend and fable : the earthworks of unknown people crowning every high hill ; Sarsden stones scattered about the valleys ; the Ridgeway, a track older than the Romans, running along the top of the range ; battlefields by the dozen ; barrows by the score, full of bones, and skulls, and urns, and the remains of weapons ; the lost town of Nachededorne, and Wayland Smith's Cave, Dragon's Hill, Scuchamore Knob, and, above all, the White Horse, to exercise the ingenuity of the learned. The district has of late been made famous by the powerful pen of Tom Brown, who has never been surpassed in the truth and vividness of his descriptions, and the intense and elastic expression which he gives to all that is best in our English nature. Suffice it to say that, although the battle of Ashdown was probably fought close to White Horse Hill, the balance of authority seems in favour of Messrs. Akerman and Thoms in their theory that the Horse is a Pagan monument, and was not the work of the army of Alfred and his brother. The chalk hills are now given over to shepherds, and solitary farmers, and trainers of race-horses, though the latter chiefly infest the neighbourhoods of the two down towns, Lambourn and Ilsley.

From the chalk range we look down on the Vale of White Horse, the richest district in Berks. Wantage, the real capital of the Vale proper, lies under the hills, and has the honour of having given birth to two of the most famous of Berkshire men, King Alfred and Bishop Butler. The Great Western Railway has of late years opened up this old-fashioned district, and the dialect (which Mr. Akerman and other competent judges pronounce the purest Anglo-Saxon now spoken) is disappearing, together with the universal breeches of the men, and long red cloaks of the women. Of the many interesting houses which are scattered about, perhaps Coleshill, Lord Radnor's seat, built by Inigo Jones, about 1650 A.D., and a very good specimen of his style, and Pusey, are the most important. The renowned Pusey horn still lives in the plate-chest at the latter place, inscribed with the legend which we fear was never graven by the white-smith of Canute, 'Kyng Knowd gave Wyllyam Pewse yys horne to holde by thy lond.' No county in England felt the weight of the great Civil War more heavily than Berkshire. Parties were pretty evenly balanced here, but the King had the advantage of
position,

position, his head-quarters being at Oxford, on the very borders of the county; and so in the autumn of 1642 we find that Windsor only, of all the Berkshire strongholds, was in the hands of the Parliament. Reading, which they had at first occupied, was abandoned by Harry Martin on the approach of the King's army. Wallingford, Faringdon, and Donnington Castle were also garrisoned for the King, and Abingdon was the head-quarters of his horse, so that the whole county, except the forest district, was commanded by him. And thus the winter went on in fruitless negotiation, the only event of importance, so far as the county was concerned, being the arrival of the Earl of Berkshire at the King's head-quarters. He had been taken prisoner by the Parliament and committed to the Tower, on the suspicion that he was about executing a commission of array for His Majesty, but they set him at liberty in the winter, 'as a man that could do them no harm anywhere,' when he came to Oxford, as did many other of his kidney.

In April, 1643, the game began again, and Essex marched to besiege Reading, Philip Skippon being in command of the approaches. For a week little progress was made, but then a part of the roof of a house, struck by a cannon-ball, fell on the stout old governor, Sir Arthur Aston, and 'made that impression on him that his senses shortly failed him.' Colonel Fielding succeeded to the command, the King tried to relieve the place and was driven back, and Fielding surrendered on terms. He was to march out with drums beating and colours flying, with fifty carriages for baggage; which fifty carriages were plundered by the townspeople on their passage. Fielding was tried for the surrender, and condemned to death, which punishment was commuted, but he never recovered the disgrace, though he afterwards served with credit as a volunteer.

Then came the battles of Lansdown and Roundway Down in the west, and the surrender of Bristol to the King; his march to Gloucester, and siege of that city; the march of Essex from London to the relief of Gloucester; and now the war rolls back to Berkshire. Rupert, who had grossly mismanaged matters at Gloucester, now by forced marches came up with Essex on Auburn Chase, and hung upon his rear on the night of the 17th of September at Hungerford, giving the King time to throw the bulk of his army into Newbury, and bar the way to London. Essex encamped that night on the low hills to the south-west of Newbury, about Enborne, without victual, and weary with marching and fighting. The Royalists in the town rejoiced, thinking that the end was come. The King's artillery were posted in strong position, and orders were given not to attack; but

but there were hot heads in command on his side. In the morning the young Earl of Caernarvon was seen measuring a gateway with his sword, amidst a crowd of laughing cavaliers, to ascertain whether Essex's horns* could pass through when they should lead him in as prisoner. In another hour the King's horse, heedless of orders, were upon the enemy, the young officers leading in their shirt-sleeves, scattering the Parliament's horse, and rushing on the trainbands, who were well posted on the slope of a hill a mile from the town. The trainbands stood fast; Essex in his white hat, which he refused to change, amongst them. During the early part of the fight the King's artillery could not play, and the battle was fought all day with no notable turn—a stubborn hand-to-hand fight, and 6000 men said to be left on the field. In the evening the dead body of the Earl of Caernarvon came into Newbury stretched across a horse, 'like that of a calf;' the Earl of Sunderland (aged 23) was dead on the field; and Lord Falkland was dying. Early next morning Essex with all his cannon marched past the town, and got safe to Reading, though the King's horse, headed by Rupert, hung close on his rear, and did fearful execution in Dead-man's Lane, near Theale. Two days afterwards Essex marched to London, and Reading was again garrisoned by the King. Colonel Boys was left with a garrison to hold Donnington Castle, and overawe Newbury, and so ended the year 1643 in Berkshire.

In May, 1644, the Parliament's armies left London and marched, the one under Essex to Windsor, and the other under Waller to Hertford Bridge, meaning to beat up the gallant Lord Winchester at Basing. The King then withdrew his garrison from Reading, and purposed to make a stand at Abingdon; but, on Essex's approach, Abingdon was evacuated, and occupied by the enemy, who also threw troops into Newbury; so that before the end of May the Parliament were masters of all the south and east of Berks, except Donnington Castle. In the summer the war swayed northwards, and Marston Moor was fought, and westwards, where Skippon surrendered to the King. The Council were left at Oxford, which was almost besieged by the enemy.

Meantime Lord Winchester was hard pressed at Basing, and news came to Oxford that he must surrender in ten days if no relief came. But Sir Arthur Aston, now governor of Oxford (having recovered his senses since the siege of Reading), declared 'that the dangers of the relief were more than any soldier who understood command would expose himself to, and that he would not suffer any of the small garrison under his charge

* Essex was married to the notorious Lady F. Howard.
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to be hazarded in the attempt.' There was, however, a Colonel Gage, lately come from the English regiment in Flanders to give his services to the King, who offered to take the command on himself, and 'hoped to give a good account of it, if the lords would enlist their servants and raise a good troop or two of horse.' Hawkins's regiment opportunely came in, which was raised to 400 by volunteers, and, with 250 horse, was placed under Gage's orders. With this small force he threaded his way across Berkshire, attacked and beat off the besiegers, levied arms and provisions in Basingstoke and the neighbouring villages, relieved the garrison, and then, though the whole country was up, came back to Oxford on the sixth day with 100 prisoners; 'and it was confessed by enemies as well as friends that it was as soldierly an action as had been performed in the war on either side.'

But now Donnington Castle was in peril. Colonel Boys had held his own through the summer, making excursions, gathering stores and provisions, and fighting many skirmishes with the Parliament forces. But in August he drew on himself the wrath of Waller, by an audacious attempt to seize the principal citizens of Newbury on a Sunday; and General Middleton, with 3000 men, was sent to reduce the castle. Middleton cannonaded the castle in the regular way, and, when ready for the assault, summoned John Boys. The correspondence is characteristic:—'Sir,' writes Middleton, 'I demand you to render me Donnington Castle, for the use of the King and Parliament. If you please to entertain a present treaty, you shall have honourable terms. My desire to spare blood makes me propose this. I desire your answer.—John Middleton.' 'Sir,' answers Boys, 'I am intrusted by His Majesty's express command, and have not learned yet to obey any other than my Sovereign. To spare blood, do as you please; but myself and those who are with me are fully resolved to venture ours in maintaining what we are intrusted with, which is the answer of John Boys.' The assault lasted six hours, and the assailants then drew off, with the loss of 100 men, a colonel, a major, and several other officers killed. Middleton marched to the west, leaving Colonel Horton to blockade the castle; who, on September 29th, receiving reinforcements, beat down three of the towers and part of the wall in a twelve days' cannonade, and then sent a summons, which favour, if not accepted, he declared, 'in the presence of God, that there should no man amongst them have his life spared.' John Boys replied 'that he would keep the place, and neither give nor take quarter.' That night he made a sally, beat the besiegers out of their trenches, killing a colonel, the chief cannoneer, and many soldiers; and before they had well recovered themselves

themselves the King marched into Newbury, on his way from the West, relieved the castle, and knighted John Boys. His army was in high spirits from their easy success at Andover, so he sent off Lord Northampton to relieve Banbury, with three regiments of horse, and remained quietly at Newbury, despising Waller, his late antagonist, resolved to wait Northampton's return, and then to relieve Basing, which was again in great straits. His position was a strong one, stretching from the Kennet on the south, along the Lambourn, to Donnington Castle on the north, with Shaw House and its terrace-gardens, and a mill on the Kennet, thrown out as advanced posts, in front of the line. The main body lay in the north of the town of Newbury, in Speen and Shaw villages.

The cloud soon gathered about the King. Essex was ill himself; but Manchester, with Cromwell as general of his horse, and Waller with 8000 foot and at least 7000 horse, 'the greatest body of horse which I saw together in the whole course of the war,' says Ludlow, came suddenly to Newbury on the 24th of October. Luckily for the King, the Lord-General being ill, some members of the committee of both kingdoms accompanied the army, 'to see that all possible advantage was taken against the enemy.' It was too late to retreat, so the King, with less than half the number of his adversaries, stood at bay, and for two days held his ground, the enemy being foiled in all attempts to draw him from his position or force it. On the third morning, however (Sunday, Oct. 27), at break of day, 1000 of Manchester's foot, with some of the London trainbands, forded the Lambourn, surprised a guard of the King's, and made a dash at Shaw House. Sir Bernard Astley drove them back with loss, and from that time till three, though the fighting was constant, no impression was made on the King's position. Then Waller, making a circuit to the south, crossed the Kennet at Speen, where the King's position was neglected on account of its supposed strength, and, driving in some bodies of horse, threw himself on the flank and rear of the King in the fields between Shaw and Speen, where Charles himself was. For a short time he was in imminent danger; but the gallant conduct of the Queen's regiment of horse retrieved the day on this point, and the Royalists held their own till night, though, it would seem, cut off from Shaw House and their front. While Waller executed this movement, Manchester led 3000 foot and 1200 horse, with some guns, against Shaw House; they came on very resolutely, 'singing of psalms,' and at one time got up to the garden, but were at last driven back with loss. They were reinforced twice, and again twice attacked, the last time almost in the dark, but without carrying the house, and at night

drew off to a neighbouring hill, leaving some colours and two drakes in the hands of the defenders, and many dead, 'insomuch that 500 dead lay upon a little spot of ground.'

Each army seems to have fancied itself worsted, for the Parliament men drew off from all parts of the field in the night, while the King, after issuing orders to the officers at once to draw off their men to Donnington Castle, leave their wounded and artillery, and thence to make what haste they could to Oxford, started early in the night with 300 horse to Bath to bring up Prince Rupert.

Prince Maurice conducted the retreat, and, notwithstanding the great superiority of the enemy in cavalry, got to Wallingford without hindrance the next day. When the King's army was fairly gone, and not till then, the Parliament forces marched into Newbury, and in full force surrounded Donnington Castle. They again summoned the indomitable Boys, assuring him this time 'that they would not leave one stone on another.' He answered that 'he was not bound to repair it; but, however, he would, by God's help, hold the ground afterwards.' They tried an assault, but could make nothing of it, and retired to the town. Here the quarrel between Manchester and Cromwell began, which ended in the charges brought by Cromwell against the Earl, the self-denying ordinance, and the remodelling of the army. In the midst of their quarrels, on the eighth day after the battle, the King led his army back, relieved Donnington Castle, carried off all his artillery, and marched down the hill and across the front of the enemy's position with drums beating and colours flying. Manchester declined the challenge, and the King marched at his leisure to Lambourn, whence he relieved Basing, and then, visiting Faringdon on his way, arrived at Oxford on the 23rd of November. Essex soon after put his troops into quarters at Reading, Newbury, and Abingdon, and the year 1644 closed.

It was a gloomy winter for both sides. But early in the new year the Parliament passed the self-denying ordinance; Essex, Manchester, and others retired; and Fairfax, the new general, with Cromwell next in command, remodelled the army at Windsor and Reading. In April Cromwell made a rapid march across the county, beating a detachment of the King's army near Radcot Bridge. He then visited Faringdon, and summoned the garrison, which held Sir Robert Pye's house there. Roger Burgess, the governor, refused to surrender; and Cromwell, after waiting many hours for infantry from Abingdon, stormed at 3 o'clock in the morning, Colonel Pye leading the attack on his own house. They were beaten off with loss, and Cromwell had to march at once to Reading, to join Fairfax, who was already moving

moving northwards after the King. In June Naseby was fought, and the first civil war was virtually at an end. Wallingford and Faringdon were surrendered in the autumn (or, as some say, early in 1646) to the Parliament, leaving John Boys at Donnington, alone in all Berkshire, in arms for the King. Late in October Cromwell and Dalbier were near Newbury, after the storming of Basing. The Parliament had ordered that Donnington should be taken, and had sent letters to the three committees in Oxford, Berks, and Bucks, to join forces for this purpose. Cromwell seems to have considered the chances of an assault, and to have concluded against it, for he marched into Devonshire to join Fairfax, leaving Dalbier to invest the castle, which he did in November. Boys still held out till March, in which month he made his last sally, and took 50 of Dalbier's men prisoners. But now all was over in the West; and so, on the next summons, the brave governor agreed to send to Oxford for instructions, and, on the return of his messenger, surrendered to Dalbier on the 1st of April, 1646. A grand and chivalrous soldier was Boys, worthy to be remembered in Berkshire and elsewhere, as an example of that unflinching heroism to which every Englishman should attune his mind, and hold to be no less essential to his existence than the air he breathes.

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- ART. VIII.—1. *Notes on the Defences of Great Britain and Ireland.* By Lieut.-General Shaw Kennedy, C.B. 1859.
2. *Military Opinion of Sir John Fox Burgoyne, G.C.B.*
3. *Our Naval Position and Policy.* By a Naval Peer. 1859.
4. *The Navies of the World.* By Hans Busk.

OF all the questions which can at the present moment be submitted to the consideration of the British people, there is none of such vital importance as that involved in the inquiry whether what are popularly called our National Defences are in a state of real and practical efficiency. If any man, after mature deliberation, arrives at the conclusion that they are able to bear any strain that is likely to be, put upon them, he may sleep in quiet and devote his waking energies to the various questions of internal economy which appear so all-absorbing in times of peace; but if, on the contrary, it should appear that any other nation of Europe is better armed and more fully prepared for the contest than we are, it would be well that he and every one should devote themselves to remedy this state of affairs. The recent events show that the restless ambition of our neighbours has again revived, for whatever may have been the minor complications

complications which caused the outbreak, there can be little doubt that the war was undertaken by France from pride of power and a desire to realise again those triumphs which she still considers the most brilliant that adorn her history. Of one thing we may feel perfectly certain: that before many years—it may be before many months—are passed over, our prowess will be tested to the utmost, unless, indeed, by some special interposition of Providence, the course of events is altered beyond what human prescience can divine.

It requires no small effort on the part of an Englishman to realise how completely military glory may become the ruling passion of another nation. With us the part we are called upon to take more or less in the government of our country and the various phases of social life offer careers sufficient to employ the energies and to satisfy the ambition of even the most active of our fellow-citizens; but, on the other hand, political life never afforded an opening suited to the character of the French, and is now entirely closed against them, without the nation caring much for its loss. Literature is cramped and shackled; Science is no longer honoured as formerly; and even Art has lost that healthy and aspiring form of utterance which alone can give it dignity. The army is, in fact, the only career left open to the more energetic or ambitious minds of any class. The soldier feels that he alone of all his fellow-citizens is respected and has the power of making himself feared. The army is at the present moment the sole body which survives the wreck of the institutions of France; it alone represents, while it governs the nation; and as regards other nations, the soldier can refer to a series of victories achieved over them by those who bore the same insignia which he bears, and which made France, in his estimation, the 'gem and the wonder of earth.' It is in vain for the soberer Teuton or Saxon to reason with his more vivacious Celtic neighbour and attempt to point out the ultimate consequences which always have arisen from these warlike ebullitions, or to recommend a peaceful career as more likely to lead to ultimate success. No such arguments make the least impression on him. In his soul the Frenchman despises commerce, though loving money; and cares not for politics, though ambitious of power. His one idea is the might and majesty of an armed host conquering the world and lording it over subject nations. The form of patriotism which he appreciates is his desire to see his country thus made powerful and thus respected; and his greatest pride is to form a fractional part, however insignificant, in this great mission.

Dominated by this imposing idea in its abstract form there
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are two practical developments of it, which any one who knows anything of France or Frenchmen must be aware are universally diffused. The first, and perhaps the nearest and the clearest, is the extension of France to the boundary of the Rhine. The other, which more immediately concerns ourselves, is the humiliation of England. Ludicrous as it may sound to our ears, it really seems to be felt by the French people as an intolerable grievance that any country should exist in Europe over which the tricolour has never floated ; and it is this, and not any sober calculation of the risk of the attempt or of the ultimate gain that may result from it, which would induce France to invade our shores. Now that her armaments both by land and sea are, to say the least of it, equal to those of any other Continental nation, nothing that human foresight can discern will prevent her from making the attempt to avenge the past, and to realise what she conceives to be the destiny of the future.

In this country we are inclined to lay far too much stress on the individual character or intentions of the present Emperor. Many fancy that if any accident were to occur to him, we might go to sleep again. Some reason on his supposed bad faith and his hatred of us and our institutions ; and, on the other hand, others (including among them many who ought to know best) assert that, personally, he has no ill-feeling against us, and would willingly be our friend and ally. All this, however, is wholly beside the question. Though apparently a despot, he is as much the slave of the public opinion of the people he governs as the ruler of the freest state, and is absolutely powerless to arrest the progress of his army. The peace empire of 1853 has become the war empire in 1859. Our conclusions must not be based on the interest or ambition of any individual ruler who may happen to be on the throne of France, but on what we know and what all history tells us of the feelings and aspirations of the great body of the people of France. The present Emperor may or may not be desirous of undertaking the task ; but the crown of France will certainly be one day offered to any man who can and will raise the standard against England.

It must always be borne in mind that the present menacing attitude of France towards ourselves by no means originated with its present ruler. The impatience of the supremacy of this country on the ocean began to show itself as soon as the wounds inflicted in the last war were partially healed, and manifested itself on every occasion when the two countries came into contact on the seas. The first, however, who raked up the smouldering embers, and fanned the hostile feeling into a flame, was the Prince de Joinville, whose celebrated pamphlet on the subject

subject fairly roused the feelings of the nation, while, from his position as the son of the reigning Sovereign and the energy of his character, he was able to do much towards increasing the French Navy and extending its efficiency. During the reign of his peace-loving father, however, there was little fear of the fleet assuming an aggressive character, or becoming larger than such a country as France ought to possess for the protection of her commerce and the defence of her colonies. Had *his* policy been allowed to prevail, we might have remained with the establishments and the budget of 1835, which form the Utopia of our financial economists. But even *he* could not entirely restrain the instincts of his nation, and the attempt was at least one of the principal causes of his downfall. As soon as the obstacle of his influence was removed, the deep-rooted feeling soon manifested itself; and one of the very first acts of the Republican Government established in 1848 was to organise a commission of fifteen of its most experienced and competent members to inquire into the state of the navy, and to recommend plans for its extension. This body continued its labours for more than two years, under the presidency of M. Dufaure, during which time it visited all the naval ports in France, and held more than two hundred meetings in Paris and at the ports; and it is on the result of their deliberations that the present status of the French Navy is based. After hearing an immense mass of evidence, and collecting all the information that was available regarding the past history and present state of the navy, the Commission proceeded, at their sitting on the 22nd January, 1851, to consider the real purpose of their appointment. The question was pertinently and plainly put by the President in the following words:—‘*La France a une marine—pourquoi ? à quoi la destine-t-elle ?*’ The reply of M. Collas, one of the most active members of the Commission, is as plain as it is significant, and formed the basis of all their subsequent deliberations:—‘*Ce qu’il faut établir d’abord,*’ he replied, ‘*c’est le nombre de vaisseaux que la France devra et pourra mettre en ligne, le jour que la guerre sera déclarée. Pour cela il y a une base certaine—l’adversaire est connu : il ne peut être question que de l’Angleterre !*’

On this basis they acted, and all their subsequent proceedings point most distinctly and undisguisedly to an attack on the naval supremacy of England as the sole object for which the French navy was to be reconstructed.

It is hardly worth while now to examine minutely the details of their recommendations, which have been eclipsed by subsequent augmentations; but the substance of what they then advised was that the status of the French Navy should be raised with

with all possible despatch, either by conversion or by building, to forty-five line-of-battle ships of the first class, fitted with screw propellers, and engines of the most powerful description consistent with the necessary accommodation for the crew and stores. By similar processes it was determined to provide sixty steam frigates of the greatest possible speed and efficiency, and twenty steam transports, each capable of conveying one thousand men, with the requisite stores and provisions. This was in addition to a considerable number of troop-ships which already existed. They also recommended a very considerable enlargement of the dockyard accommodation, and the extension of facilities for building and repairing ships. The Committee concluded their labours in November, 1851, and the greater part of the evidence and *procès verbaux* of their sittings was printed, but not the report, when the *coup d'état* of the 2nd of December transferred the execution of their projects to more vigorous hands than those of the Government which had appointed them. The money was immediately and unhesitatingly granted for everything they had recommended, and the works proceeded with order and energy. The first apparent result of this was, that when the Russian war broke out, the French were able to fit out their quota of the fleet faster than ourselves, and, in the opinion of many of the best of our naval officers, their ships were certainly equal to ours, not only in matériel—which no one doubts—but even in the personnel of their crews. As no real work, however, was done either in the Baltic or Black Sea by these fleets, we have no practical means of judging of their relative efficiency; but it is generally remarked that the experience then acquired has induced English seamen to speak with far more respect of their French compeers than they were in the habit of doing previously.

As soon as the war was over, we followed our usual improvident policy; and, after a grand display at Spithead, we dismantled our line-of-battle ships, drew our gun-boats up on shore, where they cannot be got at when wanted; and, worse than all, dispersed to the four winds of heaven the crews we had got together with such infinite difficulty, and had at last trained into something like efficiency. The French—wiser in their generation—discharged the crews from their ships, but retained them by means of their conscription so as to be able to find them again whenever they are wanted. They were only disbanded, in fact, in order to bring forward others who were subject to the maritime conscription, that they might in like manner be trained to the duties of a man-of-war; and, although the ships were dismantled, this was a mere measure of economy, as their stores were kept in readiness and close at hand, and having crews *en réserve*, they could

could easily be brought forward with despatch whenever their services were required.

It is, however, since the Russian war that the works of the French naval yards have been carried on with redoubled activity. Whether it was that the *rapprochement* between Russia and France, which was immediately consequent on its conclusion, led the latter to believe that the time was not so far distant for striking a blow at her rival, or whether it was that greater familiarity with our officers and crews, and a more minute acquaintance with our ships, may have induced them to fancy that we were not such terrible 'Vikings' as the legends of the last war had represented us to be, or whether it was from both causes combined, certain it is, that during the last three or four years the naval projects of the French have assumed a development entirely unknown before.

During that time the great works in the arsenal at Cherbourg have been brought to a successful termination. The extent of the arsenal at Toulon has been doubled. Immense works have been completed at Brest, L'Orient, Rochefort, Indret, and at every station of the French navy; so that the extent of her dock-yards and factories at least equals, if it does not exceed, our own.

The modest proposals of the Commission of 1849-51 have been extended by at least one-third, and it is now determined to have from fifty-five to sixty line-of-battle ships, from eighty to ninety first-class screw frigates; and in addition to this they are rapidly building a class of iron-plated vessels of a scantling equal to those of the largest line-of-battle ships, and much more expensive, but which the best officers both in the French and English navy believe will be more than a match for the largest line-of-battle ships now afloat. Besides these it is now determined to raise the number of steam transports to seventy-two, each capable of carrying on an average at least one thousand men, with their proportionate complement of horses and stores.* While these gigantic works are going on, the organization and instruction of the crews that are to man them proceed *pari passu*; and when the time for action comes, it will take but a very short time to prepare the whole of the ships for sea. According to the ordinary rate of progress, it will be eight or ten years before this formidable Armada is ready, but with a little extra pressure the delay may be considerably abridged; and even now the dimensions of the French fleet are such as to enable the Government

* These particulars are taken from the 'Report of a Committee appointed by the Treasury to inquire into the Navy Estimates from 1852 to 1858, and into the comparative state of the Navies of England and France:' printed by order of Parliament 4th April, 1859.

to adopt a very different language from what they have usually done in treating with Foreign Powers. When, for instance, the affair of the 'Charles et Georges' came to be discussed, they assumed a tone of high-handed menace, simply because they knew that if we had chosen to protect one of our oldest and most constant allies, and had sent our fleet to the Tagus, they could have appeared there with twice the number of guns that we could muster, and we should have been obliged either to retire with ignominy, or to fight with the certainty of disaster. After this tentative experiment, one on a larger scale was determined upon; and feeling certain that their power at sea was sufficient to secure the forced neutrality of England, the campaign of Italy was undertaken, and we stood in the not very dignified position of seeing our good offices towards the preservation of peace rejected by both parties: because the one knew that we would not dare to interfere, even if we felt it our duty to do so, and the other that we could not assist them, even if inclined to espouse their cause. These, however, can only be considered as the preludes of the great drama on which the curtain may shortly be expected to rise, and in which we shall certainly be called upon to play an important, if not, indeed, the principal part.

Many are inclined to argue that the enormous cost of these gigantic armaments will be such that the project must break down under the pressure of the financial difficulties, and that the scheme will never in fact be realized. Those who reason in this way know little either of the institutions of France, or of the character of the French people. *We*, as a mercantile, matter-of-fact people, not only count the cost of our undertakings before embarking in them, but are content to tax ourselves to pay for them as they proceed. Not so our neighbours. *They* are ten times more impatient of taxation than we are; but cannot abstain from indulging in their hobby, so long as they can borrow money, and thus stave off the evil day for a time. Come, of course, it must, sooner or later; and as their loans are generally held among themselves, and in very small sums, in numerous hands, when it does come the wide-spread misery will be awful. But that is in the future. For the present, paradoxical as it may appear, the French must go to war, and must increase their loans, in order to save themselves from increased taxation. From 320,000,000*l.*—at which the French debt stood a few years ago—it now verges on 400,000,000*l.*; and the interest has crept up from 15,000,000*l.* a year to 21,000,000*l.* on the funded and unfunded debt. Before the account for the Italian war is settled, it will not be so far behind the amount of interest we annually pay

pay as is generally supposed, and will be far greater in proportion than is at all justified by the difference of the pecuniary resources of the two countries; and this with a deficit, even in time of peace, of from four to five millions a year: or, as nearly as may be, the expense of the fleet as it at present stands. This expenditure must increase in a larger ratio as their warlike preparations become more extensive.

Had it not been for the war-credits and loans of the late Russian war, the present Government of France must have risked its popularity, perhaps its stability, either by proposing fresh taxes, or by abandoning the public works or the construction of the fleet:—the two last being the objects which have hitherto sufficed to conciliate the good will of the masses. It will be easy to borrow money to pay the expenses of the present contest and the surplus interest for a few years to come. But then this war can neither increase the commercial or material prosperity of the French, nor enable them to bear a heavier taxation; and the one remedy to divert the mind of the country from domestic troubles is to repay in glory the loans which the people so freely grant. It may be that the next war-cry will be the Rhine; but the best and surest card the French Government now have to play is vengeance on England. Let them ask for a loan of fifty or one hundred millions sterling, and let it be accompanied by a hint that the plunder of London will more than suffice to repay it, and the list would be filled in four-and-twenty hours.

It is of course a frightful misfortune that we—a peace-loving, hardworking, and, as the French would say, a ‘shop-keeping’ people—should be situated in such immediate proximity to a neighbour of such different tastes, and so incapable of understanding our feelings; but it has pleased God that it should be so, and we must bear our fate as best we can, and learn to consider the taxes we levy for the support of our army and navy as the rent we pay for the peaceful possession of our island and of our settlements abroad. We had better pay the contribution regularly, for fear of the service of ejectment, which will certainly follow if we refuse. Unfortunately we have already been forced to mortgage our property to the extent of some eight hundred millions for this very purpose; and may be called upon to increase the debt, in order to save ourselves from destruction. In this particular there is no fear of our being found wanting. Our danger lies in the unity of despotic power, as compared with the uncertainties and vacillation of free institutions; but if these institutions are worth anything, they must triumph in the end, though the price we may have to pay in the meanwhile is frightful to contemplate.

Notwithstanding

Notwithstanding the earnest desire of almost every inhabitant of these islands to keep out of war, there are very few who do not feel that sooner or later we may be dragged into the vortex, and that the fleets of France and England will be ranged in battle array to dispute the empire of the ocean. At the same time there is not one Englishman in a thousand that has not an innate conviction that we shall come victorious out of the struggle, though very few can assign any tangible reason for this confidence in our destiny. It is indeed urged, in reply to the vaticinations of disaster, that we have been engaged in war with France, at intervals, during the last five centuries, and have always, at least, held our own, and sometimes been triumphant. There is, no doubt, a great deal of importance to be attached to this reasoning, if the conditions of the problem had remained the same; but since these are changed, the reasoning falls to the ground.

Since the last war the system of naval gunnery has been entirely altered by the substitution of horizontal shell-firing, and a still greater revolution has been wrought in tactics by the introduction of steam-propulsion as applied to ships of war. It is also probable that the French have gathered up the experience gained in former wars, and are now preparing a plan of campaign, which, avoiding the errors then committed, may go far to ensure their success in future. If we have not contrived our system of defence with the same skill that they have shown in preparing for the attack, the result may be very different from what a study of history would lead us to expect; and a blow may be struck at the prosperity of England, from the effect of which few now living can look to see the recovery.

There is, no doubt, great difficulty in coming to a definite conclusion as to the effects of shell-firing and steam-propulsion, inasmuch as no man living has had any experience of what naval warfare will be when rival fleets are again engaged in battle. The little episode at Sinope was too insignificant, and too much hampered by extraneous considerations, for any inference to be drawn from it, beyond what every one knew before, that the powers of destruction by marine artillery were increased ten-fold. As we, however, are quite as well prepared to fire shell as the French, and it is not likely their sailors will be less appalled than our own by the death-dealing storm that will rage about them, this new element will probably not alter the relative conditions of the fleets; unless the French administration have stolen a march upon us by the introduction of iron-plated ships, against which shell-firing will practically be of no avail.

Every one will recollect that during the late Russian war Louis Napoleon suggested to our Government to build a certain number

of iron-plated floating batteries to be used against the shore defences in the Crimea. Ours never were fairly tried, but those which the French built simultaneously were for some time under fire at Kinburn; and with results so perfectly satisfactory that, as soon as the war was over, the French instituted a lengthened series of experiments on iron plates of various kinds. Having satisfied themselves as to the best mode of protecting vessels, they immediately set to work to apply their experience, and by the end of this year they will have six iron-plated vessels, each carrying thirty-six guns of the largest calibre. The English Admiralty have also been experimenting; and although the results have not been made public, it has transpired that a shell of any form or size falls to pieces like a glass bead against a 4½-inch plate; that cast-iron shot are nearly as powerless; but that a wrought-iron 68-pounder, fired under favourable circumstances, will pierce this novel species of ship-armour. This, however, is of the least possible consequence, for we all know what tons of shot passed through the sides of our ships in all the great actions of the late war without doing them much harm. The danger to be guarded against is shell-firing, and for this purpose even an inch plate laid on the sides of an ordinary vessel of war seems to be sufficient.

The last series of experiments that were made was from Armstrong's gun against the floating battery 'Trusty.' On this occasion a 32 lb. steel bolt was fired within pistol-shot distance at right angles to the ship's side without doing any material damage, and nine-tenths of the shots fired under less favourable circumstances were absolutely harmless. When at last the conviction was forced upon them, the Admiralty began to stir themselves; and, after having obtained designs and tenders from the six most eminent iron-ship building firms in England, they have given an order to a newly formed 'Limited Liability Company,' who, whatever their other qualifications, can by no possibility have the necessary experience. If, however, they do execute their contract, this one vessel may be ready for sea in June next. It is said that the Admiralty will then consider whether or not they ought to proceed further. In the meanwhile it would be difficult to find a single naval officer of ordinary intelligence, who is not aware that the day of wooden vessels of war is past, and that when two ships approach within fighting distance, one at least will be disabled, probably sunk or burnt, in a very few minutes. In fact, nothing can keep the seas but incombustible shell-proof vessels. The one question which remains open seems to be whether or not wooden ships coated with iron slabs of only one or two inches in thickness would not meet most of the difficulties of the case. If so, we could in a short

short time convert some of our wooden walls into efficient vessels of this class; but it is nearly certain that if any other nation possess shell-proof fleets, while we do not, they may be able to wrest the dominion of the seas from us by the employment of this expedient alone. The cost of providing such ships must be very considerable. The danger, however, is so imminent that the outlay is indispensable to our safety, and not one hour should be lost without our attempting to overtake our rivals. The money spent in providing a squadron of six or seven of these ships would probably do more to ensure our supremacy on the ocean than any other outlay which can at present be suggested.

It is true the French vessels may not turn out to be first-rate sea boats, nor capable of being used in long voyages; but they certainly are equal to a cruise across the Channel, for covering a disembarkation of troops, and employed against shore batteries would prove of the utmost importance. It may be that even in the line of battle they would be most valuable adjuncts to a fleet; for, though they have but thirty-six guns, we must not forget that the Americans, who generally know what they are about in these matters, have recently built the 'Niagara' of the size of a line-of-battle ship, notwithstanding that she carries only twelve guns; and many are of opinion that the corvette might have had the best of it if a duel had occurred between her and the 'Agamemnon' instead of their being employed in the peaceful occupation of laying the Atlantic cable. Be this as it may, the French possess an arm we do not, and which we cannot have by any exertion within twelve months. If it proves as important in practice as the best informed assume it to be in theory, its absence may suffice to turn the tide of battle against us.

The question as to the effect of steam-propulsion in favour of the attack or defence of our shores seems less important than the point we have been discussing. That it will enable our enemies to choose their own time, and to act independently of wind or tide, is no doubt true; but the same advantages tell equally for the defence, and, as our line-of-battle ships are not inferior in this respect to those of the French, the element does not seem to alter the relative conditions of the problem. The case might be different if the French were to adopt a mode of attack which has been recently suggested in several publications. This consists in the war-fleet sailing with a convoy of steam transports carrying the invading army, and which (eluding the British fleet) would convey the troops surreptitiously, or fight a battle during or after the landing. Such a mode of proceeding, however, is hardly conceivable: a stand-up fight between the fleets must first decide who are to be masters of the Channel. If the French gain the day, they will blockade our ships in our harbours;

harbours; and, having secured their rear and their communications, their transports would be free to come and go as they pleased, and their proceedings could not be interrupted. If their fleet is defeated, the invasion is impossible. It was thus in the time of the First Napoleon, and the only practical difference now is that steam has rendered the distance between Cherbourg and Brest as small as that between Calais and Boulogne was in those days, and so given the French the command of larger and better harbours. The piers of the 'steam bridge,' which has been so much talked about, must be based on line-of-battle ships; and these must be able to hold their positions in the Channel to enable the transports to pass over.

It is true there is one difficulty suggested by General Shaw Kennedy and hinted by others, which is the difficulty of blockading an enemy's ports by a *steam* fleet. As it is manifestly impossible that a fleet can carry a sufficient quantity of coal to blockade under steam alone, the squadron keeping the sea must be fully rigged; while the enemy issuing from their cover without masts and spars would have an immense advantage. This assumes that we are always to be the blockading force; but, as it may be more important to us to break down the steam-bridge than to blockade Cherbourg and Brest, the argument tells both ways, though, as it touches the vital question of steam propulsion, it may be as well to say a few words regarding it here. No one will deny the enormous increase of power given to war vessels by the introduction of steam-propulsion. Not only does it render vessels independent of winds and currents in proceeding to an appointed rendezvous, but it enables them in battle to take and maintain any position that may be assigned to them, and to move with all the regularity and precision of armies on shore. Nevertheless, there is one objection which no one seems quite to be able to get over. All will recollect the dreadful fate of the 'Prince' steam-ship in the storm off Balaclava. She was a screw vessel steaming successfully to windward, and in a few minutes would have been safe, when the order was given to cut away the mizen for the purpose of easing her. It fell overboard and fouled the screw, when she became an unmanageable wreck and perished with all on board. And so it will be in every naval action. One shell in a mast will suffice to send it by the board, and the vortex caused by the screw will certainly suck in some part of the wreck. If once the ropes become entangled with the screw, it must either be disconnected, raised upon deck, and freed (all operations requiring time), or the vessel becomes a helpless log, incapable of moving or steering. So apparent is this, that many officers are inclined to recommend a recurrence to the old paddle-wheel instead of the screw—for small vessels, at least,
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not requiring many broadside guns. The difficulty is, however, probably only one of those hitches which occur in the introduction of any new invention before experience has been gained to guide constructors. The nation that first obviates the objection gains the day; and, with that hatred of innovation so characteristic of a British Admiralty, it will hardly be this country that will obtain the advantage. Yet the defect would be cured by adopting an arrangement for the screw which has been used in the mercantile marine with perfect success for the last five or six years. This consists in placing the screw quite free and entirely behind the stern-post, instead of in a close-fitting aperture in the dead wood of the vessel, and then, by making a joint or hinge in the screw shaft, it can be easily raised outside the vessel without being disconnected. In this position it is almost as little liable to be fouled as a paddle-wheel; but if the accident should happen, it can be cleared and lowered again in a few minutes. It is merely necessary that there should be two stern-posts instead of one, placed side by side, with a slit between them, up and down which the shaft can be moved with facility. The rudder is placed wholly below the screw-shaft, and entirely out of danger. Such an arrangement of the screw seems to get over all the known difficulties without any counteracting disadvantages, and why it is not adopted is one of those mysteries only known to Admiralty Boards. Excepting, however, the advantage which will accrue to the navy that first adopts this or any similar improvement, it does not seem that the introduction of steam has altered the relative conditions of the problem; and, pending further experience, we must go back to a careful estimate of the power and position of the two countries in order to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion as to the probable results of the next naval war.

In attempting to glean from the experience of the past such facts as may tend to throw light on the probabilities of the success of any future invasion of this country, there is little advantage to be derived from looking farther back than the threatened descent on our shores projected by the First Napoleon in the years 1804-5. His attempt was planned in the plenitude of his political and intellectual power; and, considering who it was that designed it, and the means he had at his command for carrying it through, it is one of the marvels of the age that it was not successful. Now that we know all the particulars of the proposed campaign 'De Londrès,' there is no difficulty in seeing that it failed because the French fleets were never able to appear in sufficient force in the Channel to construct the bridge over which the invaders must pass. The plan of the naval campaign was conceived with the most consummate tact, and with or-

dinary courage and ability might easily have been carried into execution. In that case it would have been easy for the French to have mustered in the Channel a line of battle exceeding by at least one-half, both in number of ships and weight of metal, what the English could have opposed to them. The British Admiral must either have accepted battle under such circumstances as would have rendered defeat almost inevitable, or he must have retired to be blockaded in Spithead till reinforcements arrived to enable him to meet his enemy on equal terms. In either case Napoleon's object would have been gained. The Channel would have been bridged; England would have been joined to the Continent; and his army might have been taken over with as great or even greater facility than it could have passed the Rhine or any large river. Whether the campaign that followed would have resembled those of Moscow or Leipsic, or those of Austerlitz or Jena, must remain a mere matter of speculation; but he is a bold man who would assert that so consummate a commander, at such a period of his career, should deliberately have planned, and so long adhered to the execution of a scheme which did not offer at least a reasonable chance of success. The one point on which we as Englishmen may fancy ourselves entitled to suspect that he miscalculated his means, was in his ignorance, at that time, of the power of resistance of the British Soldier, and the desperate courage with which he would certainly have fought on his native soil. Still, looking at the genius of Napoleon, and the incompetence of those to whom the British army would have been entrusted, it is highly probable that the result would have been as at Borodino, and that London must have fallen. But even then Englishmen may be permitted to doubt whether the fall of the capital would have ended the campaign and secured the objects of the invasion. With 600,000 men in arms on shore, and a considerable fleet still at sea, it is then that the real work of the campaign would have begun; and in a struggle for existence it is not permitted to us to doubt what would have been the ultimate result of the war. It is comparatively easy to strike a mortal blow at so highly organized a power as Prussia. In a country where the government is everything and the people nothing,—where no man thinks or acts but at the bidding of another,—one bold blow is sufficient to crumble the complicated fabric to pieces. But, if there is any virtue in our boasted free institutions and power of self-government, it is here that they would have come into play. Every community, every corporation, and every county, would have become a self-defending unit. Even if the King and Parliament were prisoners in France, and the conquest had been for the moment accomplished,

plished, the thorough subjugation of the kingdom might have outmatched even the genius of a Napoleon.

These are now, however, mere speculations. The great fact was, that then we had a fleet worthy of the occasion, and one which sufficed to protect our shores from insult. For many years before the culminating struggle in 1804-5 we had been in an almost continuous state of naval warfare. By incredible exertions and the most lavish expenditure of money we had raised our navy to an extent of development and an amount of efficiency such as were never before realised by any navy in modern times. We had more than 120,000 men afloat under our flag. The officers had all learned their duties from long experience, and the fleet was commanded by such men as Nelson, Collingwood, and a host of others, whose names are among the most illustrious in our annals. To this we must add, that the self-confidence of every one was raised to the highest pitch by our success in the battle of the Nile, and at Copenhagen, and our numberless trophies in smaller actions. With all these advantages we were in a position to defy the world on the ocean; and Napoleon felt that he could not prevail unless he could throw his land forces into the scale, and so turn the balance against us. It was on this principle that the campaign of 1804-5 was based. All he hoped from his navy was, that it would afford him an opportunity of landing his forces on our shores, and enable him to strike a blow at our heart which would paralyze the action of the fleet, and place us at the mercy of the greatest military power of the world.

The present proposed plan of campaign is based on precisely the same principles, but so conceived as to avoid the obstacles which prevented the success of the first. It is so simple that a child may understand it, while no man living has yet suggested by what means it is to be defeated. In a very few years France will possess 40 or 50 sail of the line, all of the first class, and all propelled by steam. She will then have available even a larger number of frigates, and from 60 to 70 steam transports, each capable of carrying at least 1000 persons. To man these she will require—

For the line-of-battle ships, say	..	..	..	..	..	40,000
For the frigates, say	..	..	..	..	..	30,000
For the transports and smaller vessels	..	from	15,000	to	20,000	

90,000

This is about the number of men her naval conscription and marine organisation will afford; but, as all the arrangements will be made beforehand, the crews can be put on board and the fleet be ready for sea within a month or, at the utmost, six weeks from

the breaking out of hostilities. It is quite true that if she ships all these men at once, France will have no reserve; and, in the event of a lengthened warfare, we should be able to overmatch her by placing more men and ships on the ocean. Assuming, however, that at any given time France were to have 30 or 40 ships of the line in the Channel when we could only meet her with 20 or 30, we must in all probability be either beaten or forced to retire into our harbours. If, in this contingency, she were to content herself by blockading our harbours, destroying our mercantile ports, and sweeping our richly-laden ships as prizes into her harbours, she might do us infinite damage, and bring a frightful extent of misery and ruin upon our population. But the blow would not be fatal. Probably within three months—certainly within six—we should be more than a match for her on the ocean. With our trade destroyed and our mercantile seamen idle, there would be no want of sailors. Every public and private dockyard would be at work night and day; every engineer's shop would be turned into a gun-factory; every ferry-boat and river craft would be strengthened and fitted with a gun large or small; and, in some shape or other, we could easily put 10,000 guns on the sea, with 150,000 men to man them, and would again be safe. This the French know as well as ourselves, and this is precisely the form of the problem which they are prepared to accept, and believe that they can solve to their own advantage. They are not equal to a lengthened contest on the ocean with us: they know that, to be successful, the campaign must be short, and they only consider the fleet as the battering-train which is to open the breach through which the troops may march to meet us on the shore. If the French can obtain the command of the Channel for three months, or even for three weeks, they can easily land 200,000 or 250,000 men on our shores; and this accomplished, there is absolutely nothing to hinder their taking possession of the capital.

The question is not so much what we could do when the disaster happened, and we were fairly roused to struggle for existence, as what we are likely to be able to do to prevent so frightful a contingency from occurring. It is true we should not require the 15,000 or 20,000 men necessary to France for working the transports, but our distant colonial possessions would require at least that number to be deducted from those borne on the books of our navy who would be available for defence at home; so that we should need at least from 90,000 to 100,000 men to be available at all times for our navy, either at sea or in reserve, to meet France on an equality, and a greater number if we are to be absolutely safe.

No one needs to be told that we have nothing like that number
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of men now, and even the most sanguine dare not hope that by any exertions are we likely to have them for some years to come: nor could anybody hope to persuade Parliament to vote the funds requisite to maintain such an armament in times of peace; though it is only too sadly true that it is in peace that we are in danger,—in war we can defend ourselves. In fact we are in more danger at this moment than even in the perilous years of 1804-5, because we had then 600,000 men in arms on shore, and a fleet far superior to that opposed to us at sea. At present the French have as large an army on foot as they had then; and their navy in commission, if not quite equal to ours, is certainly much more nearly so than it ever was during that great struggle.

Even if we were now to make up our navy and our army to the requisite standard of efficiency, as far as numbers are concerned, we should hardly occupy the same relative position as we did then, either at sea or on shore. Nobody can point to any admiral or general whose name, when he was gazetted to the command, would not be more likely to cause a panic among his fellow-countrymen than to be a terror to our enemies. We have not studied the science of tactics as adapted to the new mode of warfare—we have not practised evolutions, nor even adopted such a fresh code of signals as has become indispensable in the altered state of things. We have no concerted plan of defence, and no one, unfortunately, who is capable of supplying these defects. Everything, in short, is left to hap-hazard; and when the hour of trial comes, unless this condition of affairs is remedied, it seems impossible to conceive that anything but confusion and panic can result.

All this reasoning is based on the assumption that France, and France alone, is to undertake the task of chastising the insolence of England; but it is by no means clear that this will be the case. She is not yet quite ready to undertake it single-handed; but if the coalition, supposed to exist on the 23rd of last April between the Emperors of France and Russia, had really taken place, and their fleets had appeared together in the Channel within a month or six weeks from that period, they would certainly have numbered twice as many guns as we could have prepared, and no conceivable amount of either skill or courage on our part could have enabled us to hold the command of the Channel for an hour, or to prevent that army which is now in Lombardy from landing on our shores. In such a case they could certainly have entered London in less time, and with as little loss as they encountered on their entrance into Milan.

Even if we might have shut our eyes to the fact before, we cannot, after the experience of the last few months, be ignorant of the perfect state of preparation in which the French military
establis^h

establishments always exist. Though there is no doubt that Austria precipitated the war before the allies were quite ready to begin, yet in a month from the outbreak of hostilities an army of 150,000 men were brought from the interior of the country, and were actually in possession of the enemy's capital, in spite of the exertions of an army as numerous and better prepared than themselves. What has been done once can more easily be done again; and if any one will take the trouble to sketch out any plan of campaign which 200,000 men could undertake in England, he will easily be able to calculate our chances of successful resistance. Let it be assumed, for instance, that, having obtained the command of the Channel, the invading army is divided into four corps of about 50,000 men each. One of these, consisting of from 50,000 to 60,000 infantry, may be embarked on board the transports with their arms and ammunition, twenty days' provisions, and their entrenching tools only. It will not, in the first instance, be requisite to send over more than a very limited number of cavalry and a small park of artillery. Supposing the fleet, bearing this force, appears one day in Pevensey Bay, and ranges itself just out of reach of the guns on shore, as if preparing to disembark the troops on the following morning. Of course every exertion is made to send down every possible man to oppose the landing. The day breaks,—the French fleet is not there,—but the telegraph announces that they are anchored in Torbay, and busily engaged in landing the army. Before nightfall they are all on shore, and have so entrenched themselves by cutting across the isthmus between Torquay and Dartmouth, that 100,000 men could not dislodge them without a siege. There let us leave them, receiving leisurely their artillery and cavalry with the requisite stores. In the meanwhile another corps of 50,000 is embarked and landed—it may be at Harwich or some place on the Suffolk coast. There are some defences at the former place, but of a very contemptible character, easily destroyed by an iron-plated frigate or floating battery, and the peninsula once occupied is very easily strengthened. A third, in like manner, may be thrown on shore somewhere between Shoreham and Selsea. This corps would perhaps be the most difficult to land, but it would be most important to mask Portsmouth and any troops or militia that may be collected there. There is still a fourth corps of 50,000 men, which may be thrown on whichever of these three spots the enemy intends to advance from; and this accomplished he is at once in a position to move forward and assume the offensive. It is not pretended that all this could be effected without some loss, but it would hardly exceed a few thousand men, which would not be thought of in such a campaign: nor could it be done in less time than

than a fortnight or three weeks—but that, too, is hardly of much consequence in such an operation.

The subject is one on which there will be considerable difference of opinion among military men; but the probability seems to be that, having strengthened his left wing to the extent of 100,000 men, he would move forward from the west. The roads are excellent, forage abundant and there is not a single obstacle of any sort in the way. The 200 miles may be passed over in ten or twelve days without fatigue. When the army reached Reading it might either form a junction with the Chichester division or leave that for other purposes, and enter London in two columns by the old Bath and Oxford roads, while the Colchester division might advance *pari passu*, and threaten London from the north-east.

If this or any similar plan were adopted, what could be done to resist it?

Suppose every regular soldier that could possibly be spared from Scotland and Ireland brought into London, all the militia called out, and every man who was sufficiently drilled to stand in the line of battle being mustered together, and by no conceivable means could 80,000 or 100,000 men be gathered together in the neighbourhood of London (after deducting the indispensable garrisons of the dockyards) within six months from this time, nor half that number at the present time. Such an army dare not move to the west to meet the invaders coming in that direction, for they would have the Colchester division in their rear and the Chichester army on their flank, and they dare not move to attack either of these smaller bodies in their entrenchments without exposing the capital to be attacked by the other. In fact, no strategy, nor any conceivable amount of heroism, will render an army of 100,000, in any position this country affords, equal to one of 200,000 placed, as we have just supposed the invaders to be, within three or four days' march of a given central point. To make a stand against such odds would be simply to expose the English army to the fate that awaited the Austrians under Mack at Ulm, of being surrounded by superior forces and obliged to lay down their arms without striking a blow. The only thing an English general could do in such a case would be to abandon the capital and all the country to the south of London, retreating to the north, and, adopting a Fabian line of policy, he might eventually save the state from actual extinction. Let us at least hope so, though in truth it is difficult to see how. In the possession of the capital and the south coast the invaders would certainly have the power of destroying our dockyards and any remnant of the fleet that may have sought shelter within them. Woolwich

would, of course, be occupied the same day, with all our military stores. Chatham is perfectly open on the London side, and could be destroyed by a single battery of howitzers. Portsmouth might hold out longer; but if by this time the Chichester division was strengthened by the receipt of a siege-train, it could not hold out long. And Plymouth, though farther off, is utterly unprotected on the land side. Few perhaps have ever attempted to realise the position of England without a fleet, and with a foreign navy in possession of the Channel. It would not require the invader to keep a single man on shore; his fleet alone would suffice for our subjection. The loss of India and of all our colonies would be the first result, but that would be a trifle as compared with other results. He might demand what subsidies he chose, and if we refused he could enter our harbours, burn our shipping, land where he pleased, seize our towns, and force us to pay, or perish at his will. In like manner he could punish any attempt to rehabilitate our navy; and, although every man in the country might arm, we should be as powerless to get at him as he has been to get at us during the last eight centuries. No succour could reach us from abroad, and would be useless if it did. The Channel, in fact, which for a long time has been our defence and our greatest blessing, would become our prison wall and our greatest curse: cooped up within it we could not move, and would be entirely at the mercy of our gaoler; and it seems almost impossible to foresee by what means we could escape or who could come to set us free.

It would be easy to imagine fifty other plans of campaign which might yield results differing somewhat from this, but it is feared it would be beyond the genius of any officer in the British army to imagine one by which an army moving in perfect secrecy by sea, at the rate of ten miles an hour, could be prevented from settling themselves on any spot they might select, by an army moving, at the utmost, either by road or rail, at four miles an hour, and never knowing where the enemy proposes to land.

Many persons seem to have an indistinct and undefined idea that, because we are a brave and patriotic people, and never have been invaded, such an army could be shot down or destroyed by some process or other, by an equal number of unorganized riflemen for instance, or by a mere rising of the country *en masse*. Those who indulge in such fancies have a very imperfect notion of what an army really is. It has taken the world some 3000 or 4000 years to perfect the organization of that strange implement of power; but as more intellect has probably been devoted to this purpose than to almost any other that can be named, it is not wonderful that great perfection has been arrived at. In a completely disciplined army the minds and bodies of 100,000 men have

have been moulded into the form of one great giant of 100,000-man power, obedient to one will, and acting with the unity and force of a single organization. It spreads its antennæ everywhere, so that nothing can approach it without being felt: it can throw the whole or any portion of its power on any point attacked; and when fighting it can use just such weapons as are most effective, and can reserve such powers as are requisite to ensure victory at last. Such a giant can move anywhere and over anything opposed to it, and can only be stopped by a giant as powerful as itself. An unorganized mob may tease, but they cannot hurt it; and unless in very superior numbers, and under very favourable circumstances, there is no instance in history of anything like an equal number of guerillas contending successfully with disciplined troops in the field. While the invading army are fresh and in junction, and there are no material obstacles to give an advantage to the defenders, it is in vain to look for a successful resistance, except from superior discipline or vastly superior numbers. This it is in vain to hope we shall possess for a long time to come. The nation that could put half a million of men in motion in 1812 for the conquest of Russia may do something nearly similar for the accomplishment of a far dearer object of ambition; and neither our habits nor our institutions render it at all probable that we shall make the sacrifices and undergo the inconveniences involved in such a process. Our tendency, as heretofore, will be to trust to our fleet to protect us from danger; and to such an extent does this feeling prevail, that, though it may at first sight appear paradoxical, there is much truth in what 'A Naval Peer' says, when he asserts that England would be safer from invasion without a fleet, because in that case we should fortify the great strategic points on our islands, and organize ourselves for military purposes, so as to stand on an equality at least with the other nations of the Continent. At present we are inclined to do a little of both, and neither on a scale commensurate to the danger with which we are menaced, and between the two stools we may fall to the ground. But, unless we are prepared to carry out both on such a scale that either would nearly suffice in itself, it would be far better to turn our whole attention to perfect one branch; for though an invading fleet and army may act together, in defence their action must be successive. Our army will never come into play till our fleet is destroyed, and when called upon to act, it will be as if the fleet had never existed,—a form of campaign the nature of which few have hitherto realized, and for which we have certainly made no preparation.

With these difficulties staring us in the face, one is inclined to ask, Are there no means by which the frightful contingency of war

war may be avoided? Should we be attacked if we determined absolutely and entirely on the strictest policy of neutrality and non-intervention? Let us allow Russia to occupy Constantinople and Syria, and France to absorb Belgium and the Rhenish provinces of Prussia. Would that save us? There are not probably a dozen politicians in the country who in their hearts believe that if France has once been so successful in gaining the first object of her ambition, she would stop at the second. We cannot obliterate the memories of Waterloo and the Nile; we cannot give up our free institutions, which are a reproach to a people oppressed by a despotism; and we cannot divest ourselves of our wealth, which they believe they can take from us, without having themselves the industry or the patience to utilize it. With all these temptations before them, it is in vain to fancy that our pusillanimity will disarm their hostility. As long as the career of conquest is successful and unchecked, the French army will not stop short of the universal dominion which they imagine to be their right. The Germans they believe they can conquer whenever it suits them: the one obstacle to their career of glory is England, and that consequently must be removed.

Few men in this country have ever attempted to realize what might be the results of an invasion here, and, fortunately for humanity, history affords no example since, at least, the destruction of Carthage, which would be at all parallel in its results. It will not do to compare it with other examples with which history is familiar. War is the normal state of pastoral tribes, and its effects pass off with the event and leave no trace. In agricultural countries it is more exceptional, but its effects on the people are never very serious. The land cannot be destroyed, or even injured: a season's crop may be partially lost, but the loss practically falls more on the landlord than the cultivator; and under his new masters, if the conquest is complete, the agricultural labourer resumes his toil, encouraged and protected, without any apparent change in circumstances. But with a nation so artificially organized as we are, and one-half of whose population is dependent on manufacturing industry and foreign trade for their support, the case is widely different. Even the destruction of the Bank of England, and the cessation of the payment of dividends on the national debt, would spread misery into thousands of families; but when trade was paralyzed—when wages could no longer be paid at Manchester, Birmingham, and Glasgow—when no ships reached our ports but foreigners, who were not equal to half the tonnage required—it is impossible that anything but famine and misery should spread over the land. The first form the outraged feelings of the people might take would probably be an insurrection against property, and a vast social revolution might be the consequence; but

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as that would not fill their bellies, the masses would turn against the invaders, and nothing but the most frightful wholesale executions and deportations could keep the famishing multitude in subjection. Even the horrors of the French Revolution and the Reign of Terror would afford but a pale reflex of England writhing and starving in the grasp of a foreign conqueror. The picture is almost too frightful to contemplate, and the wickedness that could plan it is so atrocious that it is difficult to believe it can come to pass. God's providence will not tolerate it: it is incredible, impossible! Unfortunately for us, it is just because it is so incredible that it becomes possible. So confident do we feel that we should not willingly cause such misery, that we cannot understand that others should not shrink from it. But Frenchmen do not look at the subject in this light; our sufferings are our own affairs! They have nothing to lose and everything to gain by the attempt. If they lose their fleet, it is merely an investment which has cost them so much money: it has been paid for, and they are not weaker except for aggressive purposes than before. If their 'army of England' were to perish to a man, they would console themselves with the thought that they had died like heroes and true patriots for the good of their country. The loss of the army of Russia in 1812 did not discourage the French from attempting the campaigns of Leipsic or Waterloo. The glories of Borodino and the fact of their having reached Moscow was a sufficient set off against the loss of a quarter of a million of fellow citizens; and so it would be again. One victory over England would be cheaply purchased in their eyes at such a price.

If we have a difficulty in believing that such should be the wild, unnatural impulse of a people passionately fond of military glory, and who are by the circumstances of their position debarred from any other form of political excitement, still more difficult must it be for us to conceive the possibility of that people settling itself calmly and deliberately to work in a time of profound peace to plot the destruction of their neighbour, who not only is giving them no cause of offence or annoyance, but is actually their best and sincerest ally, recently fighting by their side in desperate warfare, and willing to sacrifice anything but honour to keep on terms with them. A man, however, must have studied history to little advantage who does not know that all this is possible, and must be almost wilfully blind if he does not see that this is what the naval preparations of France are tending to; and seeing and knowing this, he must be strangely infatuated if he does not take every means in his power to meet such a catastrophe as will certainly ensue if we are not as well prepared as they are when the hour of trial comes. There, in fact, lies our whole danger. They can choose their own moment for picking a quarrel and declaring war

war, and will, of course, do it at such time as we are least and they are best prepared. Barring this one great difficulty, we ought, in all human probability, to come out of the struggle victorious. We were equal to a contest with the great Napoleon in the plenitude of his power at the commencement of the century, and we ought to be equal to a similar contest now. During the interval that has elapsed since the wars in the early part of the century our population has doubled—that of France has barely increased one-fourth—and our wealth and means have been augmented in at least the same relative proportions; while, if we may judge from the way our soldiers fought at Alma and Inkermann, and the dreadful tenacity with which they held on in India against all odds, neither our courage nor our military spirit has degenerated. All that really is wanted is a just appreciation of our position, and the steadfastness and self-denial requisite to prepare for the emergency. Even supposing, however, that France from her extraordinary military aptitude is again able to overrun Europe as she did at the beginning of this century, there is every reason to believe, from the progress of the different nations, that she is less able to hold the world in subjection now than she was then; and if this is so, the day of retribution must come sooner or later, and to her it will probably be more fatal than her conquests may have been to the nations she has trampled upon. But this is not the question now: our business is to avert the awful catastrophes which must precede her downfall.

When once it is admitted that the danger is imminent, it is by no means difficult to predicate what are the principal measures requisite to avert the shock. They are indeed so universally recognised as barely to require recapitulation here. It is the merest platitude to say that the Channel is England's natural fortification, and her navy her real means of defence. The only real difficulty consists in ascertaining to what extent our naval preparations ought to be carried to be sufficient without being excessive, as any unreasonable demands on the public purse would only defeat the objects the friends of this country had in view. At the same time, even when placing the fleet on the most moderate basis consistent with safety, there will always be great difficulty in getting all parties to agree to the expenditure requisite to make it efficient, so long as men can shut their eyes to the danger which they hope, though they do not quite believe, may possibly be averted; while every hour they feel the pressure of a taxation which is always present, and never pleasant either to us or to any other hard-working people. In so far as the matériel is concerned, we shall not probably be found much behind the mark. It is true
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the sudden and rapid development of the French navy during the last few years has taken us considerably by surprise, and having to construct a navy almost entirely *de novo*, all their vessels are of the best and most recent models, while many of ours were old, and only fitted for a state of warfare which no longer existed. As many of these, however, were capable of conversion, and as this process is far more rapid and less expensive than building new vessels, we may be able to overtake our rivals in this respect. There is a great danger of the present Admiralty committing the same blunder as its predecessors in the late American war,—that of persisting in building frigates of the old model and armament, and sending them to fight with vessels which, though called frigates, were of far greater tonnage and carried a far heavier weight of broadside metal. Hence all the disgrace and disaster of that war. At present our authorities seem as blindly shutting their eyes to the fact that the French are building a class of iron-plated vessels, while we have nothing in our navy that can pretend to compete with them; and the probability is that when these come to be tested against our heaviest frigates, or even the largest line-of-battle ships, we shall see a repetition of the defeats of the American war, which in this instance will lead to the destruction of our fleet and the exposing our shores to invasion.

As far as can at present be foreseen, these iron-plated vessels and gun-boats seem destined to play a most important part in future warfare at sea. The latter especially, for defensive purposes, are of the utmost importance, and are by no means an expensive expedient. In the good old times it used to be estimated that every gun on board a man-of-war cost 1000*l*. Owing to the immensely increased scantling now found to be necessary, and the introduction of steam, this sum is now nearer 2500*l*. on board a line-of-battle ship, 3000*l*. on board a first-class frigate, and 3500*l*. on board a corvette. On board an iron-plated vessel it will be more than double the last of these figures, and on board such a vessel as the 'Niagara' it cannot be less than from 10,000*l*. to 12,000*l*. per gun; whereas a single-gun gun-boat can be built for 2500*l*., and, if protected with iron, for at least as small a sum per gun as on board the larger plated vessel. As the light infantry of a fleet to protect harbours and prevent a landing they would be invaluable, and can easily be built in private yards in any number and in infinitely less time than would be required for a proportionate increase of the regular navy. A thousand of them would certainly, as a subsidiary force, go further to render our shores free from insult than ten line-of-battle ships.

These gun-boats would be far more easily manned, being a class of vessel which our fishermen and coasting sailors would gladly volunteer

they think it necessary, and man them fully; while we, after incredible exertions, have not been able fully to man those we have in commission, and, if more vessels were required, should not know where to find crews to put on board of them: a state of affairs which ought never to be allowed, and which may at any time involve us in the most serious difficulties.

The fortification of our arsenals is another branch of this subject, which is practically more difficult, because less understood, than questions affecting the matériel and personnel of the navy. It is the merest truism to say that a fleet without dockyards and arsenals is like an army without a base of operations. Unless there are ports to which ships can run for shelter when distressed, where they can be repaired, and from which they can be succoured, the ultimate destruction of a fleet is inevitable; but, with these secure, a fleet can never be said to be destroyed, or the battle entirely lost. In the event of the invasion of this country, if our dockyards can be taken or burnt there is an end of all resistance so far as the sea is concerned, and the result of the campaign depends solely on which country can produce the greatest number of soldiers in the greatest state of efficiency; whereas if our arsenals are safe, even supposing the 'steam bridge' established, we need never despair of breaking it down, and if we succeed in this, and in preventing its being re-established, the result of the campaign must eventually be in our favour, whatever may be the sacrifices demanded of us or the disasters which may have occurred meanwhile. Cut off from its base, an invading army must eventually be used up, and sooner or later the native forces will come to be so nearly on an equality with it that its destruction or surrender is inevitable.

At the present moment our arsenals are far from being in the state they ought to be in order to meet the exigencies of the question, and there will be the greatest possible difficulty in getting them made so, because the task is considered the privilege of a small body of Royal Engineers, who will not allow any officer out of their own division of the army, much less of the sister service, to interfere in the matter, and are so morbidly jealous of the interference of civilians, that the public are naturally indifferent to a subject of which they are kept profoundly ignorant. Year by year certain formidable columns of figures are presented to Parliament, purporting to be estimates for works at home and abroad; but what those works are—who is to design them—or what purpose they are to serve when erected, is only known to a few of the initiated in the War Office. Occasionally the tourist or the merchantman observes a strange-looking erection on the shores of the Solent, or in the middle of the shipping on the banks of the Mersey; and when told

told that these are our national defences, for which considerable sums were voted some years ago, he naturally despairs of this branch at least of our means of defending ourselves. It does not require any one to be an engineer or a military man to see that the situation chosen for the works is generally so injudicious, and the mode of construction adopted so faulty and so entirely at variance with all the suggestions of experience, that it is very doubtful whether the works could be defended, and nearly certain that, even if the men stood to their guns, they could do little damage to a fleet or vessel passing them. On the other hand, by absorbing money and abstracting artillerymen from the main force at the time they are most wanted there, such works must aid an invasion to a far greater extent than they are likely to prevent it; for there can be no worse mistake in a general commanding a small army than to weaken himself by dispersing his men over an extent of country where they cannot assist one another. All the younger and more intelligent officers of the service admit this; and the authors of the designs are so thoroughly ashamed of them, that no one will expose himself to the ridicule of owning them. Under these circumstances it is difficult to see how this state of affairs is to be remedied. Can we expect that the members of a privileged service will submit their designs to the criticisms of the uninitiated; and can we expect the public to take the trouble to inform themselves to such an extent as to be able to appreciate the value of any suggestion that may be made?

One analogous circumstance that has just occurred in Belgium may give us some hope. There the authorities in the War Office prepared a plan for the defence of Antwerp, very similar to that which is now being carried out at Portsmouth, and completed the works before letting the public into their confidence. When done it was found to be utterly inadequate for the purpose. Then, however, the public took up the question boldly: it was debated in the Municipalities and discussed in the Chambers. The Government were forced to confess their mistake, and to sacrifice the useless works they had erected at a very considerable expense, and are now preparing to execute a plan prepared by outsiders. In vain the engineers pleaded the necessity of secrecy: the Belgians had the courage to laugh at such antiquated notions, knowing well that long before the works were finished their enemies would know all about them, if they did not before. What seems wanted in the first instance is a commission composed of the best men of all branches of the service, who will fully and openly discuss the question, investigate it in all its bearings, and publish everything. This done we shall know what is wanted.

In the meanwhile nothing can be more unsatisfactory than the state of the defences of our dockyards. Plymouth is very imperfectly defended on the sea-face, and entirely open from the land side. It is true there are some wretched lines surrounding the town of Devonport, but they are so close to the dockyard as hardly to cover it; and Keyham, now the most important part of the establishment, is outside them altogether. A fort has been commenced at Tregantle, which will be in the right place, and probably of the right form, and will be an important addition to the defences; but, to make the place at all secure, much heavier batteries must be erected to defend the entrance to the Sound, and a line of forts connected by entrenchments must be erected inland. Without these additions neither the dockyard will be safe, nor will the place form a *point d'appui* in the west, which is one important end it ought to answer.

When the works now in progress at Portsmouth are complete, it will be in a better position than it was,—but even they are designed on far too limited a scale to meet the real difficulties of the case, and some of them are such strange specimens of the art of fortification that if seriously attacked they would probably be found worse than useless. The fort at Elson, occupying the right and most important flank of the Gosport lines, is so inconceivably bad that, in spite of all that has been recently done to remedy the defects of the original design, it is still utterly unworthy of the important position it is meant to defend. Gomer Fort on the left flank is nearly as bad, but its position is so strong that this is of less consequence. The forts in the centre are better, but the whole design is a mistake, having reference to the recent improvements in artillery; and, unless Portsdown Hill is occupied, the dockyard can easily be destroyed, together with every ship in the harbour, from that commanding position. It is of no use shirking the question, and hoping it may not be necessary. Unfortunately in war there is no middle course. Either the thing must be done effectually, or it had better not be attempted. It is no doubt a formidable undertaking to construct ten or twelve miles of fortification, and to arm them, and provide the requisite garrison in time of need; besides remodelling the harbour-defences, which are just now in a most inefficient state: but the safety of Portsmouth as the principal station of the fleet is almost more important than the safety of the capital; and in fact what is now being attempted will require at least two-thirds of the men and means the more extended arrangement would require, without being half so effectual, if the works are not in reality a mere delusion.

Chatham is a third important point that cannot be too soon
put

put into a proper state of defence. As before remarked, it is entirely open on the only side on which it is likely to be attacked, and could be destroyed by a very small force, without a single gun being brought to bear on the attacking party; and the same is true of Sheerness, which is entirely open to the west, and which is the side an enemy would certainly choose to attack it from. Were these great arsenals properly defended, the fleet might be considered to be tolerably secure, and capable of rehabilitation even in the event of a reverse; and, independently of the fleet, we might consider that we possessed, on the most important points of our frontier, cities where armies which could not keep the field might find refuge, and by occupying the enemy gain time for the country to rise and organize itself. Even when all is done our dockyards will neither be so extensive nor so well fortified as those of France, but the difference is not much, and could easily be compensated by a judicious use of the private means available in this country, to which the French have no parallel. If, for instance, we build iron-plated vessels, it will be in private yards and not in the Royal dockyards that they will be constructed; if we want gun-boats, it is to private builders that we apply for them; and these resources, from their distribution, are less easily destroyed than if all collected together in great arsenals to which one disaster may be fatal.

The question still remains, Should we do anything further in the way of fortification? On the whole the answer seems to be that it is hardly worth while. We have spent, and are now spending, very large sums on the fortifications of Dover, which is so situated that it is almost impossible it should stand a regular siege. It covers nothing, and of all places is the one where it is the least likely an enemy would land. If anxious to make a descent upon this out of the way corner of the island, Folkestone or Sandwich would answer an invader's purpose equally well; but the fact seems to be that our engineers are keeping their eyes fixed on the Napoleon of Boulogne, forgetting that more than half a century has passed since his days, and that it is not the old Emperor, with his fleet of flat-bottomed boats, that we have to defend ourselves against, but the Emperor of Cherbourg, with his seventy steam transports, who certainly will seek some more extended shore to land upon than the narrow, cliff-bound beach of Dover.

Were it merely the money that was being wasted, it would be of little consequence; but when the tug of war comes, some four thousand or five thousand of our best soldiers, artillerymen and engineers, will be drawn off to man these useless works. The same remarks apply to Alderney, where the fortifica-

tions are nearly useless, and will merely serve as a prison for some five thousand or six thousand English soldiers at a time when they are most wanted here. While we have been spending money uselessly at Dover and Alderney, we have wholly neglected to fortify the great harbour at Portland, which, without one single exception, is now the most vulnerable point on our coasts. Not only is it the nearest to Cherbourg, and the most central for attack, but we have recently erected there a great harbour, capable of containing the whole French navy. When the enemy had once occupied the isle of Portland, they would possess an impregnable citadel on our shores which five thousand men, with the assistance of a few earthworks and guns, could hold easily against fifty thousand advancing against them from the land side along the Chesil Bank, which is the only road. From their fleet within the breakwater they could land their troops and stores as easily as in the harbour of Genoa, and, when their preparations were complete, could advance into the interior without there being a single obstacle of any sort to prevent them. Though all this is perfectly plain, and well known to every military man in the kingdom, there was not, a few months ago, a single gun on the island, or barrack-accommodation for one hundred soldiers. Works, indeed, were proposed and marked out, and something has lately been done to remedy this dreadful state of affairs; but not a shilling ought to have been spent elsewhere before this point was rendered secure, and no outlay ought to be spared now to effect an object of such vital importance. In the meanwhile, can we wonder that foreign officers should have so low an idea of our military prowess when they see things so mismanaged, or that they should be tempted to try the venture of an invasion while we are literally furnishing them with harbours for the purpose? The French go to work after another manner; and, though they have nothing to fear from maritime invasion, they rendered Cherbourg impregnable by fortification long before the breakwater was sufficiently advanced to cover a fleet of fishing-boats.

Except in places of such vital importance as this, it may generally be asserted that all works along our coasts which require skilled soldiers to defend them are prejudicial to the defence, as being deductions from the main force; and as the enemy can certainly avoid 9-10ths, or, perhaps, 99-100ths of them, the 10th or 100th part which may actually be engaged will do far less damage than the whole body composing the garrisons could do when united. Wherever coast-batteries or shore-defences can be manned by local corps or volunteers, their use may be great, and we cannot have too many of them; but a wise general should
be

be extremely chary of distributing his forces in small parties over an extended area, where they may never come into action, or if they do are certain to be overwhelmed.

It is so self-evident that if we could fortify London we should be placing a shield over our heart, that few engineers have not at one time or other believed in the possibility of its being done, and tried their hands on designs for the purpose. One of the last is that proposed by General Shaw Kennedy, and coming from so competent an authority may be taken as a type of the rest. His proposal is to surround London by thirty towers or forts of masonry, one mile apart, to be mounted by heavy artillery, and between which, in the event of an invasion, all the houses are to be destroyed and battle-fields prepared for the defence of the city.

The first objection to this scheme is its immense expense. It was comparatively easy to fortify Paris : in the first place, because it does not cover one-third, certainly not one-half, of the same extent of ground ; and, secondly, because, like the generality of Continental towns, it has practically no suburbs, and the ground all around it is unencumbered by houses and comparatively of little value. In London, on the contrary, one-half of the wealthier citizens live out of town, and land in the suburbs is almost as valuable as in many parts of the city ; while every spot on which the engineer would like to build his fort is already occupied for the sake of its view by some picturesque-loving citizen. Add to this that if a circuit of thirty miles would now be sufficient, sixty miles would hardly suffice ten or twenty years hence. Even supposing the plan was executed, what would it be but a wall with thirty breaches, each one mile wide ? and supposing 5500 men, as General Kennedy assumes, were told off to each breach, it would make up an aggregate of 165,000, who certainly ought to be stronger if united than if broken up into such small fragments ; for, as the enemy would have the choice of attacking at any point, and could easily, by feints and false attacks, deceive the defenders as to the true point, it is scarcely to be supposed that 5000 men, even if supported by the fire of forts right and left, could resist the onset of 50,000, who might at any moment of the night or day be thrown upon them. But it is not necessary to argue on even this hypothesis ; for, supposing London fortified by an almost impregnable *enceinte* thirty miles in extent, it must still be borne in mind that a circumference of thirty miles is only a radius of five, and, with the new artillery, the besieger could cover every part of the town with his incendiary fire, and could force a surrender by the horrors of a bombardment, to which no government would or ought to expose such a city. Nay more, if the enemy enter the town in hot blood

blood through a defended breach, the usages of war justify pillage and rapine in all its forms. Should we dare to expose London to this? And, after all, is the loss of the capital so really vital? When Napoleon advanced into Germany in 1805, a few shells thrown into the town secured the surrender of Vienna, though it was better fortified and more easily defensible than London could ever be made; but that did not secure him from defeat at Aspern, and if the Austrians had had the energy to follow up their victory, the possession of the capital would not for one hour have prevented his being driven back on the Rhine. The fortification of Paris has no doubt added immensely to the defensive means of France; and if the capital had been thus fortified in 1814 that campaign might have been indefinitely prolonged, though the ultimate result of the struggle would hardly have been different. The forces of the invaders were superior in the field to those of the national army, and ultimate success was certain in the then exhausted condition of the country. Without going further into the details of this question, the difficulties of fortifying London are so great, and, on the other hand, the advantages to be derived from it are so problematical (since 150,000 men would be retained within its walls who, if joined to the army in the field, might overwhelm the invader), that it may safely be assumed that it will never be undertaken. The one form of the proposition which appears at all feasible seems to be to throw up works with masonry keeps on all the principal strategical points around London, to serve as prepared battle-fields, which it may be assumed would render a smaller army capable of contending on equal terms with one numerically stronger; but even then it is by no means clear that this would not be a mistake, as involving the surrender of the army with the capital. Those, therefore, who propose schemes for the defence of the country would probably do well to dismiss the fortification of London from their minds as one of the 'impossibilities' in the present posture of affairs, and see what can be done without it.

But though we must abandon the idea of fortifying the capital, it is by no means clear that something should not be done to arrest an invader under its walls. Woolwich, for instance, cannot be left as it is, and either must be fortified or its works distributed. A squadron of iron-plated vessels might steam up the Thames, and burn and destroy the Arsenal and everything in it. This done, we have really lost all our *matériel* of war, and have no means of replacing it. It need hardly be mentioned that an enemy in possession of London, or able to keep the field in front of London, can walk into Woolwich without let or hindrance. It no doubt would be difficult and expensive to fortify
it

it efficiently, as, like all suburbs of London, it is rapidly increasing, and every available spot is being built upon; but unless it be made really the citadel of London, each of the three great yards of Portsmouth, Plymouth, and Chatham ought to have its own stores and its own laboratory sufficient for the supply of its division of the fleet. Above all, some inland dépôt should be established for the supply of the army. If Weedon were well situated and well arranged, it might be extended so as to answer this purpose; but it would probably be found better to begin *de novo* in some judiciously selected spot. There are several suitable localities in front of Birmingham, well supplied with railway and canal accommodation, where a large tract of land could be got at a reasonable rate; and if Government began there on a well-digested plan, the money that is spent in changing, and altering, and adding at Woolwich, would soon suffice to establish a dépôt which would serve as a rallying point after the capital had fallen. Such an intrenched camp in the centre of the country would probably tend more to its ultimate safety than the fortification of the capital, and certainly would not cost one-tenth part of the money.

When we have brought up the *matériel* of the fleet to the requisite point of efficiency; when we have provided a reserve of men available in case of emergency; and when we have put our dockyards and arsenals in safety against attack—shall we fold our arms, and say, ‘We have done enough’? Shall we be content to consider our island in the light of a fortified city, and the Channel and its fleet as its fortifications? and shall we, so soon as our walls are breached and the enemy lodged on our ramparts, surrender, and implore the mercy of the conqueror? There are few Englishmen who would not answer at once to these questions;—that nothing would induce him to give in; that he and every man in the island would fight to the death, and either perish in the attempt, or drive the invaders into the sea. All this they mean, and all this they are no doubt prepared to do, and think they can. - But the question must be met in a very different spirit from that in which it is usually taken up, or we had better make up our minds to rely on the fleet only; for to resist without a chance of success is merely to court murder and misery: a wiser plan would be to attempt to buy off the invader, as the degenerate Romans of the Lower Empire did the Barbarians. In discussing this point, it is always necessary to remember that before the land forces come into play the fleet must be destroyed, or at least disabled, and then, consequently, we are practically attached to the Continent, and must meet Continental armies on the same terms as they now meet one another on the Continent. We see that Austria, with 500,000 men

men in arms, cannot compete with the armies of France. The Germanic Confederation could easily muster as many more under her banners; but it is questionable whether her 500,000 men are equal to the task. Now, allowing every possible latitude for our own faith in our own prowess—what could we do? In time of peace it is probable we could muster some 50,000 regulars of all arms in these islands, and possibly as many militiamen. Of these, at least 30,000 must be left in Ireland, and of the remaining 70,000, at least 20,000 would be required for the necessary garrisons of our dockyards, arsenals, &c., so that we might place 50,000 men in line of battle in front of London; and, if allowed a certain time to prepare, and we were really earnest about it, their numbers might be increased to 75,000 or 80,000 men, including a fair proportion of cavalry and some 200 or 250 guns. On the other hand, it may be looked upon as certain that the invasion will never be attempted with less than 150,000 men, and probably 200,000 or even more, and that the army that advances against London will certainly consist of at least 100,000 combatants. What could our band of 50,000 heroes do against 100,000, with as many more not far off to back them? No commander would be mad enough to risk a general action against such odds. If you ask military men what they consider as the proper remedy for this state of affairs, they will probably answer with Sir John Burgoyne, ‘Increase the regular army;’ but to what extent? If we add 20,000 or 30,000 to the 50,000 we have assumed above, we should overgorge all the barracks and add very seriously to our burthens, without even then restoring the equilibrium.

If indeed we knew that the invasion would certainly take place within the next two or three years, and that the fleet would probably sustain a defeat, it would be well worth our while to maintain a quarter of a million of men in arms for that time; for the expense of such an armament would be infinitely less than the cost of having an invader quartered for a week in London, even if we were sure that every man of them would be cut off, and not one ever again see his native land. But while one half of the inhabitants of these isles believe that the invasion will never seriously be attempted, and many of the rest are convinced that the fleet will suffice for our protection, it is senseless to talk of any such increase of the regular army as would place us on an equality with Continental nations; and anything short of this would merely suffice to lull us into fancied security without really providing against the danger.

The militia is, however, a force which is more constitutional, and far less expensive, and for the purposes of defence we have no doubt but that it would really be found efficient. The great drawback

drawback to the British army is the want of centralization. It is in fact a federal republic of regiments more than an organized whole. Under such a man as the late Duke of Wellington it became as fine an army as the world ever saw, but, generally speaking, the defect in its constitution unfits it at first for service in foreign countries, while the absurd jealousy of everybody that does not wear a red coat leads our military authorities to neglect the medical staff and commissariat department to an extent that is fatal to the efficiency of the troops.

All these defects, however, would scarcely be felt in any army fighting for the defence of their country, within their own shores, and their being so loosely organized and so little centralized may then almost be considered an advantage. It is impossible entirely to defeat or disorganize a body so lightly held together; the parts would re-unite with ease; and without ascribing anything to patriotism, even the militia, if mixed with regulars and handled with anything like judgment, may fairly be pitted, man for man, against any troops in the world. But more than this it is vain and absurd to ask from them. As neither they, however, nor the regular army can well be brought up to the numerical standard of Continental armies, there is still a hiatus in our means of defence which must be supplied if we are to have any chance of success.

The only means that seems really available is appealing to the mass of the people to arm themselves as volunteer riflemen, and to prepare to defend their homes as patriotic citizens ought to do. If this expedient is to be effectual, the Government must be prepared to second it honestly and earnestly, and it must be done on a very large scale, otherwise (like all half measures) it will only serve to divert attention from what is more vitally important.

Most military men are inclined to sneer at these citizen-soldiers, and none more so than Sir John Burgoyne, in the work at the head of this article: yet he is old enough to remember how severely some of the best regular troops of the English army were handled by a small number of volunteer riflemen at New Orleans; and how in fact we lost America in the first instance, and were unable to chastise her in the second war, wholly through the prowess of untrained levies. Even now, though the regular army of the United States is only some 17,000 or 20,000 strong, their volunteer and militia arrangements are so complete that there is not a general in Europe who would undertake the conquest of that country with a picked army of 100,000 of the best troops in Europe. What they have done, we can do if we choose; and, if our citizens were organised for defensive warfare as the Americans are, we should have nothing to fear.

Those

Those who remember the troubles of 1819-20 look with dread at the idea of putting arms into the hands of the people. Times, however, have changed, and this country must now be governed with and through the people: they may be guided, but hardly opposed. Notwithstanding this, it would not be wise to arm only the lower classes; but as there will be at least two volunteers of the upper and middle classes to one of the lower, the arming would really be on the side of order. If every man amenable to the income-tax was forced by law to buy and keep a rifle, an *émeute* of the mob would be impossible. We do not fear, however, teaching the militia the use of arms, though they are all drawn from the lower orders; and in America no preponderance has been given to the disaffected classes from the circumstance of the whole people being more or less accustomed to military organisation.

To be effectual, not less than half a million of men ought to be enrolled as volunteers; either as members of rifle clubs or of rifle corps—a distinction it will be always necessary to maintain. The *club* should have the power of electing their own officers and making their own regulations, and, while providing for their own expenses, should be allowed to arm and dress as they please. All that should be required of them should be that every member should be registered in some Government office, and submit to such control as will prevent injury to others. The *corps*, on the other hand, should be assisted to at least some extent by Government. In return, they should be subject to the supervision of the lord-lieutenant of the county. He would appoint their officers, have the custody of their arms when not in use, and generally they would be treated more as a superior class of volunteer militia. Both would probably be equally available at a crisis.

It is not supposed that in the event of an invasion all these would be forthcoming in the first instance: many could not leave their homes or business, and would be better employed, in fact, attending to local duties and acting as local corps, so as to relieve the regular army from all detached duties, and allow it to be concentrated where the principal attack was expected. If they remained where they were raised, they would form an invaluable army of reserve, and might be capable of averting the destruction of the state, even in the event of the main army being defeated. Probably, 100,000 might be forthcoming to meet the invaders; and for the defence of London, and as an auxiliary force to aid the regulars and militia, they might turn the scale. For night attacks they are better than regulars; for skirmishers, as good; and to improve a disaster and complete a defeat, probably more useful in this country than even cavalry would be.

If anything, however, is to be made of this force, it must be set about

about immediately. The rifles do not exist with which they could be armed, and, with every conceivable exertion, could not probably be fabricated within two years from this time. Those which belong to the Government are in one or two storehouses, which, being wholly unfortified, could easily be seized by an invader, and are barely sufficient for the demand of the regular army; while the number at the present moment in the hands of individuals is probably very small indeed, and those in the hands of gunmakers or gunsmiths even smaller, and generally being kept only as samples are of every conceivable size of bore and variety of pattern, so as to be utterly useless for any purpose of military organisation.

But even supposing that a sufficient number of rifles did exist, there are not probably at present in these islands 100,000 civilians who have the smallest idea how to use them. Unless rifle-shooting becomes permanent, unless it is fostered with care and kept continually in exercise, it will certainly prove a delusion; but, if properly managed, it would in a few years deter any one from attempting the invasion of this country. Either we are very much mistaken in our estimate of ourselves, or we are equal as a nation to any one of our neighbours across the Channel. At present we are unarmed, and, for military purposes, an utterly unorganised people; and, were we ten times more numerous, we should have no more chance against a Continental army than a flock of sheep against a pack of wolves. Organization we can improvise to a very great extent, but arms we cannot, nor can we learn how to use them without long and steady practice; and it is to this point that we ought immediately and earnestly to turn our attention.

On the whole, it cannot be said that the above survey of the state of our national defences is by any means encouraging. There is an immense amount of work to be done before we can be said to be in anything like a state of security, and there is great doubt whether our rivals will allow us the time requisite for our preparation, still greater doubt whether our statesmen are so far-seeing as to judge correctly of the nature of the crisis, and greater still whether they will have the patriotism to face the unpopularity of increased estimates to avoid a design which may not occur during their rule, and the responsibility of which they may relegate to their successors.

On one point, however, no man need deceive himself, which is, that the fleet which is now being built in the harbours of France with such skill and at such an enormous cost will one day be applied to the purposes for which it is avowedly being constructed; and when that time arrives, it will be the most serious danger

danger that England ever has incurred since the days of the Spanish Armada. The attack will probably be like the tiger's spring—stealthy but vigorous; and if successful, may be fatal to us. The stake for which the game is to be played is so enormous, and the risk so great, that every man with a spark of patriotism in his bosom ought to look the danger fairly in the face, and be prepared to do what he can to save himself, his children, his fellow-citizens, and his country.

In this awful crisis of our fate, it is no small consolation to find that some, at least, of our statesmen have sagacity enough to perceive the nature of the danger to which we are exposed, and courage sufficient to speak out boldly. No nobler speech was probably ever delivered even to a British House of Parliament than that of Lord Lyndhurst on the 5th of July—clear and truthful in its statements, unanswerable in its logic, and rising almost to sublimity in the prescience with which he pointed out the danger of the state, and warned the nation of the horrors of the abyss on the verge of which it is standing. If all our statesmen were as far-seeing and as courageous as this veteran Peer, the evil might yet be averted; but, unfortunately for us, our free institutions—by throwing the burthen of the Government on the public—do not provide that the wisest and best should always be at the helm, and still less do they provide for such an emergency as this. Thus there is real danger that a nation, which both physically and morally is quite equal to the contest, may be lost through the insatuated blindness or want of moral courage in those to whom the charge of the State is entrusted. The time, however, is now passed when the extent of the danger can any longer be concealed. The war in Italy has opened the eyes of all to the magnitude of the power which can be wielded against us; and the preliminaries of peace which have just been settled may leave the French free to undertake any enterprise on which they may determine. Unless every citizen will now arm himself or assist his neighbour to do so; unless every servant of the State will apply his whole energies to see how the danger may best be met; and unless every statesman will forget all minor differences of opinion, and apply his whole power to prepare for the great struggle—it may happen that the last spark of liberty that exists in Europe may be trodden out, and the British name be lost from among those of the great nations of the earth, in a catastrophe such as has not appalled the world since the downfall of the Roman Empire.

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IV.—1. The Order of Nature, considered in reference to the Claims of Revelation. A Third Series of Essays. By the Rev. Baden Powell, M.A., &c. &c. London, 1859.	
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VII.—The Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England, No. xxxvi., Art. 19, Prize Essay on Agricultural Weeds. By Professor Buckman, of the Royal Agricultural College, Cirencester. London, 1856 - - -	522
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IX.—1. A Bill to extend the Right of Voting for Members of Parliament, and to amend the Laws relating to the Representation of the People in Parliament. Prepared and brought in by Lord John Russell, Sir George Grey, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir Charles Wood), and ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 12th February, 1852.	
2. A Bill further to amend the Law relating to the Representation of the People in England and Wales. Prepared and brought in by Lord John Russell and Sir James Graham, and ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 16th February, 1854.	
3. A Bill to amend the Laws relating to the Representation of the People in England and Wales, and to facilitate the Registration and Voting of Electors. Prepared and brought in by the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Disraeli), Lord Stanley, and General Peel, and ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 28th February, 1859.	
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THE
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

- ART. I.—*The Illustrated Handbook of Architecture.* By James Fergusson. London. 1855.
2. *An Historical Inquiry into the true Principles of Beauty in Art.* By the same. London. 1849.

FOUR years have elapsed since Mr. Fergusson published his 'Illustrated Handbook of Architecture.' The subject was of sufficient interest and importance to deserve a much earlier notice in our pages, and the author had discharged his difficult task in a way that commanded an emphatic tribute to his originality, learning, and persevering labour. But it is never too late to recur to a book of such sterling merit; and there are many of our readers to whom his views will still be new, notwithstanding that his work has now taken a permanent place in our literature, and will ever be considered as one of the best authorities upon the question of which it treats.

In an age when extended research and unexpected discoveries have admitted a philosophical system of generalization in nearly every branch of science and art, it is remarkable that we have as yet only this one comprehensive history of all the styles of architecture prevailing at different times and in different countries. Yet there is no subject which shows with greater fulness, and under more interesting aspects, the various phases of man's intellectual development, or furnishes more trustworthy and striking materials for their illustration. Architectural monuments, enriched by the subordinate arts of sculpture and painting, frequently afford, indeed, the only traces which extinct nations have left upon the earth, of their history, their condition, their manners, and their religion. They more especially illustrate the intercourse of races, as comparative philology illustrates their origin. It is for these reasons that a knowledge of the history of architecture is of essential importance to the philosophical historian, and it is matter of surprise that more attention has not been devoted to its study. A description of the architecture of any one country, or of any one period, or the monograph of any one building, however important to the professional architect and interesting to the antiquary, is rarely of

value to the general reader or to the student of history. Of such works we have no lack; indeed we have many magnificent examples: it is in more comprehensive and philosophical treatises on the whole subject that we are deficient.

A history of architecture, comprising a full and critical investigation into its various styles and their modifications, following the gradual process of development from the earliest infancy of the art to its maturity and decay, and tracing the influence of intercourse between different races and countries, requires qualities rarely united in one man—abilities of a high order, an experience such as few can enjoy, an untiring industry, and an instinctive catholic love and appreciation of all that is truly beautiful in art wherever it may be found. In all these respects Mr. Fergusson was singularly fitted for the arduous task he has undertaken. 'No one,' says Hope in his 'Historical Essay on Architecture,' 'can be entitled to the appellation of a proficient in the highest branches of architecture, who has not seen much and thought more.' If such be the qualifications for a writer on this art, Mr. Fergusson has probably more claim to be an authority than any living man. He tells us, in the preface to his 'Principles of Beauty in Art,' that, brought up from boyhood to the career of a merchant, he was sent at an early age to an indigo factory in Bengal, and subsequently became the acting partner in a mercantile establishment. His thoughts, however, wandered from the desk to pursuits more congenial to his tastes than those of trade—the study of the fine arts and especially of architecture. He soon perceived that India offered him unexplored fields of enquiry, full of interest and promising the richest harvest. Unlike those whose advantages and opportunities were far greater than any he as a private individual could possess, he travelled through the country, exploring its monuments and making such investigations as would elucidate their character and history.

On his retirement from India an examination of many of the principal monuments and ruins in different parts of the East and in Europe enabled him to increase still further this practical knowledge of his subject, and to extend to the various styles of architecture throughout the world those generalizations which are the result of all truly philosophical enquiry. This enlarged experience led to the publication of the 1st volume of an 'Historical Enquiry into the True Principles of Beauty in Art,' a work intended to contain not only an analysis and history of the fine arts, and of architecture in particular, but an attempt at a systematic classification of all the sciences, with especial reference to their connection with the arts. The enquiry is
still

still left incomplete, not having been pursued beyond what Mr. Fergusson terms 'pre-Christian' styles. The portion already published contains a mass of valuable information, and much matter for reflection, with many suggestions both new and important. But the plan as sketched out by the author was almost too vast, and we think he has done wisely in embodying the principal part of the materials used in this first volume, as well as much which was intended for the subsequent volumes, into a work of practical utility and of general reference, such as his '*Illustrated Handbook of Architecture*.'

Amongst the attempts made on the Continent to publish a history of architecture, we may mention Ramée's '*Manuel de l'Histoire Générale de l'Architecture chez tous les Peuples*,' 1843, chiefly devoted to that of France during the middle ages, the whole of that of England being disposed of in fourteen small duodecimo pages; and Batisaier's more fully illustrated '*Histoire de l'Art Monumental dans l'Antiquité et au Moyen Age*,' 1845, in which the history of the architecture of the middle ages, in England, Italy, Germany, and the rest of Europe, France excepted, is comprised in about seven pages. In Germany Franz Kugler, in his '*Geschichte der Baukunst*,' has treated the subject with far greater completeness, system, and learning. Of works in the English language, Hope's well-known '*Historical Essay on Architecture*' is rather a series of brilliant essays and elegant speculations, chiefly relating to the Christian styles, than a serious critical history of the art; whilst Freeman's '*History of Architecture*' is too speculative and crotchety, and is entirely deficient in illustrations. With these works Mr. Fergusson's Handbook will bear most advantageous comparison. In the number and variety of its illustrations it is far superior to them all. It contains no less than 850 engravings, including plans, sections, elevations, and general views, some being singularly beautiful specimens of the art. By reducing the greater part of the cuts to one uniform scale, Mr. Fergusson has afforded ready means of comparison, and has enabled the student to judge at a glance of the relative size and importance of any two buildings, thus giving a value to his work which no other of the same class can claim to possess. This prodigality of illustration adds greatly to the interest of the book, and enables the reader to understand at once those peculiar features marking differences of styles and periods, which no description, however elaborate and skilful, can fully present to the mind. We would suggest, in a future edition, an alphabetical list of all the buildings described, with the dates, or approximate dates, of

their foundation and completion—a table which would be of great utility for general reference.

Architecture, like every other art, and indeed, as far as we can learn, every human invention, has been the result of the gradual and successive development of the simplest original forms and ideas. Mr. Fergusson justly observes that, so far as we know, no individual ever invented a new style in any part of the world. There may be forms of architecture prevailing at so remote a period, or belonging to races with whose history we are so little acquainted, that their origin or connexion with other styles cannot now be traced. But this only arises from want of knowledge and of materials. The more we investigate the history of architecture, the greater the number of discoveries in various parts of the world, the more evidence do we obtain of the fact that there is one unbroken connexion between the earliest styles of the ancient world and those which exist at the present day. No form of architecture whose history we can thoroughly investigate is independent of the influence of some other, if it has not actually grown out of it. Many links may be wanting to complete the chain, for our knowledge is still limited. Much must needs be as yet matter of speculation, incapable of actual proof. In attempting, therefore, to give a complete history of the various styles of architecture, Mr. Fergusson may advance some views with which we are not prepared altogether to agree, and may arrive at conclusions scarcely warranted by the evidence we yet possess. But his great originality and acuteness are under the government of a sound judgment; and whilst avowing an enthusiastic love of his subject, he deals with it in a tone of fairness and candour which invites discussion, and shows an earnest desire to arrive at truth. Meeting him in this spirit, we shall endeavour to give a sketch of the contents of these remarkable volumes.

Amidst the earliest wrecks of man's work on the face of the earth but two distinct classes of architectural forms have yet been discovered—those of the Egyptians and the Assyrians. The oldest monuments of each race show an intimate acquaintance with the practice of the art, an appreciation of its effects and in many respects of its beauties, and a constructive skill that points to a long process of gradual development during periods of the remotest antiquity upon which not even the uncertain light of tradition casts the faintest ray. Were these two styles of common origin springing from the same source, or was one the parent of the other? Were they respectively the offspring of the land in which they are found, or if not, from whence did they come? These are questions which cannot be answered in the present
state

state of our knowledge, and which, it is probable, never will be answered satisfactorily. Who, however, can tell whether, buried deep in the bosom of the earth, beneath the decay of ages, there may not still be concealed the monumental traces of those who taught even the Egyptians and Assyrians the arts of civilization? For the present, whether in their institutions or in their arts, Egypt and Assyria stand distinctly and separately forth as the two foundation stones of all history. Existing monuments may tend to show that at times immediate influence may have been exercised through some cause, probably political, by the one nation upon the other. This may be more clearly traceable in Assyrian art of a certain period, and that not of the earliest, than in Egyptian. But the fundamental forms and spirit of their respective architecture denote a totally distinct development of art, arising out of different conditions of climate, natural resources, and society.

We are inclined to doubt whether the architecture of Egypt exerted much direct influence over that of any other country except Greece. With this exception it does not appear to have extended far beyond the valley of the Nile, whilst that of Assyria was the foundation and became the type of all Asiatic architecture from the Mediterranean to the Indus, and essentially affected that of Greece, to which it supplied many of its best known forms. Egyptian architecture was especially local, being adapted not only to the character and institutions of the people, but to the peculiar physical features of Egypt—such as the want of wood fitted for constructive purposes on a great scale, the abundance of granite and stone of various kinds, the absence of heavy and continuous rains, and the extreme dryness of the climate. Assyrian architecture, on the other hand, arose out of a condition of things prevailing in almost every part of Western Asia. It was founded on the general use of wood, and was thus necessarily distinguished from that of Egypt, in which the leading forms show an original use of stone. The influence of Egypt upon Greece, although sometimes denied, is now generally recognised by those who have investigated the subject in a spirit of candour and impartiality. It is as traceable in the mythology and philosophy of the Hellenic races as in their arts. The first remarkable examples of its presence occur in the sixth and seventh centuries before Christ, after Egypt had been fully opened to Greece. It was especially shown, as Mr. Grote has pointed out, in the worship of Demeter and Dionysos, who came to be identified with the two great Egyptian deities, Isis and Osiris. Yet Egyptian influence must have been exercised upon Greek art at a much remoter period still.

The

The earliest architectural remains in Greece are those attributed to the Pelasgi; that mysterious race, underlying so much of the civilization of the ancient world. They consist chiefly of the ruins of huge walls, built of irregular or polygonal blocks of stone, such as those on the Acropolis at Athens, and at Tiryns, Argos, and Mycenæ. The architecture of the Hellenic tribes that succeeded to the Pelasgi had already at a very early period attained a state of comparative perfection which argues a long series of experiments, and must have been the result of a gradual development. Its principal feature is the Doric order, and the prototype of that order has been recognised in Egyptian monuments, especially in the excavated tomb of Beni Hassan of the fabulous time of the 12th dynasty, and in the rock-cut temples of Nubia of the age of Rameses II. (? B.C. 1350). In these examples the Egyptian column is fluted, and has nearly the same proportions and all the characteristics of the Greek order, except the echinus or moulding, which the Egyptians appear never to have used. When borrowed by the Greeks, this Egyptian protodoric was modified by forms derived from the more general use of wood, and the pediment for supporting rafters, the triglyphs (the beam ends), the metopes (the vacant spaces between), and the mutules (the rafter ends), were developed. The dentils beneath the cornice were, however, Egyptian, and point to a flat-roofed edifice in a rainless climate. The geometrical forms of the ornamentation of the Doric also betray an Egyptian origin.*

The earliest Doric monument of which traces exist in Greece is the temple of Corinth, probably built about B.C. 650. Mr. Fergusson observes that 'it is one of the most massive specimens of architecture existing, more so than even its rock-cut prototype at Beni Hassan, from which it is most indubitably copied. As a work of art it fails from excess of strength—a fault common to most of the efforts of a rude people ignorant of their own resources and striving by the expression of physical strength alone to obtain all the objects of their art' (p. 263). But nevertheless this temple shows perfected architectural forms and a well-considered and harmonious system of ornamentation, differing from anything Egyptian. The Egyptian protodoric tombs were *distyle in antis*, having two pillars in front between two piers, the oldest form, it is conjectured, of the Greek temple. Mr. Fergusson has described *architecturally* the gradual step from this arrangement to the peripteral or the colonnade surrounding the

* Kugler has well traced the connection between the Doric architecture of Greece and the architecture of Egypt in his 'Geschichte der Baukunst,' and has especially instanced the use of the pyramidal form in Greek monuments of a very early period (p. 178, 179).

shrine or cella; but no materials exist for tracing this development in an *historical* or *chronological* point of view. The peripteral form was undoubtedly used in Egypt, where a simple cella was frequently surrounded by square pillars with circular columns before the entrance, the whole edifice being raised on a stone basement and approached by a flight of steps in front.* We have thus almost the complete plan of a Greek temple, and we need not seek for any gradual development in Greece itself from the primitive to the more complicated form.

It may be taken as a fact, that the earliest Greek monuments of the Doric order are nearly contemporaneous with the first unrestricted intercourse between Egypt and Greece. Müller, in his 'History of Greek Art,' suggests that 'the foundation for a richer development of the Doric architecture was laid at Corinth,' and that in this city originated the decoration of the tympanum with reliefs in clay, afterwards replaced with statues in more solid materials, and the ornamented cavestiles. But he connects the origin of the Doric temple architecture with the immigration of the Dorians—whenever that event may have happened. This conjecture will give a much earlier date to the introduction of the Doric style into Greece than any existing remains or any reliable tradition would authorise. The early buildings of the race, such as the 'heræa,' appear to have been simply rude edifices of wood.

But a second and distinct style of architecture, independent of that of the Dorian tribes, had been introduced into Greece, 'not gradually and by intermediate stages of transition,' as Müller observes, 'but at once as an essentially different order.' This was the Ionic. Until lately, materials for investigating its history were wanting. They have been furnished by the recent discoveries among the ruins of Nineveh. With Egypt on one hand, and Assyria on the other, we are now enabled to trace almost every feature of Greek architecture to its source.

The influence upon the religion and arts of the Greeks, of an Eastern people of comparatively high civilisation, and having their seat in the plains watered by the Tigris and Euphrates, had been hinted at by ancient, and had been long suspected by modern, writers. There exists in Greek mythology a mass of traditions and types differing altogether in spirit and character from those of Egypt, and evidently having their origin under totally distinct and opposite circumstances. Niebuhr, thirty years ago, had pointed to Assyria as the country which might still conceal in its ruins the missing link in the historic chain,

* Sir Gardner Wilkinson's 'Architecture of Ancient Egypt,' p. 79. and

and ventured to foretell that the time would come when it would be supplied by modern research. His prophecy has been signally verified. The long-buried palaces of Nineveh and other Assyrian cities, with their innumerable bas-reliefs and inscriptions, have furnished not only an entirely new chapter to the history of architecture, but equally important illustrations of the other arts and the mythology of the Greeks. Mr. Fergusson has the merit of having been the first, in his '*Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis restored*,' to avail himself of these discoveries, and to treat scientifically the subject of Assyrian architecture, assigning to it its proper place, and tracing its influence through Persia and Asia Minor upon Greece.

Under the term Assyrian architecture, Mr. Fergusson includes all those styles which prevailed from the earliest known period in Western Asia. The geographical limits he assigns to it are sufficiently comprehensive, including not only the countries watered by the two great rivers Euphrates and Tigris, but also Syria, Asia Minor, Persia, and Central Asia to the valley of the Indus. Essentially founded upon the use of wood, that is upon a wooden prototype, it may have had its origin in Babylonia, where stone was not procurable, except at great cost of time and labour, rather than in Assyria, where it abounds. But in the absence of any evidence of the fact, we must take the palaces of Nineveh as the types of the order. If the interpretation of the cuneiform inscriptions is to be accepted, the oldest of these edifices would belong to the tenth century before the Christian era,—an age comparatively recent when compared with that claimed by ardent Egyptologists for many Egyptian remains, and even 500 years less than that of monuments erected by kings, the date of whose reigns may be guessed at upon some rational grounds.

From the nature of the building materials of the Assyrians, consisting chiefly of wood and baked and sun-dried bricks, fewer remains of their architecture are to be found than of that of Egypt. Of the exteriors of their edifices there are scarcely any traces whatever, and of the interiors but little more than the ground-plan of the halls and chambers, and such parts of the walls as were panelled with marble or stone slabs. By the aid of these remains, of the representations of buildings in the bas-reliefs, and of existing ruins in Persia, Mr. Fergusson has with great ingenuity attempted a complete restoration of an Assyrian palace. He has embodied his views in the frontispiece to Mr. Layard's second work on his discoveries at Nineveh, and subsequently in a more substantial form in the representation of part of an Assyrian palace in the Crystal Palace at Sydenham.

These

These restorations have received singular confirmation from a bas-relief representing a palace, or some edifice of the kind, found at Nineveh since the publication of his Handbook.

One of the most observable features in Assyrian architecture was the very general use of the most brilliant colours both on the exterior and throughout the interior, and the importance attached to such accessories as gardens, trees, spacious courts, and splendid decorations, hangings, and carpets. They were more considered than rich and costly constructive materials—granite, marbles, and great hewn stones. These are to this day the characteristics of nearly all Eastern architecture, especially of the Mohammedan, and distinguish it from that higher order of art in which the eye and the imagination were appealed to and gratified by true beauty of form and just proportions. 'When,' Mr. Fergusson justly observes, 'a Persian architect wishes to conceive or produce anything more than usually magnificent, the process in his mind is diametrically opposed to what occurs to a European. He revels in colour and ornament, and leaves form to take care of itself. With the European, on the contrary, form is everything; and colour, if tolerated, is adventitious and subordinate.' It may, however, be added that a natural intuitive taste prevents his transgressing the essential laws of beauty in dealing with form. We may trace this Eastern love of colour and decoration in Ionic architecture, although it had been chastened and purified by Greek taste and science. That the great monuments of Babylon and Ecbatana, built after the fashion of those of Assyria, were painted on the outside, we know from history. Ample traces of colour were found on the interior walls, and on the sculptured slabs in the Assyrian ruins, to show that the whole of the inside was similarly decorated.

The use of the arch and vault as prominent features, and the existence of columns and architectural decoration corresponding with those of the Ionic, in Assyrian architecture deserve especial notice, as connecting it directly with the architecture of the West. Of this use of the arch and vault there can be no question. Vaulted entrances of considerable size have been discovered in the ruins of Khorsabad, and vaulted chambers and drains have been found on other Assyrian sites. The arch is also constantly represented in the sculptures. Of the existence of a column with a capital corresponding with the Ionic volute we have equal proof. A similar volute is constantly found in representations of furniture and in bronze ornaments. In a bas-relief from Khorsabad a building is seen with two columns *in antis* which not only have Ionic capitals, but a torus and plinth to distinguish them from the Egyptian protodoric pillar. Sir Gardner Wilkinson, in his
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'History of Egyptian Architecture,' would derive the Ionic from an Egyptian source, and cites the columns of the temple of Edfoo. But this building is of the age of the Ptolemies, consequently of a much later date than the Assyrian palaces, and moreover the volute in this instance forms but a subordinate feature in the capital. But what places the Assyrian origin of the Ionic beyond a doubt is the use in the Greek order of the very ornaments which are found in the Assyrian, such as the honey-suckle, or alternating flower and bud—which, as a conventional treatment of a vegetable form, is the most beautiful of all ornamental devices—the guilloche, the bead and reel, the kneeling sphinxes, and we may add the caryatide figures.

The discoveries in Assyria have furnished a clue to the origin of nearly all Asiatic art. The Persian kings of the Achæmenian dynasty built vast palaces at Persepolis, Eebatana, and Susa, upon the Assyrian model, raising them upon artificial platforms, adorning their gateways with colossal human-headed and winged animals, and their walls with bas-reliefs representing historical and religious events. The Persians borrowed their alphabet and the greater part of their sacred myths and forms of worship from the same source. The analogy between the two forms of architecture has enabled Mr. Fergusson to restore from Assyrian remains that which is wanting at Persepolis, as he had restored the palaces of Nineveh from Persian ruins. For in the one case the pillars, roof, and many of the architectural ornaments being in stone have alone resisted decay; in the other these same features being in wood or sun-dried bricks have perished, whilst the walls and their panelling of alabaster have remained; or, as Mr. Fergusson has expressed it, 'We have at Persepolis all the bones of the building without the flesh, at Nineveh the flesh without the bones that gave them substance.'

But one of the most interesting illustrations afforded by the Assyrian discoveries is to be found in their bearing upon the architecture of the Jews. Previously no materials existed for restoring the general plan and the details of the temple and other buildings erected by Solomon, and described in the Bible or by Josephus. Mr. Fergusson has shown, with every appearance of probability, that they had a close resemblance to Assyrian edifices, the style of architecture of the two being nearly identical. 'Solomon,' says Josephus, 'wainscoted the walls (of the House of the Forest of Lebanon) with stones that were sawed and were of great value, such as are dug out of the earth for the ornament of temples.' These slabs were ornamented with sculptures 'pre-eminent for their beauty, and representing trees and all sorts of fruits. The rest of the wall up to the roof was plastered over, and

as it were wrought over with various colours and pictures.* This description shows an interior ornamentation of mingled sculpture and painting, corresponding in a remarkable degree with that of the Assyrian palaces. The erection of the Jewish temple appears to have been nearly contemporary with that of the great palace at Nimroud, when the arts of the Assyrians had already attained their highest perfection, whilst those of the Jews were still in their infancy, for we find Solomon employing builders and workmen from Tyre. The Phœnicians had already made considerable progress in the arts. No sufficient remains exist to enable us to form an opinion upon the style of their architecture, but there are good grounds for believing that, like their religion and their myths, their arts were of that Asiatic character of which the Assyrian is the type.

Although the discoveries in Assyria leave no doubt as to the origin of the Ionic order, the history of its introduction into Greece is not so easily traced. The first Greek colonies in Asia Minor found its principal forms prevailing in that country. It is even highly probable that the Pelasgic tribes had introduced them into Greece long before Egyptian influence was felt through the Dorians. The very earliest remains in Greece, such as the Treasury of Atreus at Mycenæ, with its ornamented columns and rampant lions, and that of Myron at Olympia, built about B.C. 648, supposed to be the work of the Pelasgic tribes, have a marked Assyrian character. Sir Henry Rawlinson, we are aware, thinks he has found in the Assyrian inscriptions the mention of Greek sculptors who executed the bas-reliefs in the palaces of Nineveh. But even waiving any doubts as to the correct interpretation of the cuneiform inscriptions, especially when proper names are concerned, and passing over the fact that Sir Henry has renounced other similar Greek discoveries, we may fairly ask why, if the Greeks were capable of executing such works, they did not adorn their own edifices with them? We have no Greek monument whatever, nor indeed any object of Greek art, of the same period as the Palaces of Nineveh which is not barbarous and rude—showing the efforts of a people who were still in the very infancy of civilization when compared with the Assyrians.

It would be of great importance, as illustrating the early history of Greek civilization, to trace the gradual spread of Assyrian art into Asia Minor. The monuments belonging to the native dynasties of this part of Asia are but little known. A few rock-sculptures and excavated tombs, altogether Assyrian in

* Josephus, b. viii., c. 2.

character, have been inaccurately described and figured in such works as Steuart's '*Ancient Monuments of Lydia and Phrygia*,' and Texier's '*Travels in Armenia and Persia*;' and some excavations have been made—not, we believe, with much system or success—at the expense of the Prussian Government, in the mounds near Sardis; but a most interesting field of inquiry is still open to an intelligent explorer in the remote valleys and hills of Asia Minor, and researches properly carried on might furnish us with many links still wanting in the chain which connects Eastern and Western civilization. At the time of the Persian occupation of Asia Minor, Assyrian influence probably prevailed in every branch of art. We find it strikingly displayed in the earliest monuments of Lycia, and in the rude seated figures from Branchidæ (now in the British Museum), executed about the time of the fall of the Assyrian empire, in one of the most ancient of the Greek colonies.

Mr. Fergusson is inclined to believe that an Ionic architecture existed in Greece, in one form or another, from the remotest times, but that, owing to its being principally of wood, and of very slender proportions, its early monuments have all perished, and that the introduction of the Doric under the Cypselidæ at Corinth gave rise to more simple and massive, and consequently more durable, forms. But it is remarkable that the earliest known Ionic edifice in Greece is the temple on the Ilissus, built 484 B.C., and the next in order of date the beautiful little temple of the Wingless Victory, built about fifteen years later, in front of the Propylæa of the Athenian Acropolis. In both the order is seen in full development in all its forms and details. It was brought to the highest perfection in the Erechtheum, raised about half a century later, and perhaps the most graceful and matchless monument the Greek imagination and taste ever devised. The history of the gradual development of the order until it reached this perfection of arrangement, proportion, and ornamentation, is as yet as great a mystery to us as the history of the Doric. In Asia Minor there were much earlier examples of the style, such as the great temple of Artemis at Ephesus, and many others destroyed during the Persian wars. The Ionic flourished chiefly in Asia, as if it were the land most congenial to it—the Doric in Greece, and in the Dorian colonies of Sicily and Magna Græcia. It is possible, therefore, that the order was developed by the Greek colonies established to the east of the Hellespont, and was first applied by them to the peripteral temple introduced with the Doric order into Greece. No instance of any edifice of this nature has yet been discovered in Assyrian

Assyrian or Persepolitan architecture, to the spirit of which a peripteral building would seem altogether opposed.

The Corinthian order, of a later date than either the Doric or Ionic, seems to have been made up of the bell-shaped capital of the Egyptian and of the Ionic volute. Mr. Fergusson conjectures that it had been employed in Asia Minor before its introduction into Greece; it was not generally used before the time of Alexander the Great. As the purity of Greek taste declined after the loss of liberty under the Macedonian conqueror and his successors, and a love of luxury and display, and a consequent desire for profuse ornamentation and meaningless effect began generally to prevail, it became the favourite order, and attained its highest development in some of the most magnificent monuments of the Hellenic races.

As the Greeks had borrowed the fundamental forms of their architecture from Egypt and Assyria, so they followed in their development the same æsthetic laws that had prevailed in those countries. The most important of these laws was the general employment of painting and painted sculpture. Indeed these two arts have owed the perfection they may have attained at different times and in different countries to their connection with architecture, whether in ancient Egypt, Assyria, and Greece, or in mediæval Italy. The Doric order without its sculptures in the metopes, on its pediments and its frieze, loses more than half its beauty, and becomes cold and insipid: without its painted ornamentation we can form no idea of the exquisite grace of an Ionic temple. Our modern buildings in imitation of those styles bear as much resemblance to the original as the naked ugliness of a dissenting chapel does to a Gothic cathedral with its clustering spires, its winding tracery, and its jewelled windows.

As the love for over-ornamentation increased, it was gratified by a superabundance of carved stone-work: the use of colour decreased until it was abandoned altogether in the corrupt Roman architecture from which we have principally derived our taste for and knowledge of what we call 'the classic styles.' No perfect architecture ever existed without the union of sculpture and painting—each art having an equal relation to the rest in its development, each being the very best the age could accomplish, and consequently in complete harmony with its allies, because inspired by the same objects and the same feelings. The most perfect architecture, whatever the style may be, would be that which is most perfect in every one of its details and parts, whether taken in connection with the whole or by themselves:

selves: a maxim which would appear a truism, but which is forgotten every day.

Thus the arts derived from Egypt and Assyria are respectively the types of the two great divisions of the Hellenic race—the Doric and the Ionic. Fashioned and combined in exquisite harmony, by a race of men who were of the most subtle and refined intellectual organization that the world has ever seen, they form the very foundation of all true art. As all art existing previous to the Greeks was concentrated in them, so from them have flowed in one uninterrupted stream all the forms of art which mankind have hitherto devised; nor can we conceive any new features which would not be a further development of these original types.

This power of developing into the highest perfection that which they borrowed in an imperfect condition, is one of the chief characteristics of Greek genius. The history of their philosophy, of their sciences, and of their religion does not differ from that of their architecture, painting, and sculpture. As the Greeks drew their arts from Egypt and Assyria, so they sought in Thebes and Babylon the fundamental laws of their philosophy, the origin of their myths, and the first principles of their sciences. The very furniture, the vases, and the arms represented in the Assyrian and Egyptian bas-reliefs were copied by them, and by them chastened and refined into the most graceful of forms. All they touched they transformed into perfect beauty; and whilst we can no longer claim for the Greeks the actual invention of the arts and sciences once attributed to them, their marvellous powers of development and adaptation are not less calculated to excite our wonder and admiration, and are ample proofs of the highest intellectual capacity.

The transition from the architecture of Greece to that of Rome cannot be rightly understood without a previous inquiry into the arts of the Etruscans, to whose peculiar character and institutions are to be attributed many of the modifications of Greek architecture and those constructive forms peculiar to the Romans. Mr. Fergusson accepts, in opposition to modern criticism, and, we think, upon sufficient grounds, the prevailing ancient tradition that the Etruscans were of Lydian origin, and he places their migration to Italy in the 12th century B.C. In support of this opinion he cites the earliest Etruscan remains, especially tombs and sepulchral tumuli—a class of monuments scarcely to be found in Greece Proper, unless the so-called Treasuries are really chambers of the dead. In Lydia, and other provinces of Asia Minor, circular tombs, such as the mound of Alyatis at Sardis,

Sardis, and rock-cut sepulchres, such as those in Phrygia, bear so close a resemblance to Etruscan monuments of the same class, that we can scarcely refuse to admit the probability of their having been constructed by races of similar origin or very closely connected. The use, too, of the arch and vault, and the peculiar character of the bronzes, pottery, and similar objects found in the earliest Etruscan tombs, point to an Asiatic source; whilst the vast polygonal walls and the horizontal vaulting of stone of the ancient sepulchral chambers seem to show a connection between the Etruscan and the Pelasgic races. The theory of the exclusive influence of Egypt upon ancient Etrurian art cannot be maintained in the face of these facts. On the other hand the commencement of a Greek influence, direct or through the colonies in Magna Græcia, is very clearly marked. Etruscan temple and theatre architecture was an offshoot from the Doric, but the Asiatic spirit modified the pure Hellenic forms. The Doric column became more slender, the torus and plinth were added, and for sacred edifices the circular form was adopted, corresponding to that of the tomb, and entirely opposed to the spirit of Greek temple architecture, but out of which sprung some of the grandest monuments of ancient Rome. We have thus in Etruria the same condition of things as originally prevailed in Greece—the massive Doric modified by contact with the more graceful forms of the Ionic or Asiatic architecture. The difference in the result marks the difference between the intellectual organisation of the two races—the Greek and the Etruscan.

Etruscan architecture, as well as all Etruscan art, may therefore be divided into that preserved traditionally by the Etruscans and that which they afterwards borrowed direct from Greece. As Asiatic art was one of the sources of the Greek, there was no element in Etruscan architecture which did not exist in the Greek. But the Etruscans were neither endowed with the imagination nor the invention of the Greeks. As the Germans have it, ‘they were more receptive than productive.’ They neither developed in a direction of their own what they borrowed, nor were they ever able to approach in mere imitation the highest and noblest productions of Greek genius. It is important to bear these facts in mind when investigating the history of the architecture of the Romans, who had so large a mixture of Etruscan blood in their veins.

Like the Etruscans, the Romans were receptive, not productive, in the arts. The history of their architecture furnishes us with no instance of the true development of forms derived from elsewhere. The Greeks purified and beautified everything they touched;

touched; the Romans almost always, as far as abstract beauty of form is concerned, degraded all they borrowed. They were endowed with an extraordinary power of adaptation, and they could appreciate the effect of vastness, magnificence, and solidity in architecture. In these qualities they have never been excelled, perhaps never equalled. Whilst retaining, with slight modifications, all the elements and distinguishing features of Greek architecture, they applied them with more or less success to edifices, in object and general arrangement peculiarly their own, such as basilicas, amphitheatres, palaces, aqueducts, triumphal arches; piling column upon column, arch upon arch, and cornice upon cornice—endeavouring to achieve by daring vastness and unsurpassed constructive skill that which the Greeks obtained by admirable proportions. The Romans were deficient in the qualities which distinguished the Greeks above all other races—that exquisite taste, that intuitive appreciation of true beauty, and that wonderful faculty of accomplishing everything contemplated, and not a tittle more or less, in the most refined and elegant manner. Each feature in a Greek building of the best period is equally necessary to the general object, and could not be omitted without injury to the rest; every ornament is just that which is required for the perfect harmony of all the parts and no more. A Roman edifice, on the contrary, usually abounds with features and details which have no definite meaning or use, and with ornaments which, instead of adding to its beauty or dignity, detract from both, because unnecessary and out of place.

In one point of view the study of Roman architecture, as Mr. Fergusson has well pointed out, is of the greatest interest and value. It is the great link between the arts of the ancient and modern world, containing the germs of all the architectural forms of the middle ages, and thus showing the transition between the pure classic or heathen architecture, and that fashioned by the bold and manly intellect of the Christian Teutonic races.

The earliest monuments of Rome, as might be conjectured from the political condition of the city, were simply copied from those of the Etruscans, and were probably for the most part the work of Etruscan architects. To these belong the great Cloaca, the massive walls and foundations dating from the times of the kings, and the rude early temples adorned with statues of wood and clay. The Romans, from their first existence as an independent people, showed a preference for useful public works rather than for monuments admitting architectural display. This preference continued to the time of the decline of the empire, and roads, aqueducts, bridges, and works for drainage are the most truly characteristic and magnificent remains of that great people.

The

The precise period when the *direct* influence of Greece supplanted that of Etruria on Roman art cannot easily be determined. It probably first reached Rome through the Doric colonies in Magna Græcia and Sicily. When the three commissioners were sent, in the middle of the fifth century B.C., to study the laws of Greece, Athens had just attained to the height of her glory, Phidias had begun his immortal works on the Acropolis, and on all sides were arising fresh monuments of the genius of the Hellenic race. We may easily conceive the impression which these glorious triumphs of art must have made upon the simple Romans, and how the description they gave of them on their return must have excited the wonder and emulation of their countrymen. But the Samnite wars a century later first brought the Romans in general into contact with Greek races and Greek art in the colonies of Magna Græcia. The well-known tomb of L. Cornelius Scipio, who was consul in the first year of the third Samnite war, affords an early instance of a rude imitation of Greek forms. From that time direct intercourse with Greece gradually increased until her political subjugation after the fall of Corinth was followed by her intellectual triumph, for Rome then became the centre of Greek art as of Greek learning. Strange destiny of a conquered race thus to subdue its conquerors by the force of its own genius!

If the extended use of any peculiar feature gives a character of originality to a style of architecture, it was the employment of the arch, vault, and dome that gives its claim of originality to that of Rome. Each had been known in more or less perfect form to other nations—to the Egyptians, Assyrians, Babylonians, and Greeks; but it remained for the Romans to combine the three as essential parts of an edifice, and to bring their construction to the highest perfection, as in the Pantheon, perhaps the most interesting and impressive Roman building preserved to us.

These domical structures and the Basilica form the principal connecting links between pure classic and true Christian architecture. The Basilica marks the transition from the Greek temple to the Christian church. The temples of Rome were amongst the least remarkable of her public buildings. The Romans were not, at the time of the greatest development of their power, a religious people. They cared more for politics, for the arts of government, and for the administration of justice, than for religious ceremonies and theological speculations. The type of their character was the Basilica, an edifice attached to the Forum and uniting the courts of law with an exchange for merchants, a place of meeting for men of business and a lounge for idlers. In the early times of the empire it had attained all the mag-

nificence which vastness of dimensions and richness of materials could ensure, as the scanty remains of the great basilicas of Trajan and Maxentius are still sufficient to prove. Its centre nave and side-aisles, its semicircular apse and raised platform, with the seats for the prætor and judges, were eminently suited to the civil and religious wants of the new Christian community. Lateral projections on each side of the centre apse had, even in Pagan times, given to it the form of a cross. Constantine had scarcely recognized the growing faith when the conversion of many of the heathen basilicas into Christian places of assembly took place. A considerable time, however, elapsed, as Mr. Fergusson has pointed out, before they became liturgical churches. They were, in fact, applied by the early Christians to nearly the same use as by the heathen Romans. The whole congregation met there for the transaction of the affairs of the community, whether relating to civil, social, or doctrinal questions, or to ecclesiastical discipline. The Bishop took the chair of the Prætor, the Presbyters the seats of the judges or assessors, the Pagan altar became the Christian altar, the faithful thronged the nave, or the sexes were separated in the opposite aisles. The place of initiation into the mysteries of the faith was the Baptistry, a circular building, erected on the model and taking its name from the 'baptisterium' or place of immersion in the Roman baths. It stood by itself, near the west end of the Basilica, and in it, not in the 'ecclesia,' or place of assembly, there is reason to believe, were celebrated the sacraments and all the most sacred rites of the Church.

Although the early Christians of Italy thus adopted, after the peace of the Church, these two well-established Roman architectural forms for their places of assembly and for the celebration of their mysteries, still, more than 200 years before the conversion of Constantine, the Christian communities of the East, and especially of Africa, being further removed from the seat of government and consequently less exposed to persecution, had possessed both churches and an organized hierarchy. Of these primitive churches no sufficient remains are known to exist to enable us to restore their original form. There are, however, ruins of Christian basilicas belonging to the century before Constantine, both in Egypt and Algeria.* It would be of much interest to ascertain whether, guided entirely by the requirements of their faith and under the influence of their peculiar institutions, these early Christians devised any new architectural combinations which might have been subsequently developed into an original

* In Algeria as early as A.D. 282.—Kugler, 'Geschichte,' &c., p. 372.

style, or whether they were content to copy the corrupted Egyptian and Roman forms they saw around them. The earliest places of Christian worship preserved to us are probably those in the Roman catacombs, used in times of grievous persecution for the performance of sacred rites. The confined space of a subterranean excavation in a crumbling soil rendered architectural display nearly impossible, and there are no features in these underground chapels to give them any peculiar character; nevertheless they appear to have been sometimes imitated in early sepulchral buildings, as that built by Galla Placidia at Ravenna to hold her tomb. The Roman Basilica became in the West and in a great part of the East the type of the Christian church; and with various modifications of its internal and external arrangements, according to the growing necessities, power, or wealth of the Church,—expanding still more into the form of a cross, combining the baptistery, and crowning itself with the dome, or encased by the northern races in a shrine of lofty towers, slender pinnacles, and graceful buttresses,—it is still the prevailing and fundamental form of the larger number of places of worship in Christendom. It is thus that the most ancient forms of architecture are linked to the most recent, by gradual development of certain leading ideas or by new combinations of well-known types, so that, as we advance towards the time of the general conversion of classic or Pagan art to Christian purposes, it is difficult to draw the line of demarcation between the two periods,—to point out when the one ends and the other begins. ‘There is no real distinction,’ says Mr. Fergusson (p. 473), ‘between the Æmilian and Ulpian basilicas and those which Constantine erected for the use of the early Christian republic; nor is it possible in such a series as the Pantheon, the temple of Minerva Medica, and the church of San Vitale at Ravenna, to point out what part really belongs to Pagan and what to Christian art.’ This gradual and imperceptible change in architecture responded to the gradual and imperceptible change taking place in men’s minds, and was but the reflex of that great movement which, as the slow and unheeded progress of a glacier drives before it the detached rocks, was surely though irresistibly carrying before it the perishing paganism of the Roman world.

Whilst the Basilica alone, and subsequently the Basilica and Baptistery united, became, with various modifications, the type of the Western or Roman Church, the domical baptistery became the type of the Eastern or Greek Church. It is difficult to determine with precision the period when this distinction was first established. For some time after the transfer of the seat of empire to Byzantium the Basilica appear

adopted there for Christian purposes as in other parts of the East. Yet in Constantinople the remains of only one church of this form have hitherto been examined—those of St. John, built about A.D. 463. It is not improbable that others may still exist, converted into Mohammedan mosques, and hitherto inaccessible to Christians, or buried beneath the accumulated ruins of the Byzantine capital.

Neither in the ancient centres of the great Christian communities of the East—as in Antioch or Alexandria—are there any known remains of this period to enable us to restore their sacred architecture. It is probable that many such remains do exist, and an unexplored field of great interest is open to the Christian archæologist. Mr. Fergusson has been able to quote but one authentic example of a Basilica in Asia Minor—that at Pergamus, examined by Mr. Falkener, almost the only modern traveller who has turned his attention to the architectural remains of this period in Western Asia. Two remarkable edifices of the time of Constantine are still, however, fortunately preserved in Syria, to mark two of the most important and interesting sites in the Christian world—‘the Dome of the Rock,’ now the celebrated Mosque of Omar at Jerusalem, and the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem. How far the latter may have been modified or altered by subsequent restorations and additions it is difficult to determine, but it appears to have preserved, in most respects, its original form. It is remarkable, considering the interest now shown in early Christian architecture, and especially considering the site of the edifice, that no plans or details of this church have been given to the world since Bernardino Amici published a treatise at Florence, in 1620, entitled, ‘Delle Pianta ed Imagine de’ Sacri Edifici di Terra Santa.’ It is built upon the plan of a Roman Basilica, with a central nave, four side aisles and two projecting apses, at right angles to the centre apse, giving the church the form of a cross. Of the great four-aisled Basilica called the Martyron, built by Constantine at Jerusalem, only the outer gate of the atrium, known as ‘The Golden Gateway,’ now remains. There are, however, grounds for believing that it closely resembled the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem.

The Dome of the Rock, or Mosque of Omar, departs altogether from the form of the Basilica, and assumes that of the Baptistery. Mr. Fergusson, in a work of great ingenuity and research, has endeavoured to identify this edifice with the church raised by Constantine over the sepulchre of our Lord.* Our space will not allow us to enter into the controversy. We will only observe:—

* ‘Essay on the Ancient Topography of Jerusalem.’

1, that Mr. Fergusson has shown that the present so-called Church of the Holy Sepulchre has no claims to the distinction; 2, that, as the round form was adopted for tombs as well as for baptisteries by the early Christians, it may be reasonably conjectured that this circular edifice at Jerusalem was meant to cover a supposed place of sepulture;* and, 3, that, as it was the habit of the Mohammedans to appropriate to themselves the holy places of the Christians acquired by conquest, it is probable that they converted the holiest of all, the sepulchre of Christ, into a mosque, which is still to them one of the most sacred spots on the face of the earth.

In the time of Justinian the Basilica appears to have been entirely superseded in Constantinople and the Byzantine provinces by that domical architecture which henceforth became the type of the Greek Church in almost every part of the Eastern world where its doctrines prevailed. To this style alone, with its various modifications of form and ornamentation, as illustrated by remains in Constantinople, Greece, and Asia Minor, the term Byzantine properly applies, and not, as Mr. Fergusson justly remarks, indiscriminately to any building possessing a dome or ornamented in polychromy — two features common to styles altogether distinct from the Byzantine.

The reason of this change cannot be satisfactorily shown. Mr. Fergusson appears to suspect a Persian influence on Byzantine art during the most flourishing periods of the Sassanian dynasty; but if any similarity exists between the leading features of Byzantine and Sassanian architecture, we suspect it would be found that the Persians borrowed from the Byzantines those forms which they had not inherited from the earliest times. In truth the domical Byzantine architecture is but the development of that of Rome, transferred by Constantine to his new capital: its prototype is to be sought in the circular Etruscan tomb, or even, perhaps, in the sepulchres of the Pelasgic races. The dome was used by the Romans in their sepulchral monuments; it was carried to its highest perfection in pagan times in the Pantheon; subsequently modified and not improved in such buildings as Diocletian's Temple at Spalatro, it reappeared in its purer form in the Baptistry of Constantine: transferred to the East, as in the circular church at Jerusalem, it attained its most magnifi-

* It is curious to observe the same connection between the baptistery and the tomb—the entrance into the present life and the entrance into the future—prevailing in ancient Saxon England. According to Edmer the singer, Cuthbert, the eleventh Archbishop of Canterbury, erected, behind the eastern apse of the cathedral, a circular baptistery, that ‘baptisms might be celebrated therein, and that the bodies of the archbishops might therein be buried.’

cent proportions in St. Sophia's. In the West it was retained in the round churches of Ravenna and many other parts of Italy.

The progressive changes in domical edifices, from the circular drum, supporting a dome of equal diameter, as in the Pantheon, to the octagonal base, as in the temple at Spalatro, to the square base with pendentives in the four corners, and, finally, to that triumph of constructive skill, the church of St. Sophia, where a vast cupola rests upon arches springing from four piers only, furnishes the most interesting and instructive example of the successful development of general forms in Byzantine architecture. In the magnificent Christian temple built by Justinian we find the largest attainable space devoted to the celebration of ceremonies in which one vast congregation was expected to unite. Mr. Fergusson remarks, 'that no domical building of modern times can at all approach St. Sophia's, either for appropriateness or beauty; and that, if we regard it with a view to the purposes of Protestant worship, it affords an infinitely better model for imitation than anything our own mediæval architects ever produced:' an opinion in which we fully concur. It would, indeed, be impossible to imagine a scene of more impressive grandeur and of more religious solemnity than this vast building during the nights of the Mohammedan festival of the Ramazan, lighted by innumerable lamps, glittering in the spreading vault like stars in the firmament, the area thronged by thousands of earnest worshippers, prostrating themselves as one man under the guidance of the one leader of their prayer.

The gradual corruption of Roman art, less distinguishable in the general forms, may be traced with the greatest minuteness in the details. Thus the architectural ornaments of the church of St. John at Constantinople (built between the time of Constantine and Justinian) form the link between the more classic forms of pagan Rome and the frieze and entablature of the bastard Ionic order of the church of Saints Sergius and Bacchus, and of the bastard Corinthian of St. Sophia.*

After the erection of St. Sophia's further modifications took place, but the essential features of the corrupted Roman style were still preserved. Mr. Fergusson observes that 'after Justinian's time every classical trace disappears,'—an opinion in which we cannot altogether agree, although we admit that from that time Byzantine architecture assumed a character more exclusively its own. But the means of comparison to enable this question to be decided are strangely wanting. Byzantine

* See Salzenburg's great work on 'St. Sophia and other Byzantine Edifices in Constantinople.' Berlin, 1854.

architecture has yet to be studied within the limits of the old Byzantine empire in Asia, as well as in Europe.* Of the many churches built in Constantinople after Justinian, only one—that of St. Irene—has been even partially described. The next quoted by Mr. Fergusson—those of Theotocos and Monétes Koras—are of the 10th and 11th centuries, or from five to six hundred years later! And yet there must be many examples of such edifices, both at Constantinople and scattered over the Turkish provinces, either still used as places of Christian worship, converted into mosques, or falling into ruins. There is no evidence that the Turks destroyed such buildings; on the contrary, they appear to have almost invariably preserved them, either appropriating them to their own religious use, or leaving them in the hands of their original possessors. It seems certain that, after St. Sophia's, no Greek church of any great magnitude or importance was erected. The ecclesiastical architecture of the Byzantines was singularly mean in its proportions. With the exception of this great monument, there is scarcely one edifice throughout the whole Eastern world where the Greek faith prevailed, including Greece, of the size of a third-rate Western church.†

Whilst in the East the architecture of Rome was thus merging by gradual decay and corruption into a style which wanted the seeds of true progressive development—a type of the empire itself—in the West a new and original art was rising out of the rude but vigorous imitation of classic forms. Amongst the various tribes of Northmen who poured down the rocky sides of the Alps, and spread over the sunny plains of Italy, the Lombards alone established themselves for any lengthened period as a separate and independent people, introducing their own customs, and marking their more than temporary occupation of the land by laws and institutions founded upon their own peculiar character and wants. The tribes of Goths who had preceded them had adopted the laws, the institutions, and the arts of the people they had conquered, as history shows us has been usually the case when barbarous races are brought into contact with nations in a high state of civilization. In architecture they neither developed a new style, nor introduced any remarkable modifications into that which they found. The name of Gothic applied to the

* Probably the best work on the subject is Couchaud's '*Eglises Byzantines en Grèce*,' Paris, 1842; but it relates to only one province of the empire.

† We are inclined to make the same remark with regard to secular edifices. If the Byzantine emperors had really raised great and substantial monuments in their capital, some remains of them would still exist. The Turks did not wantonly destroy. The massive Genoese structures in Galata are still preserved; but of Byzantine edifices there is a most remarkable absence of even traces in Constantinople.

art of central and northern Europe, cannot either be justified by its origin or by its use. It is remarkable that in the list of edifices raised by Theodoric not one church occurs. In Italy almost the only existing monument which can be referred to the time of the Gothic supremacy is the tomb of that king at Ravenna, now known as the church of Santa Maria Rotunda, built most probably by a Roman architect. This building, of small size—the domical roof being of a single stone—is evidently constructed on the model of a Roman sepulchral monument, such as Hadrian's Mole, with the addition of a few exterior ornaments suited to the taste of the times. The Lombards, on the other hand, so far modified Roman architecture as to produce a style of their own both in general form and in ornamentation, and one which, in still more bold and earnest hands, was developed into a majestic sublimity, only exceeded as an effort of human genius by the beautiful simplicity and perfect proportions of the Greek.

It has been the custom to refer to a Byzantine origin the peculiar features of Lombard architecture. But this arises from a confusion of ideas. That some forms may have been introduced from Constantinople into parts of Northern Italy, as the exarchate of Ravenna, is possible, although there is no proof of the fact. But the architecture of the Lombards was essentially distinct from that of the Byzantines in spirit, and in the direction of its development. The general use of sculptured figures, forbidden by the Greek Church, gave it at once a new character, and opened the way for original combinations. The introduction, too, of stone-vaulted intersecting roofs, led to various novel constructive expedients, giving rise to new architectural forms, out of which, as Mr. Fergusson has shown, gradually sprang nearly every leading feature of the so-called Gothic style. The clustered columns, sometimes carried up from the pavement to the roof, the outside buttresses, the circular window, pillars supported on figures of men or animals, in fact, nearly every feature which marks Gothic architecture, are first to be traced in the Lombard. There arose also a fundamental distinction between this new style and the old classic, even in its most corrupt form: in the one were preserved certain standard rules of proportion, whilst, in the other, each architect considered the general effect by the light of his own taste and judgment. Thus, whilst in the form of the classic column certain definite, though variable, rules were observed, none whatever seem to have been retained in the Lombard.*

This architecture of the Lombards soon crossed the Alps, and was eagerly adopted by races of similar origin, or professing the

* The transition from classic to Christian architecture is nowhere better illustrated than in the ancient churches of Lucca and Pisa.

Christian faith, with the same earnest simplicity so characteristic of the northern character. It is highly interesting to trace its passage northward, either through Switzerland, whose ancient monuments have been but recently examined and described,* or through the south of France, where it gradually modified and ultimately supplanted the pagan, or 'Romanesque,' style, and produced most of the leading features of Norman architecture. In both these countries the native architect, guided by the same influences that had directed the Lombard, attained to a skill in the sculpture of figures for architectonic decoration that was unequalled at the same period to the south of the Alps, or, indeed, in any part of Christendom. It is remarkable that this connection between Lombardy and the nations of central Europe should have been kept up by the Lombard bands of masons long after Gothic architecture had reached its own characteristic development, and that the 'Magistri Comaceni'—the master-builders from Como—became the generic name of the professors of the art.

It is only in buildings of the end of the eighth and beginning of the ninth century, or of the time of Charlemagne, that the first change can now be traced in central Europe. It was not until the twelfth that the first really great development of the so-called Gothic took place, the progress being different in different countries. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries it had attained its highest maturity and perfection, and had produced the great cathedrals of France and England, the noblest monuments that any faith can boast. In studying the history of architecture in a philosophical spirit, it must be borne in mind that this mighty development took place when the art became no longer the privilege of a class, but the property of all. 'During the previous age,' as Mr. Fergusson observes, 'almost all great ecclesiastic buildings were the sole property and built only for the use of the clergy. . . . During the tenth century almost all the great buildings were cathedrals, in which the laity bore the greater part of the expense, and shared, in at least an equal degree, in their property and purpose.' In this fact must be sought the secret of this wonderful architectural revival.

The use of the pointed arch is perhaps one of the best instances of the novel adaptation of a previously known architectural feature. Antiquaries wrangle over its first introduction into northern architecture, and claim for nearly every country the honour of its invention.† Modern research has shown that it

* See Blavignac, 'Histoire de l'Architecture Sacrée du 4me au 10me Siècle dans les Evêchés de Genève, Lausanne, et Sion.'

† M. Ramée, in his 'Manuel,' has filled nearly ten pages with a list of different authorities who assign various origins to pointed architecture.

was known to the Egyptians and Assyrians, and to the Pelasgic tribes and the Etruscans; that it was employed by the Persians during the period of the Sassanian dynasty, and by the early Christians of the Thebaid in their churches; and that it was so well recognised a feature of Mohammedan architecture for several centuries before its introduction into central Europe in the eleventh or twelfth century, that Wren and Stuckeley were not altogether without warrant when they applied the terms Saracenic and Arabian to the pointed style, or the Italians when they called the florid Gothic 'Gotico-Arabo.' But whether the northern architects borrowed it from the East or elsewhere, or whether, as some contend, the idea was suggested to them by the intersecting arches in Norman buildings, they made it their own, and employed and combined it in so ingenious and original a manner, that it soon became one of the leading distinctive features of a new architecture; and if they did not invent the pointed *arch*, they invented the pointed *style*, and connected it with the vertical principle in opposition to the horizontal, which had previously pervaded all styles of architecture. The pointed arch was not even an essential feature of the Gothic. The round arch prevails in German edifices of this style, and is frequently found in the Early English.

Gothic architecture was so peculiarly adapted to the character, institutions, climate, and mental organization of the northern races, that the attempt to introduce it into Italy ultimately failed. It only partially succeeded whilst the northern element still predominated over the native in parts of the Peninsula. English, French, and German architects were invited to cross the Alps to teach the principles of a style which had in their own country produced such glorious monuments. We find them in the first instance building such churches as S. Francis at Assisi, and S. Andrea at Vercelli, of small dimensions when compared with the great edifices of central Europe, and curiously modified to suit the tastes and habits of those for whom they were raised. The Italians who studied under these foreign artists went still further in adapting the style to the character of the people and to the climate and resources of the country, producing the vast cathedrals of Siena, Orvieto, Florence, and Milan, in which solemn and mysterious effects and symbolic decoration—the principal characteristics of Gothic architecture—were sacrificed to the lively imagination and love of luxurious display of the south. But this foreign and consequently unsuitable style was soon abandoned altogether. The rapid development in Italy of the sister arts of sculpture and painting did not agree with the conventional and somewhat rude forms of Teutonic architecture, which

which soon succumbed to the newly-revived influence of the antique. The architecture of the north was dependent upon conventional ornamentation connected with general features; that of Italy upon the highest form of decoration,—each detail being in itself and by itself an object of abstract beauty, in the true spirit of classic art. The Northern accomplished, by vastness of proportions, daring feats of constructive skill, elaborate tracery of stone, and the solemnity of effect produced by gloomy vaults and aisles, and mysterious lights shed through painted windows, what the more refined and cultivated Italian sought to effect by beauty of form, exquisite harmony of colour, perfect sculpture and painting, and the highest finish in every part—endeavouring to produce an impression upon the senses, not vague and indefinite, as in a Gothic cathedral, but actual and precise. Consequently, in the north sculpture and painting never made real progress in connection with architecture.

Both Greek and Gothic architecture at the time of their highest perfection represented the most earnest and truthful expression of one great leading idea, and that idea, religious. The Greek temple, as the most perfect work of men's hands, was the habitation of the god, in the most perfect of outward human forms, admirable in the proportions of beauty, excellent in the development of physical grace and strength. The Gothic cathedral, the most impressive, the most solemn of all the creations of man, was the house of a God of no human likeness, of inconceivable majesty and unknown power, to be worshipped in the spirit and as a spirit alone. Both accomplished the effect upon the imaginations of men that they were intended to produce, as no other architecture has ever done. Both forms of architecture declined in purity and grandeur as the convictions of those who used them were weakened. Both were succeeded by untruthful and unreal styles—borrowed relics representing no definite, earnest, existing faith. A monument in the perfection of Greek architecture can never be built again, because the faith which should inspire it and which it should embody has passed away: nor can the essential ornamentation and symbolism of the Gothic of the middle ages be revived, at least in this country, because the convictions from which they sprang are gone; although the style itself duly modified to suit an earnest national belief, may still be adapted to the noblest purposes of our religion. These are truths that, in these days of attempted revivals, have yet to be learnt.*

Whilst

* Whilst adhering to an opinion already expressed in previous articles as to these revivals, we are glad of this opportunity of mentioning the Gothic church at Highnam Court, near Gloucester, built and decorated by and under the direction of Mr.

Whilst in the West the decayed forms of Roman architecture were sending forth new and vigorous shoots, a similar process was going on in the far East. As in the 7th century the Lombard tribes laid the foundation of a style destined to spread over nearly the whole of Europe, so the conquering Arabs, moulding existing architectural features to the necessities and according to the spirit of their new faith, produced a style which was destined to prevail over the greater part of the Eastern world. Starting in some respects from the same point, for the Roman was the essential groundwork of both, the two styles were influenced in their development by two opposite ideas, which gave to each a character altogether distinct from the other, and ever kept them apart, although at times there may have been a tendency to draw near. One of the essential features of Lombard, and its descendant Gothic, architecture, was the general introduction of sculptured and painted figures. The Mohammedan rejected the representation of all living things, and especially of the human form. In the leading architectural forms of both there was frequently considerable resemblance, and at different periods one borrowed very largely from the other. Many well-known features of Gothic architecture may undoubtedly be traced to a Mohammedan source. Probably many in the later Saracenic had their origin in the Gothic. But the leading distinction is always preserved. Whilst Western architects were ever devising new combinations to suit sculptured or painted representations of the single human figure, or of Scriptural or other events, the Eastern architect was forced into the invention of an infinite variety of ornamental devices to make up for their absence. A remarkable resemblance may consequently be traced in the details, if not in the fundamental forms, of all monuments erected by nations which have accepted the faith of Islam: so that the general term 'Mohammedan' may be applied to the architecture of all Mussulman peoples, from the Pillars of Hercules to the banks of the Ganges; and would include, in its various subdivisions, the Saracenic, Arab, Moresque, Persian, &c.

There is one observable peculiarity pervading Mohammedan architecture—the necessity of its combination, to produce the full effect aimed at by the architect, with natural objects, such as trees,

Mr. Gambier Parry (the professional architect being Mr. Waterfield), as by far the best example with which we are acquainted of what may be done by a man of refined taste, of great accomplishments, and of earnest convictions, who himself carries out in every detail one intelligible and well-considered idea. We could wish that there were others like Mr. Parry, who would devote time and means to such objects: we might then hope for some real improvement in the arts.

shrubs,

shrubs, flowers, and water, artificially brought together, but not with the great features of nature which form what we call scenery. The Greeks chose for their finest monuments those sites which best suited their outline and proportions and displayed them to the best advantage. The temple they sought to raise on the summit of a hill or promontory—the holy dwelling-place of the god, to be seen from afar, its graceful outline resting upon the clear blue sky; the stadium they measured out in the valley at the foot of the gentle hill, upon whose slopes the people might gather together; the theatre swept round the sides of a bold declivity, looking down upon a broad expanse of azure sea or wooded plain. The Mohammedans created an artificial scenery of their own, fitted to their buildings and to their peculiar tastes. They planted around their mosques and tombs spreading trees and beds of the brightest flowers; they brought to them the clear streams, and broke their waters into numberless jets and falls. Much, therefore, of the effect of their architecture depends upon these accessories; and when time has swept them away, or they have been suffered to perish by the ruthless hand of man, the building itself, whether still erect or crumbling into dust, has lost nearly all its beauty and grace, and the most we can say of it is, that it is a picturesque ruin. With a Greek building this is not so. All its parts are so perfect in themselves, that, whilst united they produce the most complete harmony of design and the most agreeable impression upon our senses, when separate they equally command our admiration. This is the reason why there is always something truly beautiful and graceful in a Greek ruin, even apart from the scenery which surrounds it.

Although several valuable works have been published in illustration of the monuments of particular Mohammedan countries, Mr. Fergusson has been the first to treat the whole subject in a comprehensive way and to classify the various features which distinguish different localities. He has brought to bear upon the subject an intimate acquaintance with the most remarkable monuments of the Mohammedan world, and his sketch of Mohammedan architecture is not one of the least important and interesting portions of his work. As a study of the history of the development of the human intellect, and of the operation of religious and political institutions and of the character of nations upon art, the inquiry is of considerable value, especially when we remember the influence which Mohammedanism has exercised over a large portion of the human race. Materials are, however, yet required to enable us to complete the investigation.

The rude free tribes of Arabia have never had an architecture of their own. There is no record of any building in their native land

land of importance, either from its size or from its architectural features. Their simple habits and primitive religion were opposed to such displays. The holiest temple of the race at Mecca, held in the highest veneration many centuries before the coming of their prophet, was an insignificant building raised upon a very sacred site. When destroyed by fire in the sixth century of the Christian æra, a Greek and a Copt architect are said to have been employed to rebuild it—a sufficient proof that there was no national architecture. The tribes which, under the leadership of Mahomet and the first Caliphs, spread over Western Asia, were rude and uncivilized when compared with those with whom they were brought into contact, but at the same time they could boast of a very high intellectual organization, and were not without those peculiar virtues which freedom has ever bred. Their manners were so simple, and their religious doctrines and worship had so much of the same primitive character, that extensive and highly ornamented edifices for prayer and for the celebration of sacred ceremonies were not only not needed, but were repugnant to their feelings. But the refined and effeminate nations upon whom they forced their new faith were accustomed to a display and luxury which they could not at once abandon. The conquerors were well content to conciliate them by allowing them to retain their ancient places of worship. Thus each newly-subdued people preserved its own architecture for sacred as well as for domestic purposes. The only change that probably took place in the first instance was the destruction of all Christian images and symbols, which were repugnant to the Arab creed. In the place of sculpture an elaborate system of ornamentation was gradually introduced. Such being the early history of Mohammedan architecture, Mr. Fergusson suggests the following divisions according to the country in which general fundamental architectural forms, more or less distinct, prevailed, viz. the Syrian, the Egyptian, the Persian, the Indian, the Spanish, and the Constantinopolitan.

In Syria the mosque of El Aksa at Jerusalem, and the great mosque of Damascus, occupying the site of the church of St. John, are built upon the general plan of a Christian basilica. The pillars in these edifices, and probably in many instances their capitals, were taken from earlier Christian buildings. Of the ornamentation no drawings have been published. The Mohammedan architecture of Syria has been so little examined, that Mr. Fergusson is only able to quote these two examples. It is probable that the mosque above the Tombs of the Patriarchs at Hebron, into which, on account of its sanctity, no Christian has hitherto been allowed to enter, is of the same character, a basilica having
been

been built on the spot, according to Antoninus Martyr, before the Arab conquest. Sacred buildings, dating from an early period of the Mohammedan occupation, must indeed exist in nearly every place of importance in Syria, especially in Aleppo, Hamah, Homs, and the cities on the coast; and the subject is well worthy of investigation.

The Mussulman rulers of Egypt appear to have undertaken far more extensive works than the Syrian Arabs, and the greater encouragement of architecture may have led to more originality of design. The basilica was there also the model upon which the first mosques were built, and its court appears as one of the most ancient features of Mussulman architecture; but the general plan was soon so far modified, and so great a variety of details and ornamentation peculiar to the spirit of Mohammedanism was introduced, that a new style was gradually formed. The first step in a new direction seems to have been the removal of the façade, or end of the basilica, thus throwing as it were the interior, the narthex, and the court into one. The place of worship was thus converted into a deep colonnade, open entirely on one side to an ample court, and ending at the other in three niches, taking the places of the apses, but pointing towards Mecca to direct the faithful in their prayers. This inner colonnade was used for devotion, the court for the place of assembly and of ablution. These modifications were introduced to suit Mohammedan worship and the climate of Egypt, which required shade and the freest circulation of air. They gave rise to architectural combinations of great variety and beauty, as may be seen in the mosques of Cairo, especially in those of Amrou and of Ebn Touloun. In the midst of the open courts rose spreading trees and fountains of pure water, and around, deep arcades, offering a grateful retreat for sleep or study during the heat of noon. In the interior, costly carpets or spotless mats were spread upon the pavement, and innumerable lamps, mingled with the eggs of the ostrich, hung from the ceiling. A rich, fanciful, and varied style of decoration was gradually introduced. The domes and roof and vaulted spandrels and pendentives were fretted with projections, hanging down like the stalactites of a natural grotto. The windows were filled with lattice-work of the most elaborate tracery, carved in alabaster or cedar-wood. The walls were adorned with embossed ornaments in stucco in an infinite variety of flowing scrollwork, or in the most intricate geometrical devices, painted with the utmost harmony of colour. Bands of inscriptions, taken from the Koran or from the verses of a favourite poet, written in the Cufic character, which admitted the most graceful combinations, encircled the domes and were traced upon the interior and exterior

exterior of the building.* Thus was Mohammedan architecture stamped with a new and original character, marking a people of the liveliest imagination and of refined taste, revelling in the keenest enjoyment of life, and especially endowed with a power of elegant adaptation that has perhaps never been exceeded, yet cramped in the full development of their intellect by religious prejudices, which forbade the exercise of their skill and intelligence for the attainment of the highest and most dignified objects of art, by which architecture can alone be brought to true perfection—the study and representation of the human form, human events, and human passions and sentiments. Greek art appealed to the highest intellectual faculties of man, Gothic to his feelings and imagination. Mohammedan art appealed to his senses and his passions; Hindu art to his fears.

New features were gradually added to the Mohammedan architecture of Egypt. Over the place of prayer and generally over a sepulchral chamber a dome was raised,—the idea of canopying a tomb with a circular vault prevailing, it would seem, amongst all people. Lofty minarets rose from the angles of the court or were attached to the main building. Whence this graceful feature, which admits of an infinite variety of form and ornament, and is one of the distinguishing characteristics of Mohammedan architecture throughout the Eastern world, derived its origin, and when first used, are as yet matters of doubt. It was the most natural and elegant expression of a religious want. The rude Arab had called the faithful to prayer from the house-top. The bell as a symbol of Christianity was an abomination to the Moslem. As their skill in architecture increased, it was natural that they should build a tower rising high above the city from whence the solemn summons of the muezzin could be heard in the busy time of the day, and in the still hours of the night, by all believers. In some instances, as in the fine mosque of Sultan Hassan in Cairo, all the pillars and arcades were omitted and replaced by a deep and lofty vaulted recess or niche on each side of the court, that towards Mecca being the largest, and used for prayer—a form of architecture introduced, we suspect, from Persia, where it prevailed from a very early period. Still the general form such as we have described it, with the colonnade, dome, minarets, open court and arcades, was the prevailing sacred architecture of Egypt until Turkish rulers introduced the more fashionable modern style of Constantinople.

* The best description of the Mosques of Cairo will be found in Coste's '*Architecture Arabe, ou Monumens du Kaire*.'

In the Persian Empire the Arab conquerors found an architecture which excelled rather in the richness and costliness of its details than in the beauty and variety of its leading forms. From these details, all Mahomedan architecture appears to have derived much of its characteristic ornamentation. The edifices of Persia of this period were chiefly distinguished by a great vaulted hall, generally of the entire height of the building, and completely open at one end to the air, having thus the appearance of a vast porch. This central hall was flanked on both sides by many small rooms usually vaulted and arranged in two or more stories, either lighted from the hall, or opening into each other without windows. They were thus kept dark and cool during the heat of summer. Sometimes these rooms were surmounted by domes. In front of the edifice was a spacious court. Although this architecture cannot boast of any true dignity or any beauty of the highest order, or of the solid massiveness of other styles, yet it admits of many very elegant and pleasing combinations, and is admirably fitted to the exigencies of the climate and to the tastes and manners of the people. Rills of water are led through the halls, and breaking into tiny cascades or raised into sparkling jets cool the air and lull the senses by their gentle murmur. Trees, beds of roses, and other sweet-scented flowers and abundant fountains adorn the inner courts. The walls are covered with enamelled tiles or painted with tracery of many colours and exquisite design, and with verses from the poets in the interlacing letters of the Persian character. The ceilings are inlaid with countless small mirrors. Costly carpets, and embroidered hangings of the most exquisite texture and of the most harmonious yet brightest hues, form the only furniture. Plain brick-work, without a window or a cornice to break the monotony, usually faces the street, and a low doorway and a dark passage lead into the gardened court. Such are the palaces of Ispahan and the mansions of the nobles of Persia: within, a very paradise of luxury and taste; but outside, mean and unadorned.

The most important ancient monuments of this type still existing are the Palace of Al Hadr, a magnificent edifice of hewn stone, probably of the Arsacid period, still rising majestically in the solitude of the Mesopotamian desert, the remains of the palaces of the Selucid Kings at Serbistan and Firouzabad in Persia, and especially the vast ruin of Ctesiphon on the Tigris. In the latter the centre hall is 90 feet high, 115 long, and 72 broad. Mr. Fergusson calls it 'a vaulted entrance,' and a similar form was adopted at a later period for an entrance porch; but this noble apartment was more probably the great hall of audience.

The holes and metal hooks for suspending lamps and tapestry were still to be seen a few years ago. The sides of the hall are without architectural ornament. The exterior shows a barbarous mixture of Western and Eastern forms; windows, arches, pilasters, and cornices, being piled one above the other without apparent motive or due symmetry.

This style of architecture was adopted by the Mohammedan conquerors of Persia, and was subsequently introduced into India, and modified according to their own national character, by the Moslem dynasties of the Toorks, the Pathans, and the Moguls. By the Mohammedans it was first applied to religious purposes on a worthy scale; no instance of a temple in the style existing, as far as we are aware, within the limits of the ancient Persian empire where the Zoroastrian religion prevailed—for this faith was opposed to the worship of God in temples made by men's hands. Developed by a race of great constructive skill and admirable taste, it produced monuments of singular magnificence, and, in some instances, of imposing grandeur—almost always of picturesque beauty—especially when the cupola was added to it.

The monuments of this class in Persia have not been examined with the care they deserve, and are better known to us through a few picturesque sketches than through accurate plans, and elevations, and careful drawings of the details.* The mosque built by Shah Abbas the Great at Ispahan, with its surrounding buildings, its medresseh or college, its isolated porticoes, and its arcades, occupying, as Mr. Fergusson informs us, more than twice the area of the first Crystal Palace, and nearly four times that of the square of St. Marc at Venice; adorned with the richest polychromatic decoration,—domes, minarets, and façades being spread with the most exquisite tracery in enamelled tiles; ‘presents when taken together, the whole being the work of one king and on one design, a scene of gorgeous, though it may be of somewhat barbarous splendour, almost unequalled in the whole world.’ Even in their wreck, their halls deserted, their gardens waste, their fountains dry, it is difficult to imagine any architectural creation appealing more vividly to the sensuous instincts of man, than the great group of mosques, palaces, porticoes, and avenues of the Safavean Kings at Ispahan.

The love of exterior polychromatic decoration is one of the principal features of Persian religious architecture. Those who live in a northern climate, and are taught to reject as tawdry and barbarous every attempt to adorn the outside of a building

* The only works which pretend to give careful drawings of some of these buildings are those by Texier, and by Flandin and Coste, and they are far from accurate, especially that by Texier.

with colour, can scarcely picture to themselves the effect of such ornamentation when seen against an Eastern sky, and amidst the rich and varied foliage of Eastern gardens. The enamelled dome, rising above the walls of Baghdad or Ispahan, and the gilded cupolas over the tombs of the descendants of Ali at Kerbela and Kausimain, glittering from afar in the sunlight above the forest of dark palm trees, produce a charm upon the senses not unworthy of even the chaste simplicity of classic art.

It is remarkable that the dome was first employed in Persia and in India, as in Egypt, for tombs—thus offering a curious analogy with the sepulchral architecture of the Etruscans, Romans, and early Christians, and suggesting the inference, hinted at by Mr. Fergusson, that its use for such purposes was traditional first amongst cognate races and afterwards throughout the old world. Domed tombs with circular, square, or octagonal bases, abound throughout the East wherever the Tartar or Mongolian races have penetrated. In northern India they are scattered over the face of the land in endless variety, forming the most picturesque and interesting objects in nearly every landscape. They may be traced in an unbroken series from the massive sepulchre of the earliest Mohammedan conquerors to the airy and graceful mausoleum of the Moguls; from the solemn ruins of Old Delhi to the noble tomb of Mahomet at Beejapore and the gay Taj Mahal at Agra.

‘The usual process for the erection of these structures,’ Mr. Fergusson observes, ‘is for the king or noble who intends to provide himself a tomb to inclose a garden outside the city walls, generally with high crenellated walls and with one or more splendid gateways, and in the centre of this he erects a square or octagonal building, crowned by a dome. This building is generally situated on a lofty square terrace, from which radiate four broad alleys, generally with marble-paved courts ornamented with fountains: the angular spaces are planted with cypresses and other evergreen and fruit-trees, making up one of those formal, though beautiful, gardens so characteristic of the East. During the lifetime of the founder the central building is called a *Barrah* Durrie, or festal hall, and is so used as a place of recreation and feasting by him and his friends. At his death its destination is changed; the founder’s remains are interred beneath the central dome. Sometimes his favourite wife lies beside him, but more generally his family and relatives are buried beneath the collateral domes. When once used as a place of burial its vaults never again resound with festive mirth. . . . Perfect silence now takes the place of festivity and mirth. The beauty of the surrounding objects combines with the repose of the place to produce an effect as graceful as it is solemn and appropriate.’—p. 432.

This solemn scene is only disturbed by the revelry of an Anglo-Indian picnic and the explosion of champagne.

and pale ale—for it is to such purposes that these fine old tombs are now, for the most part devoted by a highly civilised race.

In these edifices the Persian system of decoration was adopted. In some instances, as in the Taj Mahal and in the palaces of Delhi, Italian artists were employed; but they wisely conformed to the tastes of those for whom they worked, and, whilst sparingly introducing Western devices, preserved the general character of Eastern ornamentation. The walls were inlaid with agates, jaspers, coloured marbles, and other rare and precious materials, trellis work of the most exquisite tracery carved with unrivalled skill in alabaster filled the windows and surrounded the sacred precincts of the tomb itself, bronze gates of the most delicate and tasteful chasing closed its approach, and the domes and outer walls were covered with enamelled tiles of the most gorgeous colours. The whole stood in the midst of delightful gardens, watered by fountains and running streams. Such was the celebrated Taj Mahal raised by Shah Jehan over the remains of his favourite wife, the tomb at Aurungabad, built by Aurungzebe, and those of the kings of Golconda near Hyderabad in the Deccan. The magnificent mausoleum of Akbar at Secundra, near Agra, is exceptional, being without a dome, but is equally rich in decoration and in material. Most of these monuments are rapidly falling to ruins, one or two only of the most important having of late years been kept in repair by the Indian Government. Mr. Fergusson continually and justly complains of the neglect and wanton destruction to which they have been exposed, and describes how he himself had seen edifices of singular beauty and interest pulled down by some ignorant engineer for materials to construct a road or to build an English edifice of hideous proportions. Under our rule there is no wish to preserve such memorials of the glories of the ancient dynasties of India. Tombs of great kings, statesmen, and lawgivers have been converted into private bungalows or places of meeting for convivial clubs, lodgings are let in the desecrated halls of the Taj Mahal, the tomb of Akbar was converted into a printing-office, and soldiers are now quartered in the marble palaces of the Great Mogul.*

Mr. Fergusson's chapter on the Mohammedan architecture of India is one of the most interesting in his Handbook. He has

* When the English troops occupied Delhi after its capture, they were quartered in the palaces; and as no precaution was taken to preserve these interesting monuments, the soldiers soon destroyed them, out of mere wanton mischief. Any officer of taste might have preserved the celebrated Throne, and the exquisite mosaic of the walls, by placing a few yards of matting over them.

been

been the first to trace its history with satisfactory clearness. He has shown how, in the earliest examples, the Hindu element is still retained, Hindu forms and Hindu decoration being associated with those brought by the Mussulman invaders from the West, forming a singular and eminently picturesque intermixture nowhere better illustrated than in the fine fort of Agra. He traces the gradual extinction of this element until the pure Mohammedan architecture achieved its greatest triumphs in the magnificent edifices of Futtehpore Sicri, in the Jumma Musjid of Delhi, and in the exquisite Pearl Mosque at Agra. Of all the Mussulman edifices in Hindostan the most perfect as the type of the style is, perhaps, the great Mosque of Delhi. Raised upon a lofty terrace of red-sandstone of the deepest red, built of the same rich material mingled with white marble, its domes, minarets, cupolas, and detached porticoes tower proudly above the city. Such buildings as these may lack the chaste simplicity which distinguishes the classic architecture of Greece, but for adaptation to the wants and creed of those by whom they were raised, and to the climate; for the skilful and consistent carrying out of one grand and intelligible idea; and for variety of outline and play of light and shade, producing endless beautiful effects, they are excelled by few edifices in the world. At any rate, with the grand old forts of the Pathans, and the magnificent tanks of the native dynasties, they offer a striking and humiliating contrast to the puny structures of bastard lath-and-plaster classic and Gothic, which mark the British rule in India.

In Spain the Arab conquerors first adopted the Roman architecture prevailing in the country, but soon introduced forms familiar to them in the earlier seats of Islam. Thus the great Mosque at Cordoba, built about the end of the 8th century, was at first an eleven-aisled basilica, resembling the Mosque of Al Aksa at Jerusalem, but subsequently lost its original character by additions and modifications in a purer Mohammedan style. Other mosques preserved more closely the form of the Christian basilica, as for instance that converted into the Church of Sta. Maria de Blanca at Toledo. The Moorish architecture of Spain, however, gradually lost the traces of its Romanesque origin. Form was soon sacrificed to decoration, stone and marble gave way to more perishable and less costly materials. The Mussulman taste for ornamentation was displayed in an infinite variety of elaborate and elegant stucco mouldings painted in every colour, in stalactitic ceilings, rare woods, and gilded columns. Of the great Palace of Zahra, celebrated in Moorish story, with its 4300 columns of precious marbles, its painted walls, its roofs of cedar and its gold and azure

azure ceilings, not even a trace now remains. The more humble Alhambra, built of less costly and more perishable materials, with its gardened courts and pleasant fountains, has been more fortunate, and has remained to us as the type of Moorish architecture. It shows the same sensuous enjoyment of life, the same luxurious delight in flowers and running waters, that distinguish Mohammedan architecture in all parts of the world. But the Moslems of Spain seem to have almost foreseen the shortness of their tenure and the remorseless persecution which would destroy the very traces of their hated race and creed. They left no such monuments as the mosques of Egypt, or the massive edifices of the Pathans of India. It is remarkable, too, that, unlike other Mohammedan nations, they raised no time-defying tombs over their illustrious dead. The entire absence of monuments of this nature induces Mr. Fergusson to conjecture that there was no mixture of Tatar blood in their veins. Whether this be so or not, it does seem probable that this absence of sepulchral edifices deprived them of one of the most attractive features of Mohammedan architecture—the dome.

It only remains for us to notice the Mohammedan architecture of Turkey. The Tatar tribes at first adopted the architecture which they found prevailing amongst the Mussulman inhabitants of the countries they conquered. Of this class are many very beautiful and picturesque remains in Asia Minor and Armenia. The Osmanli, however, abandoned this style altogether after the conquest of Constantinople and their appropriation of the great temple of the Greek faith. From that time they built their mosques upon the plan of St. Sophia's. Its vast uninterrupted space within and the general simplicity of its arrangements eminently fitted it for the forms of Mohammedan worship. The Turks made few other changes than removing the altar, covering with whitewash such figures in mosaic as were forbidden by their religious laws, and adding the four minarets. In constructing new buildings upon the same model, they have aimed at even greater simplicity, the taste for elaborate polychromatic decoration, which distinguishes other Mohammedan nations, not having extended to them. Yet they have raised some truly noble monuments, such as the mosques of Soliman the Magnificent, of Sultan Achmet, and of Bajazet, at Constantinople; and in the provinces, where they introduced the same style, the great mosques at Adrianople, Monastir, and Brousa. It is still the prevailing and fashionable style in all parts of the Turkish dominions; the late Viceroy of Egypt, Mohammed Ali Pasha, employing it in the mosque which he built at Cairo. It has been gradually corrupted by the introduction of barbarous European

European classic forms, which are accepted by the reforming Turks as outward and visible signs of advanced civilization. Even their domestic architecture—which until recently retained some of the picturesque and elegant features of Eastern art and the undoubted merit of being suited to the wants and tastes of the people and to the nature of the climate—was finally corrupted when our Board of Works despatched an English architect to Constantinople to erect a palace for the British Ambassador. That pretentious and most unsuitable edifice, which has cost about 100,000*l.* of public money, and is not altogether destitute of the likeness discovered in it, by a recent writer on Turkey, to his grandmother's tea-caddy, has now—we trust we may say so without provoking any national jealousies in our faithful ally—become the model of the new architecture of the civilised Osmanlis.

If not the most important, certainly the most original, portion of Mr. Fergusson's work are his chapters upon Buddhist and Hindu architecture. He has been the first to classify the native monuments of India, and to reduce their various styles to a rational system, which additional discoveries and research will hereafter render more complete. Before the publication of his two beautifully illustrated works on the rock-cut temples of India, and the ancient architecture of Hindostan, we had only the picturesque illustrations by Daniell and the notices scattered here and there in the voluminous transactions of learned societies, not easily accessible to the general reader. To most persons the rock-cut temples of Ajunta and Elephanta are still mysterious monuments of fabulous antiquity and unknown origin. Even Hope thought it necessary to rebut the belief that the grottos of the Thebais were the children of the excavations at Ellora, and the pyramids of Egypt the offspring of the pagodas of India. A more extensive acquaintance with the literature and history of the Hindus, a more critical examination of the monuments themselves, and the many discoveries made of late years, have at length set such questions as these at complete rest, and have enabled us to fix with some certainty the origin or approximate date of nearly every Indian monument. A general and scientific classification and an accurate description of all the remains scattered over the peninsula, many as yet almost or entirely unknown, are, however, still required. The rock-cut monuments of Ajunta alone have been systematically drawn by a competent artist, Major Gill, who has been for some years employed in the work by the Indian Government. But his attention has been chiefly directed to the very interesting mural paintings representing the domestic and religious life of the Buddhists, whilst the architecture

ture and the architectural decorations of equal importance have been, to a great extent, neglected.

Mr. Fergusson has shown that there are no monumental traces whatever of the earliest known inhabitants of India, the Tamul race, which still occupies the southern part of the peninsula, and forms the substratum throughout of the various existing populations. They were either not a building people, or the materials they used were of so perishable a nature that there are no remains of their architecture. Nor were the tribes of the so-called Indo-Germanic stock, which descended into the Indian plains from the West at a very remote age, originally a building race. The architectural history of India only commences when Buddhism finally triumphed over the old Brahminical faith and became the state religion. This took place in the reign of Asoca, the grandson of Chandragupta, the Sandrocottus of the Greeks, or about 250 B.C. 'Not one building nor one sculptured stone has yet been found in the length and breadth of the land which can be proved to date before his accession,—an important fact, because at this time the Græco-Bactrian kingdom was still flourishing, and, as we know from coins and other remains, some forms of Greek art, however corrupt, were still preserved and their influence felt in Central Asia to the borders of Hindostan.' How far was Indian art, especially architecture, affected by this Greek spirit? The materials are still wanting, and perhaps may never be obtained, to furnish a satisfactory answer; but there is sufficient evidence to prove that that influence had penetrated into India. The oldest monuments hitherto discovered are the *Lâts*, or monolithic pillars, set up, according to the inscriptions upon them, by Asoca himself. One of the best known is that now standing in the fort of Allahabad. Its capital is wanting; but on the shaft is an ornamental band, so entirely identical with the Greek form of the Assyrian honeysuckle ornament, that its origin cannot for one moment be doubted. A *Lât* on the Gunduk still preserves its capital, which is purely Persepolitan; thus showing a double artistic influence from Greece and Persia, such as might have been anticipated from geographical considerations.

Many of the circular domical *Topes* raised over Buddhist relics may be assigned to the same period as the *Lâts*. None are of earlier date; most of them are much more recent. They are generally without any well-defined architectural forms and ornaments. Some between the Indus and the Jelum have been found to contain Greek and even Roman coins, and one to the west of the Indus, near Peshawur, is distinguished by barbarous Corinthian pilasters. All these facts point to a connexion between
the

the West and the East, which must have influenced the arts of the countries beyond the Indus.

From these comparatively insignificant remains we pass at once to the great rock-cut monuments, which have excited the wonder and admiration of every traveller in India. It is remarkable that no built temples exist of the same early period, whilst excavations abound throughout the peninsula. Since the establishment of the 'cave commission,' and now that a small reward has been offered for their discovery, fresh examples are being constantly brought to light. Mr. Fergusson states that not less than one thousand have already been found. Recent researches have probably increased the number very considerably. Of these, only about one hundred are believed to be Brahminical, and a few Jaina, the rest are Buddhist. They are generally in groups, sometimes nearly one hundred distinct excavations being found together. The most ancient are supposed to be those in Behar dating from the reign of Dasaratha, the grandson of Asoca, or about two centuries before the Christian era. The latest belong to about the period of the Mohammedan conquest, and perhaps even to the twelfth century. The series is almost continuous, and, as Mr. Fergusson remarks, 'if properly examined and drawn would furnish us with a complete religious and artistic history of India during fourteen centuries, the darkest and most perplexing of her history.' So important to the knowledge of the history of man is the study of architecture!

The most interesting and important groups of these caves are at Karli, between Bombay and Poonah; at Kannari, near Bombay; at Ajunta and Ellora, in the Dekkan; at Bagh, in the valley of the Nerbudda; and in the Island of Elephanta. They consist of temples, vast halls serving as places of assembly, monasteries for the residence of many priests together, and small detached dwellings. To these excavations temples for Brahminical idols and for Jaina worship were subsequently added, after the extinction of Buddhism; so that frequently in the same group are found caves of very different periods, extending over many centuries, the earliest being the Buddhist, the next the Brahminical, the latest the Jaina. It would be difficult to imagine any scene more picturesque, yet more savage and more desolate, than that offered by these remains of an ancient Hindu civilization. At Ajunta, Kannari, and Karli the caves are for the most part in deep, rocky ravines, from whose sides hang the spreading boughs of the sacred tree of the Hindus, and whose bottoms are filled with the densest jungle, the resort of tigers, leopards, and other beasts of prey. The entrances are concealed by enormous masses of fallen rock, and by tangled brushwood,

brushwood, which almost exclude the light. In the holy Island of Elephanta the solemn temples are surrounded by more gentle scenery. From their entrances the eye wanders over the blue waters of the bay, fringed by the richest tropical vegetation, the spreading palm, the plantain, and the cocoa-nut tree. The precipitous cliffs of Ellora overhang vast fertile plains, once speckled with thriving villages. Secluded spots appear to have been chosen for retirement and study, and few or no traces of buildings are to be found near these mysterious caves. Their sole tenant is now some crazy fanatic, who, in wasted nakedness with matted hair and hideous deformity of limbs, passes his days in motionless prayer, or daubs with the sacred red the images of the forgotten gods. The silence is only disturbed by an adventurous traveller, or by the wild animals that seek shelter in their dark recesses.

In an architectural point of view, the most remarkable of these excavations are a class of Buddhist temples, singularly like Christian basilicas. They have a centre nave, very narrow side aisles, and a semicircular apse, in which stands a domical shrine, containing the sacred relics. The ceiling is vaulted in the form of a wooden ribbed roof. Light is admitted through and above the entrance facing the nave, and, streaming through the centre, is concentrated upon the shrine and idol. The side aisles being left in almost complete darkness have an appearance of depth and vastness by no means corresponding with their real size. Altogether the effect of these excavated basilicas is singularly solemn and mysterious. Their resemblance to a Christian church is a remarkable coincidence when taken in connexion with the analogy existing between many doctrines and forms of Buddhism and Roman Catholicism which has excited so much curiosity and surprise. The painted figures of Buddha and of saints, with glories round their heads, which cover the walls and columns of many of these temples, as at Ajunta, render the deception complete. The traveller might fancy himself in an Italian church of the thirteenth century.

The Buddhist viharas or monasteries consist of a large hall, generally square, the roof of which is supported by four ranges of columns corresponding with the four sides, and forming a passage round the chamber—a mode of construction still adopted in modern Indian houses, and capable of many picturesque and pleasing effects. Opposite the entrance is a sanctuary, containing the seated figure of the contemplative Buddh, and in the walls around the hall are excavated small cells for the priests or students, containing a couch carved out of the rock. On the outside of the cave a colonnade or veranda, sometimes of great length

length (one at Bagh being 220 feet long), forms a façade. Other large halls have no cells, but are surrounded by benches. They appear to have been places of meeting for religious teaching. The rocks around these principal excavations are generally honeycombed with small caves for solitary retirement.

The Brahminical excavations are chiefly distinguished by the greater variety of their sculptures representing the gods of the Hindu Pantheon and their deeds. The celebrated Kylas at Ellora, a complete temple, cut not *in* but *out* of the mountain side, is covered within and without with the most minute and elaborate decoration, including an endless variety of human and animal forms. There is scarcely a square foot of this extraordinary monument, and of the walls and columns of the excavations in the rock surrounding it, which is left without sculpture representing the figure or history of some deity.

The æsthetic law, which calls for the union of painted decoration with all original architecture, was as much observed in India as in the temples of Greece and the churches of mediæval Italy. The walls of the Hindu caves, and indeed every part of them, were either elaborately sculptured, and then coloured, or were simply painted; in both instances a fine white stucco having been laid over the whole surface. In some of the caves, as at Ajunta, are represented scenes from Hindu life of much variety and interest;* in others episodes from the histories of the gods. The drawing of the figures, especially of the animals, is frequently very spirited and even true to nature, and far superior to the contemporary art of Europe. Some of the heads of the colossal figures at Ajunta resemble, in the simplicity and feeling of their outlines, the frescoes of the Italian painters of the fourteenth century. The colour is, however, generally conventional, cold, and monotonous. The architectural ornaments are often very elegant, especially the flowing tracery and geometrical patterns of the ceilings, which have in many instances a classic character.

The apparently sudden introduction into India of an elaborate system of architecture and architectural decoration undoubtedly points to a foreign influence upon Indian art. Most travellers who have examined the excavated caves have been struck by the remarkable development of art they display, and have not hesitated to refer their execution to Greek or Bactrian artists, or to native workmen acting under their directions. Dr. Wilson, of Bombay, a learned Sanscrit scholar, and himself one of the most able and

* Facsimiles of some of these wall paintings, made by Major Gill for the East India Company, are now exhibited in the Indian Court of the Crystal Palace at Sydenham.

energetic explorers of the ancient monuments of India, even believes that he has discovered the name of a Greek or Bactrian artist on the pillar facing the great temple at Karli. According to his interpretation, the inscription records that 'the lion-bearing pillar was the gift of the Greek Theonikos,' and he concludes that this foreigner was the architect of the whole work.* The capital of this column is undoubtedly Persepolitan in character. It is highly probable that most of the architectural features of India are to be attributed to the influence which the Bactrian kingdom must have exercised over the neighbouring states of Asia, especially after the spread of Buddhism to the west of the Indus, and Mr. Fergusson believes that we may trace in the monuments of Cashmere of the eighth century the traditional repetition of classic forms which marks the passage of Western architecture across the highlands of central Asia into northern India. Not that we should attribute the mere custom of excavating caves to any such foreign influence. It is a practice which appears to have prevailed amongst many nations in an early stage of civilisation, and is probably to be traced rather to identity of geographical position than to any identity of origin. In the simplest form of caves we may trace a gradual progress from a rude excavation to the elaborately decorated Vihara; but the basilicas, such as those at Karli and Ajunta, are evidently imitations of some structural building either existing in India or known to a foreign artist. Had the style been elaborated on the spot, traces would have existed of earlier and less perfect examples. But the arched ribbed roof, and the nave and aisles, with the columns at no great distance one from the other, were unnecessary in an excavation: they are unquestionably imitations of a built edifice; and the peculiar arrangement of the pillars, the apse, with the shrine beneath, and other details agreeing so completely with the interior of a classic building, and differing so essentially from all other native forms of architecture, lead naturally to the conclusion that these basilica-shaped temples were the work or from the design of foreign artists. If the Hindu column, such as we find it in the caves, was copied from the Greek or from any other Western source, it has lost its original character, except in the capitals at Karli and elsewhere,

* Second Memoir on the Cave-temples and Monasteries, and other ancient Buddhist, Brahminical, and Jaina remains of Western India.—*Journal of Bombay Asiatic Society* for January, 1853. Of certain caves at Ellora, Dr. Wilson observes, 'that he considers them a product of Brahmanism, not, however, without the manifest imitation, in some respects, of Buddhism, or of auxiliary Grecian Art.'—(p. 18.) Of the paintings in some newly discovered caves in Central India, Captain Rose observes, 'the Greeks or Italians (!) must have helped those who executed them.'—(p. 21.)

which

which bear some resemblance to the Persepolitan style. The proportions and general form are altogether different from those of any pillar of classic form: square or polygonal shafts, or a mixture of both, are almost invariably preferred to circular pillars, and the capital is frequently converted into projecting brackets, to increase the appearance of support. This termination to the column is still a characteristic of modern Hindu architecture.*

In their elaborately ornamented temples and in their palaces the Hindus still cling with Eastern pertinacity to most of the forms and ornaments used by their ancestors. But these will gradually give way before the inevitable progress of modern civilization, and must ultimately yield to the dull monotony of English Classic and English Gothic, in which our Anglo-Indian churches, clubs, and public offices are built. Thus another chapter will be torn away from the history of the human intellect. We shall deprive a nation of an architecture which may be wanting in the highest and noblest elements of beauty, but which in picturesque variety, in adaptation to the wants of the people and to the climate, and in originality of conception, is far in advance of that which will succeed it.†

We have no space left us to examine Mr. Fergusson's views on the present condition of architecture. We cordially lament with him that bad taste and that ignorance of the true principles of art which are still leading us into wrong systems, and threaten to prevent the development amongst us of a truly great and national style. For some years past opportunities of raising fine monuments, such as few nations have enjoyed, have been utterly lost. Our national architecture is still under the control of Parliament and at the mercy of the official æsthetics of the Prime Minister, or the presumptuous ignorance of Mr. Conyngham. The struggle between Classic and Gothic is as rife as ever, as if we had no other choice left us; and instead of endeavouring to develop and elaborate a style which shall represent our wants and our true

* This conversion of the capital of a column into brackets is also seen in Spanish architecture of a much later period, as in the Casa Miranda at Burgos. (See Waring and Macquoid, 'Examples of Architectural Art in Italy and Spain,' pl. 53.)

† Already so-called schools of design have been established in the capitals of the Presidencies, and our miserable Classic and Gothic are taught to the natives on the same false system that prevails at home. The native art of India, and all considerations as to the possibility of its development, are of course treated with contempt. The wants and feelings of a people, and the necessities of the climate, are not thought worthy of notice. This threatened imposition on a great part of the world, by a civilized race, of a poor, meaningless, corrupt art, in place of all native and original art—for, from Australia to California and New York, the same art now prevails—is one of the most painful phenomena that a man of taste and feeling can contemplate.

character as a nation, we are still endeavouring to revive those which have long ago passed away, and are no longer suited to the spirit of our times. Whilst this state of ignorance and this false appreciation of the ends of art prevail, we see no prospect, we confess, of any advance in the right direction, or of the realization of Mr. Fergusson's hope that we may have a national architecture worthy of the country.

In conclusion, we again recommend to the student as well as to the general reader Mr. Fergusson's original, instructive, and most suggestive work. No book with which we are acquainted, and we speak from some experience, will prove a more agreeable companion to the observing traveller. Its necessary incompleteness renders it in some respects the more interesting, as it opens a constant source of inquiry, and induces every one to seek by his own observations to add some link to the history there sketched out. Any one who will measure and describe with accuracy, even if he be no draughtsman, may be able to furnish some of those contributions towards the future completeness of the work for which its profound author has so earnestly asked. We trust that, encouraged by his success, Mr. Fergusson will in future editions avail himself of all recent discoveries, and by adding a sketch of the Renaissance and the various attempts to revive the Classic and Mediæval styles, will render his Handbook a standard authority on the whole subject of the history of architecture.*

- ART. II.—1. *Further Papers relating to the Affairs of New Zealand, presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty, April 18, 1854.*
2. *Copies of a Recent Correspondence between Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Acting Governor of New Zealand, on the subject of Responsible Government. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, March 30, 1855.*
3. *Statistics of New Zealand for 1853, 1854, 1855, and 1856, compiled from Official Records. Presented to both Houses of the General Assembly by command of His Excellency, April 30, 1858.*
4. *Reports on Native Schools. Presented to the House by command of His Excellency, June 16, 1858.*

* It was beside the subject to allude in this article to Mr. Fergusson's treatise on Fortification, and to the inquiries he has provoked respecting the defences of the country; but we rejoice to find that the Government has paid a just tribute to the talents of its distinguished author, and has recognised the services he has already rendered to the public, by placing him on the Commission for examining our National Defences.

5. *Poems, Traditions, and Chaunts of the Maories.* By Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Wellington, 1853.
6. *New Zealand, the Britain of the South.* By Charles Hursthouse. London, 1857.
7. *New Zealand and its Colonization.* By William Swainson, formerly, and for upwards of fifteen years, Her Majesty's Attorney-General for New Zealand. And a Map. London, 1859.

SCARCELY a quarter of a century has elapsed since our remote dependency in the South Pacific was regarded as a country in the lowest and most debased condition, and was peopled only by savages revelling in cannibal feasts. The interchange of commodities between the inhabitants and their casual visitors consisted chiefly of implements of war, flax, and of native heads, preserved after a peculiar fashion, and for which a demand had been created by some of the museums of Europe. Slave girls found ready purchasers in the skippers of Sydney whalers, and train oil was one of the choicest luxuries of the people.

Of all the people constituting the great Polynesian family the inhabitants of New Zealand have excited the greatest amount of attention. They have exhibited the vices and virtues of the savage state with peculiar force and distinctness. The masculine tone of their character, and their remarkable intelligence, created from the first a strong sentiment in their favour; but as soon as misunderstandings arose, and they met contumely by defiance, and returned blow for blow, Englishmen were startled at finding themselves in contact with a race possessed of courage in no degree inferior to their own, and animated by a ferocity in war such as they had rarely encountered. Endowed with some of the highest attributes of humanity, the natives were even prepared to question the superiority of their visitors, and were not in the least daunted by the power with which civilization had armed them. This strength of character in a people believed to have migrated from one of the islands of the Pacific, in which a totally different type of man prevails, is remarkable. As first known to us, the New Zealanders were destitute of almost all the accommodations of life. They 'owed the worm no silk, the beast no hide, the sheep no wool.' They knew not the use of metals, and were ignorant of the art of writing. Unlike other savages, however, they despised baubles. Beads and trinkets possessed with them very little exchangeable value. Iron was a passion. A striking proof of the manner in which they felt the deficiencies of their natural state was shown by some chiefs who visited

visited England soon after we became acquainted with the islands. Like savages in general, they expressed no surprise, and displayed no excitement, at the general aspect of the metropolis, but maintained a dignified reserve. Jewellers' shops, and all the glittering display of our principal streets, they passed by with indifference or contempt. A clothing establishment, however, always arrested their attention, and the first ironmonger's shop threw them completely off their guard. They danced, gesticulated, and shouted in their wonder and delight. It is related that an old chief followed a missionary in New Zealand for weeks, intent upon the acquisition of an axe. Having exhausted his stock of tempting equivalents, he lastly offered *his head*, which was handsomely tattooed. When interrogated as to the use such an implement could be to him after the loss of his head, he replied that he was an old man and would shortly die, and that then his head should be properly cured and sent to the missionary. Such peculiarities of character in a savage race display those passions and aspirations which are the groundwork of ultimate civilization.

The Maories, or native inhabitants of New Zealand, are not a conquered race. The humanity and justice which have, as a rule, characterised our dealings with this spirited and noble people are creditable to us as a nation. We did not, like the discoverers of America and the West Indies, first admire and extol, then misrepresent, and afterwards debase and enslave, the aborigines with whom we were brought into relation. England, from the first, recognised her mission as a great Christian power to protect and raise the savage races brought under her dominion. Civilization, the precepts of Christianity, and material progress, are rapidly destroying the habits transmitted from their rude ancestors; and many years will not elapse before they will look back with astonishment at the barbarism from which they have so recently emerged.

When Captain Cook first visited the islands of New Zealand he estimated the population at 300,000, but the number was doubtless greatly exaggerated. The country was politically divided into a number of small independent communities, depending upon a very superficial agriculture and fishing for their subsistence. With plains of great extent and fertility they had neither flocks nor herds. No quadruped larger than a lizard existed in the country, and their food consisted of the fern-root, the sweet potato, fish, birds, and man. Their clothing was scanty, but not ill adapted to their wet but mild climate. The native hemp was wrought into a textile fabric, and supplied raiment for their persons and cordage for their boats. Their houses were
constructed

constructed with some regularity and decorated with considerable taste. Their religion was a childish superstition having its source merely in the imagination. Of the being and attributes of the Deity they had no conception whatever, and they possessed only very dim notions of a future state. Their ideas of supernatural power were all of a malignant cast. When a missionary in one of his first conferences with the natives was endeavouring to impress upon a chief a persuasion of the infinite goodness of God, the man laughed in his face, and inquired whether his instructor was joking. But as their understandings were gradually enlightened, they received with eagerness the idea of a personal Deity whose attributes were so entirely opposed to their traditional belief. They 'felt their hearts new opened,' and they were subdued to the docility of children. To be individually the objects of interest and affection to the great Creator of the universe was a conception which, as at first realized, overwhelmed them with emotion, and the amazing truth was conveyed from tribe to tribe and communicated from heart to heart. Their numerous and singular superstitions have been repeatedly brought before the world by curious inquirers, but most of them have vanished as the light of Christianity has shone more and more upon the land. Yet some of their ancient legends are strikingly imaginative and poetical, and their mythology is not without some trace of a Mosaic origin. Their mode of numbering the people is like that of the Israelites of old; the women and children not being reckoned, but only the fighting men. The first man, they believed, was made by three gods, and the first woman was made from his rib; and they have a tradition that mankind had but one pair of primitive ancestors. Upon the birth of a child, it immediately underwent the ceremony of being sprinkled with water on the face by a priest. According to the ancient belief, darkness for a length of time prevailed, and the heaven and the earth were united together in close contact. They believed, too, that for a time death had no power over man; and that if a certain goddess had not been deceived by a demi-god, men would not have died, but have lived for ever. By that deceit, however, death obtained power over mankind and extended to every portion of the earth. They had clearly no true knowledge of the Supreme Being, but the early religion of the New Zealander, not having its source in the intellect, was free from those abstract principles and metaphysical conceptions which give such strength and tenacity to the old Asiatic faiths, and was consequently a superstition which, once assailed, was soon discarded as irreconcilable with daily experience and repugnant to reason and common sense.

In natural strength of intellect the natives of New Zealand are inferior to no European race whatever. To appeal to the reason of a New Zealander has always been an effectual mode of influencing him. He can judge very correctly of the validity of an argument, and readily yields a preconceived opinion to the force of an irresistible syllogism. This fairness and candour of disposition has been of equal value to the Government, the missionary, and the colonist. Once obtain his assent to a proposition that it is *tika* or straight, and he is satisfied; and having once openly given his deliberate opinion, he will seldom retract it. Being as great a lover of liberty as is to be found in the world, force, unless it be overpowering and irresistible—above all a threat—is the worst possible agency to which he can be subjected. To condense the experience of life into a terse and sparkling apophthegm is a proof of no small intellectual power; and many of the proverbs of the New Zealanders evince not only a great degree of shrewdness, but are pungent with satire and wit. These sayings exercise much influence over their practical life. Some years ago it was customary for Roman Catholic priests and the clergy and catechists of the Church Missionary Society to hold controversial discussions in public before large bodies of the natives, in order that the latter might have an opportunity of judging for themselves which opinions were the most reasonable. On one of these occasions, when the controversy had been angrily and hotly maintained on both sides, a Protestant missionary, who was a better linguist than his opponent, so pleased the audience by the use of a *whnkatauki*, or proverb, that they unanimously and at once decided in favour of his arguments. In the protracted discussions that occur in the assemblies of the tribes, a proverb happily introduced produces the same effect that a cleaving argument or a telling hit does in a more civilised political assembly, being received with ‘loud cheers’ and other strong marks of approbation.

If the reasoning powers of a New Zealander are considerable, he has been equally gifted with imagination, and possesses no small amount of poetical sensibility. The figures with which their poetry abounds are all drawn from natural objects, and their manner of speech in its most prosaic form is distinguished by a lofty tone. The rain, the hoar frost, the sea, the sun, the storm, and the earthquake, are among the most frequent of their illustrations. They have national songs on almost every subject:—on war; on the seasons; on occupations; for festivals; for funerals; odes; incantations; and ancient lays, in which their most cherished traditions are recorded and preserved. No one would be considered an eloquent orator if he could not make quotations from these poems, containing allusions applicable to the subject on which

which he was speaking. Sir George Grey has been a diligent collector of Maori poetry, and has made literal translations of many of the New Zealand 'lyrical ballads'; but as we are not aware that any of them have yet appeared in a metrical form, we venture to present one of them by means of a somewhat free but faithful translation.

The great chief Te Rauparaha lived on the shore of one of those beautiful and sheltered estuaries with which the coasts of New Zealand abound, but was driven from his residence by his enemies, and obliged to take refuge on a promontory, from which he could see in the distance his former home. The idea of an imaginary connexion established between two places by means of the wind is often to be met with in the poetry of this people, and so powerfully are their sympathies excited by the circumstance of the breeze blowing from a country where a beloved object is staying, that a wife or lover may be frequently seen with her face exposed to the wind while she gives vent to her affection in the peculiar wailing chaunt of the country.

A Lament for his native place, by the Chief Te Rauparaha, after it had been abandoned by him.

'Far away, far away, is the land of my fathers,
The place of my birth is divided from me;
The tie now is slight that remains to connect us,
In the white fleecy cloud that floats over the sea.
From the crest of the hill, once the joy of my childhood,
It has drifted towards me, I now see it near;
And I see the far mountain lit up by the sunbeam,
To my lone, aching heart inexpressibly dear.
And oh! could I waft on the wings of the land-breeze
One sigh to my kindred I left on the shore,
Where the tide leaps and dances with ever fresh gladness,
Where waves have no terrors, winds harmlessly roar.
Do my bidding, soft air, just aroused from thy slumber,
Like a bird long imprisoned escaped from its cage,
Fly, fly to my tribe, bid them ever remember
The love of their chief, that will strengthen with age.'

Our great navigator, in his three visits to the islands of New Zealand, was increasingly impressed with a sense of their value and importance. His first intercourse with the natives, although not unfriendly, was accompanied with some misunderstandings and disputes; and the early visits of trading ships led to some fatal affrays, and, on one occasion, to a frightful massacre. It had been long suspected that the inhabitants devoured their prisoners and those slain in battle; but, in proportion as European intercourse

increased, that which had before been only darkly hinted became too certain to be disbelieved. It was at last incontrovertibly proved that this land of fertility and beauty, with its smiling vales, and crystal streams, and ever verdant woods, was peopled by a race of anthropophagi, and that cannibalism was practised on a system, to an extent, and with a zest that the civilised world had never before thought possible. Much has been said and written to account for a practice so abhorrent to our instincts. Some have connected it with religious rites; others have attributed it to the deficiency of animal food. Both causes probably operated in giving it a sanction. That it was countenanced by their religious system is undoubted; and in the almost total absence of land animals the natural craving for that description of food could not be otherwise gratified. The practice was said to have considerably diminished after the introduction of the pig into the country by Cook. Those who put the best construction upon the revolting fact trace it entirely to a religious principle, which sanctified revenge in its most intensified form. The prohibition of human flesh to women in some degree countenances the supposition. But the limitation admits of another interpretation. Women have always been, in savage nations, the slaves of man; and it is quite possible that the restriction may have had a selfish rather than a religious origin, and that the men relished the luxury so highly, that they kept it all to themselves. It is a well-authenticated fact that young slave girls were not unfrequently cooked and eaten at the great feasts which friendly tribes were in the habit of giving to each other.

An opinion prevails that the native population of New Zealand has for some years been undergoing a gradual diminution. We know not from what data this conclusion is derived, as no regular census has ever been taken of the Maori population. There is, however, it is said, good reason for believing that the natives do not now exceed 70,000. That they were at one time a much more numerous people is demonstrated by their extensive pāhs, or native village fortresses, many of which, having long been deserted as habitations, now exist only in a state of decay. The causes of this depopulation are supposed to be, the small proportion of women, the small fecundity even of that proportion, the general neglect of children, and the former practice of female infanticide. 'Certain local statistics,' according to Mr. Hursthouse, 'corroborated by the reports of colonists familiar with the native life, may convince us that to every 100 adult males there are not more than 75 adult females and 45 children. In Ireland and America the proportions are about 100 men, 150 women, and 100 children.' Such a disproportion of the sexes, if it exists in

in New Zealand, is alone sufficient to account for a decreased and decreasing population. The existence of polygamy among the chiefs, or among such as have not been Christianised, is another cause; but the principal one has been undoubtedly the dissolute lives of girls before marriage. As most of these causes are moral, and therefore eradicable, there is reason to hope that the purifying influence of Christianity has arrested this degeneracy in sufficient time to preserve a noble people from the extinction that must otherwise inevitably be their fate.

The same difficulties which exist in arriving at any certain conclusion as to the total amount of the Maori population are found in estimating that proportion of it which has embraced Christianity; but it is generally believed that at least three-fourths of the natives of New Zealand are now missionary converts, in the proportion of about one Roman Catholic to four Wesleyans and eight Churchmen. Of the depth and sincerity of their convictions it is difficult to express an opinion. If the fervour of a first conversion has cooled and the excitement natural to the reception of a new faith has in some degree passed away, this is no more than might be expected from a people gradually emerging from barbarism, and just awakened to a sense of the temporal advantages which civilization is bringing in its train. It is to be feared, however, that the attempt, too often injudiciously made, to impress the more complex truths of Christianity, to say nothing of the contests between rival Churches and creeds, may have somewhat impaired the influence of the clergy in New Zealand. But there is still every reason to hope that Christianity has taken a permanent hold on the native mind. All the chiefs, with very few exceptions, have avowedly embraced the Christian faith. To the noble exertions of the missionary body these gratifying results are due—to those men who through good report and evil report, and amidst early perils and privations, persisted in their arduous task. To the Bishop of New Zealand and his truly apostolic career we have more than once had the gratification of referring; and we can but express our earnest hope that he may live to see his desires fully accomplished, and terminate at some distant day his pastoral reign over the islands for which he has effected so much, the spiritual father of a united flock and the benefactor of a grateful people; for it is as a civiliser not less than as a Christian pastor that this devoted man will be remembered. Many are the lessons which he has taught them in the arts of social life and rural industry.

The Church of England, like all other religious denominations in New Zealand, is now independent of, and receives no aid from, the colonial state. Real property in the immediate neighbourhood
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of Auckland, of the value, as we are informed, of upwards of 20,000*l.*, and which some years hence will yield a fair annual income, is held by the Bishop in trust for collegiate and educational purposes, and a grant for the support of the clergy has been made every year, since the foundation of the colony, by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. The successful results of the Church of England mission in this colony are most gratifying; 'for what author of romance,' as is most justly observed in the latest work which has appeared on New Zealand, 'would venture to represent, so soon after the period of cannibal feasts and bloodthirsty wars, the actors in these scenes assembled together at a meeting to promote the spread of Christianity among the heathen people of the neighbouring islands; gratefully acknowledging the benefits they had derived from their own Christian teachers; quoting from Scripture the command to "go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature;" animating each other to spread the Christian work; and contributing according to their means in aid of the newly founded Melanesian Mission? or to picture to himself or his readers native children of New Zealand, neatly clad in English dresses, assembled for Christian worship on the sabbath-day chanting the "Magnificat" and the "Nunc Dimittis," and singing in English the "Evening Hymn," in a manner to put to shame many an English congregation?' *

The native population of New Zealand is still practically ruled by hereditary chiefs. But though chieftainship is hereditary, 'the order,' like our own Peerage, is recruited by the infusion of fresh blood. A plebeian, if he be distinguished for wisdom in council, eloquence in debate, or success in war, may rise to the rank of a chief; but an hereditary chief is of very small importance if he does not possess the qualities requisite for command. The whole country is supposed to be under British law, but it is rather a legal inference than a reality. Natives resident in towns are amenable to British tribunals; but in the country and the 'bush' Maori laws and customs yet prevail. As a people they are exceedingly orderly, and life and property are now as much respected and certainly quite as safe as they are in England. The co-operation of the chiefs in the administration of justice has been obtained by their appointment as assessors, and as such they have a right to sit on the bench with English magistrates. At present this right only applies to native cases, but it affords a valuable training for higher functions. The constitution places the native race on a political equality with the

* Swinson's *New Zealand*.

British colonists; and there is, theoretically, nothing to prevent a chief or any individual of the native community from becoming a representative in the Provincial Legislatures or a member of the General Assembly. The political franchise, however, does not appear to be yet appreciated. Hitherto it is said they have been quite indifferent to provincial politics, and have been known to sit and smoke unmoved under the most stimulating orations of the hustings. The only instance in which a native has been known to give himself any trouble in elections is that recorded of a southern Maori, who is said to have travelled a considerable distance to the abode of the Superintendent of Otago to inquire how much he would give him for his vote.

The fact is that the Maories are now intent upon their material advancement, and it will be many years before much of their attention is directed to the details of government. They are satisfied with the rule under which they first voluntarily placed themselves. Their political relation to the British Government, as understood by themselves, was defined in 1853 by an assembly of chiefs in that figurative style to which they are so much addicted. 'This,' they said, 'has been our agreement, namely, that the Supreme Being, the Lord of all, shall be our ridge-pole, New Zealand and its inhabitants the rafters on one side, and England with its inhabitants the rafters on the other side, thus making one entire and complete roof and building.' Any idea of political subordination to the British settlers never once entered their minds, for their admission of the sovereignty of the British Crown did not draw with it, in their estimation, any relinquishment of their independence as a people, or involve the sacrifice of their personal or territorial rights. They have from the first been dealt with as the rightful proprietors of the soil, and no land has ever been acquired from them except by purchase. 'It must be an object of congratulation,' writes Sir George Grey, 'to every British subject and to every man of benevolent mind that Parliament, by adopting a liberal and generous course in reference to this colony, has at length shown to mankind that a barbarous race may be led to adopt the habits of civilised life, and that it is possible for Europeans and people of another and previously savage race to inhabit the same country as fellow-citizens with equal rights, with a common faith, and united in feelings of loyalty to the same sovereign.'

Each European settlement has now attracted to its vicinity, or contains, mixed up with its white inhabitants, a considerable Maori population, in which case both races form one harmonious community connected together by commercial and agricultural pursuits, professing the same faith, resorting to the same courts

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of justice, joining in the same public sports, standing mutually to each other in the relation of landlord and tenant, and thus insensibly forming one people. The progress which agriculture and all farming pursuits have made among the native districts is surprising; and now, instead of dwelling on the probabilities of an invasion by some hostile tribe, and calculating the force available for repelling it, the prosperous inhabitants of these once savage islands speculate upon the quantity of wheat they will be able to produce, and enjoy, by anticipation, the golden harvest. So far back as 1852 the Surveyor-General thus reports to the Government at Auckland:—

‘ Throughout my journey I observed the natives improving in their condition as respects the acquisition of property, although their houses and mode of living have remained nearly the same for the last ten years. They do not care to improve the style of their houses and furniture, with the exception that every individual now possesses a well-made box with lock and key, the latter being rather ostentatiously worn round the neck, supported by a ribbon or small chain. While they yield a ready obedience to the laws of the Europeans, and, when questioned, admit them to be just and good, they seem to value those the most that enforce the payment of all debts and demands. All speculative theories are thrown aside, and they seem to have started with an energy quite surprising in the pursuit of gain, bidding fair to outstrip many of their early European instructors. They have now dispensed with that formerly all-important European character, once so indispensable among them, and to be seen in every village, “the native trader.” He has been for the last three or four years unknown among them, being unable to make a profit by his trading transactions. They have all obtained some knowledge of arithmetic, and delight in exhibiting their skill. Often is a slate presented to the traveller covered with long rows of figures, in addition, subtraction, &c., to the imposing and correctly worked questions of “Rule of Three.” They have now wise men among themselves to calculate the cubic contents of a heap of firewood; the area of a plot of ground, so as to sow two bushels of wheat to the acre; the live weight of a pig, and the value at 3d. per pound, sinking one-fifth as offal. They esteem themselves first-rate horse-breakers, and I heard more than one lecturing on the mysteries of the turf to an admiring audience. Every recently arrived traveller, if he comes from any of the settlements, is closely questioned as to the price of pork, wheat, flour, and flax. The old persons may be seen in groups round the evening fire chatting about the appearance of crops and all subjects relating to them, the women being busily employed in making baskets to carry grain and potatoes, or in plaiting leg-ropes for driving their pigs to market. All other pursuits seemed merged into habits of thrift; and the most engrossing subject that can be broached is the relative merits of two mill sites, over or undershot wheels, and the best means of raising 200*l.* or 300*l.* for the purpose of building a mill which shall grind more than the one erected by a rival tribe. Such is the excitement

excitement on this particular topic, that they have, in their haste to commence the undertaking, employed in some instances very unprincipled or very unskilful workmen, and have lost a considerable outlay.*

As regards property, the Maoris are now in a very satisfactory position; and as it is to the settlement of Englishmen in their country that they owe the great change which has taken place in the value of their territory, they have every reason to rejoice at the advent of a few civilized foreigners who have raised their extensive possessions from a wilderness of worthless because uncultivated land into a truly splendid inheritance. Of the ninety millions of acres of which the islands of New Zealand are computed to consist, about two-thirds are now the property of the Crown, or have passed by purchase into the hands of settlers. In the whole of the great Southern Island, and also in Stewart's Island, the native title has been extinguished on terms satisfactory to the chiefs and those claiming rights under them. In the Northern Island thirty millions of acres yet belong to the natives; and of the worth, present and prospective, of this great property, every class, from the grand chief down to the owner of the smallest portion, has formed a high and perhaps not extravagant opinion. In the absence of statistics, any estimate of the value of the native property would be only conjectural; but, in addition to the uncultivated land, it comprises a very considerable portion in a state of improvement, a great number of horses and cattle, and numerous coasting-vessels navigated by themselves. Flour-mills and threshing-machines are far from uncommon. Some of the wealthier people keep accounts at the provincial banks, and the names of many are to be found among the proprietors of the local joint-stock companies. The Bay of Plenty and the adjoining district possess a Maori population estimated to amount to about 8000. In the year 1857 the natives of this tract alone had upwards of 8000 acres of land in wheat, 3000 acres in potatoes, nearly 2000 acres in maize, and upwards of 1000 acres planted with kumeras. They owned nearly 1000 horses, 200 head of cattle, 5000 pigs, 4 water-mills, and 96 ploughs. They were also the owners of 43 small coasting-vessels, averaging nearly 20 tons each, and upwards of 900 canoes. In the course of the same year the natives of this district, of about 50 miles in extent, supplied 46,000 bushels of wheat to the English traders, of the marketable value of 13,000*l*. From a distance of nearly 100 miles the natives of the North supply the markets of Auck-

* Further Papers relating to the Affairs of New Zealand, 1854.

land with the produce of their industry, brought partly by land carriage, partly by small coasting craft, and partly by canoes. In the course of a single year 1792 canoes entered the harbour of Auckland, bringing to market, by this means alone, 200 tons of potatoes, 1400 baskets of onions, 1700 baskets of maize, 1200 baskets of peaches, 1200 tons of fire-wood, 45 tons of fish, and 1500 pigs, besides flax, potatoes, kauri, gum, and vegetables.* However necessary it may have been at one time to establish a protectorship for the native race, they are now in all private transactions well able to protect themselves. 'Slow sellers,' an intelligent observer remarks, 'they are slower buyers, insisting always on having the best article at the lowest price. An old chief will minutely examine a dozen caps for an hour before he can fix on the best, and will then go to a new shop to look for another before he buys it.'

We shall not enter into the *vexata quæstio* of the abstract right of savages to all the land of their country, whether it has been brought into cultivation or not. Practically this question was decided in favour of the natives of New Zealand by a formal treaty. They were not mere wanderers over an extended surface in search of a precarious existence, nor tribes of hunters nor herdsmen, but a people among whom the arts of government had made some progress, who had established by their own customs a division and appropriation of the soil, who were not without a certain subordination of ranks, with usages having the character and authority of law. We have the highest legal authority in the islands for stating that it requires as much time, careful investigation, and knowledge of native law and custom, to complete a safe and satisfactory purchase of land from the natives of New Zealand as to complete the purchase of an English baronial estate. The restrictions under which they are placed by treaty, with respect to the sale of their land, have for some time been creating dissatisfaction among the chiefs. They are restrained from selling tribal land, or land held in common, except to the Government; and they regard this arrangement as an infringement of their rights as British subjects, depriving them of the benefit of an open market and free competition, and thus unfairly depreciating the value of their property. And, undoubtedly, the time seems to have come for some relaxation of these restrictions, however indispensable they might have formerly been for the peace of the colony and the protection of the people themselves. Of all the subjects on which they come in contact with official characters,

* Swainson's 'New Zealand.'

the sale of land is that on which they are most impracticable and are most easily excited and displeased; and the resentment displayed at any injudicious or indelicate attempt to drive a bargain with them is often very marked. In fact, they are beginning to look upon all overtures for the purchase of land only as insidious attempts to obtain their property at an under value:—

‘I accompanied,’ says Mr. Taylor, ‘the Lieutenant-Governor to Puratawa, the residence of Rangihæta. The old chief seemed much gratified by the visit. He received us in the *marae*, sitting in front of his house, with his wives and friends on one side, and we placed ourselves on the other, where new mats were laid for us to sit on. After having sat some time, we were requested to adjourn to a house at a little distance, in which we found a repast laid out in as much style as the shortness of the notice would allow; but when we returned, and the Governor began to speak of purchasing land, I strongly recommended him not to do so, as the time was very inopportune, and declined to act as his interpreter. He therefore tried to speak for himself. At first the old chief could not make out what he said; but when he did he was very indignant, and put out his tongue at him, which terminated our visit, and caused the Governor to beat a retreat as quickly as possible.’*

The only decidedly hostile feeling which has been displayed since the permanent settlement of the islands has been on the subject of the land regulations. In 1854 a great meeting of chiefs was held, and they assembled, some from a distance of 300 miles, in the province of Wellington. Five hundred were said to have been present, and there was much excited speaking. The result was a resolution to sell no more land to the Government, and to prevent any native from doing so. A few months after this meeting a chief at New Plymouth offered his land for sale; but when he went to mark out the boundaries he was shot, with several of his tribe. They believe their territorial rights will be best secured by placing them under the guardianship of a native sovereign; and a king has been recently elected at a general assembly of the tribes. A movement such as this is, it is needless to say, most adverse to the future peace and unity of New Zealand; and, if an amalgamation of the two races is an object to be desired, it can only be attained by placing them both as much as possible on an equality. The foundation of the future social fabric must be laid immoveably on justice. The attention of the General Assembly has, we are happy to find, been lately directed to the land question, and it is probable a provision will before long be made for enabling the native tribes to have their

* Taylor's ‘New Zealand and its Inhabitants,’ p. 266.

territorial

territorial rights ascertained by means of a survey and commission for the investigation and confirmation of titles; thus enabling them to sell their land in the same manner as other British subjects in the colony who derive their titles immediately from the Crown. The mass of the native population still remains in its tribal state; but it is not until the Maories have generally abandoned their wandering habits, and settled down to the occupations of civilised life, that any measure of solid and durable amelioration can be applied to them; and the extinction of the tribal right, and the substitution of an individual title to land, is the first and most important step towards raising them as a people from their present inferior position.

Whatever change the Maori character has undergone by the reception of Christianity, but little has hitherto taken place in the mode of living, and in some of those habits to which the admitted decline of the New Zealanders as a people is to be attributed. This is in a great measure owing to their wide dispersion, and the consequent want of opportunity for observing and profiting by the example of civilized men in their domestic and sanitary arrangements. A tribe now, as formerly, live together in little communities of from 50 to 200 individuals, in various villages scattered over an extensive district. The houses are without windows or chimneys. The source of warmth is either the animal heat from the bodies of the numerous occupiers, or a smouldering wood fire in the centre of the floor. They are generally unacquainted with the efficacy of soap, and use little water except in their cooking. For abundance of food they might be envied by far more civilized people. In fact the Maori lives far more generously than our Scotch and Irish peasantry, and has not only enough for himself, but sufficient to feast his friends. In no part of the world does the potato, the gift to the islands of Captain Cook, produce more abundantly. They have wild and domestic pigs, ducks, pigeons, parrots, and other native birds, large eels, lampreys, sea-fish, craw-fish, and shell-fish—ample materials assuredly for a substantial and even a luxurious entertainment. There is scarcely an English vegetable or fruit which cannot be successfully cultivated, and the commoner descriptions are frequently to be seen growing near the native hut. The method of cooking is simple and effective. A pit is dug, about eighteen inches in depth and a foot in diameter; a fire is lit, by which a number of smooth stones are raised to a high degree of heat; the cavity is then lined with fresh leaves, and over the heated stones, but carefully enveloped in leaves, the food is placed; a little water is thrown in, and the whole is covered up with clean mats and fresh

fresh earth. In an hour or so the meal is ready, and it is dressed to a perfection that might challenge the criticism of a Soyer. Neither the meat will be found underdone, nor the vegetables overdone. But from these 'hangis,' or native ovens, now filled with the wholesome fruits of the earth and the ordained and appropriate food of man, once rose the steam of those abominable repasts that struck the civilized world with horror, and moved a compassionate Providence to look down with pity upon an isolated portion of His family, and deliver them from the dreadful error in which they had become involved. The last ascertained act of cannibalism took place in 1843. Not a trace of the custom now remains; and any allusion to it would be resented by a chief much in the same way that an English gentleman would resent an ill-bred reference to some ugly event that had marked a particular epoch in the family history, and cast a blot upon his escutcheon. The horrible feasts that distinguished their savage state have been succeeded by convivial meetings characterised only by Christian brotherhood and innocent mirth. At a great meeting recently held at Waikato, at which upwards of 2000 natives were present, the following was the bill of fare:—15 bullocks, 20,000 dried shark's fins, 20 baskets of fresh eels, 50 baskets of katiki and mataiati, 30 bags of sugar, 800 kits of potatoes and kumeras, a large quantity of flour, and last, but not least, 1500 lbs. of tobacco—chiefs and slaves, young men and maidens, old men and children, all, without exception, having a craving for 'the weed,' the praises of which one of their poets has thus sung: 'When all things were created, none was made better than this to be a lone man's companion, a bachelor's friend, a hungry man's food, a sad man's cordial, a wakeful man's sleep, and a chilly man's fire.' Some of the wealthier chiefs are no longer satisfied to live in the style of rude plenty that prevails, but have adopted a European *ménage*, and aim at a certain refinement. We are not aware that they have yet acquired a taste for French cookery, but their houses are not deficient in many of the conventional accommodations of a respectable English establishment.

With their impure domestic habits and general neglect of sanitary laws the decrease of the native population is easily accounted for, and, with the present rate of mortality and excess of deaths over births, its extinction in the course of twenty years has been confidently predicted. Such an event, however, is sincerely to be deprecated. The want of the country is population; and, if it possessed 200,000, instead of 60,000 or 70,000, industrious natives, it would be by so much the richer and more prosperous. Many of the bad customs still infesting the native community
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are the results of ignorance and the remnants of their savage life ; and the local Government, in a spirit of humanity not less than of self-interest, would do well if it adopted an aggressive policy on subjects so intimately connected with the future welfare of the colony. A distribution of short tracts, pointing out the evils of the existing mode of life, and its inevitable consequences, followed up by stationary instructors in the arts of civilized life, located in model houses in the neighbourhood of the tribes, and salaried to teach the natives the art of building convenient habitations for themselves, and to inspire them with a taste for our domestic comforts, would, in a very short time, produce a decided effect upon their social state. 'Considering,' as an intelligent colonist remarks, 'what the Maori was a few years since, and seeing what by example he has already become, if we can only preserve him a little longer, we may reasonably hope to give him a fresh lease of life, to increase his numbers, and to see him a robust cottager and a hardy yeoman—the colony's wealth in peace, the colony's strength in war—

"The nerve, support, and glory of the land."'

The native peasant is a finely-proportioned, muscular man, averaging five feet ten in height, and weighing from eleven to twelve stone ; and, if the example set by our Canadian province should be followed in our other colonies, and enlistment in the regular army should be encouraged by the Government, there can be no doubt that New Zealand could produce some of the finest soldiers in our service.

The education of the native race appears to be making slow, but satisfactory progress, considering the great difficulties to be overcome. The dispersion of the population over a wide area necessarily throws impediments in the way of systematic instruction. It has been found necessary, both on account of the distances from which they are collected, and as an inducement to the natives to part with their children, to board and clothe gratuitously all the pupils. A considerable amount of indifference has yet to be overcome before the Maori can be induced to regard education as one of his essential wants. Civilization cannot be carried beyond a very short stage by means of the aboriginal tongue. The Maori language sufficed for the requirements of a barbarous race ; but it can never be made an instrument of refined thought or adapted to the higher purposes of life. Great stress is therefore properly laid upon the acquirement of the English language as one of the most effectual methods of amalgamating the two people ; and for this purpose the schools must be brought to the natives, and not the natives to the schools.

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The education of Maori men is, however, of far more importance, in the first instance, than the education of Maori women. In civilized life, the woman may be said, in a general sense, to raise the husband to her own level; but the rule does not hold true in the case of a semi-barbarous people. The inferior position of women, and the generally low estimation in which they are still held, notwithstanding their disproportion to the other sex, is at present one of the most unsatisfactory features in the social condition of the country.

A much greater progress must yet be made in civilization before there can be a complete amalgamation of the Maori with the colonist population. There is at the present time rather a disposition, perhaps, to deprecate such an event both on political and moral grounds. The supremacy of the English race depends, it has been said, on the preservation of its purity, and any infusion of native blood would disqualify it for rule; that this peculiarity has distinguished English settlers abroad from all other nations, and that by this means alone they preserve their manners and morals untainted, their character unchanged, and their pristine vigour unimpaired. Our empire in India and its preservation are said to result from this peculiarity, and that where other nations have coalesced with the people whom they conquered, they were either absorbed in their overwhelming numbers or underwent a rapid deterioration. But amalgamation in New Zealand may conduct to very different results, and abundant examples might be cited of an intermixture of races which produced the happiest effects. The type of humanity in New Zealand is of a high order. A few marriages have already taken place between educated Europeans and native girls. A rangatira, or chief's daughter, with her rich and lustrous beauty, soft expressive eyes, glossy hair, and graceful step, if encountered unexpectedly in one of her native glens, is a figure

'To haunt, to startle, and waylay.'

The early New Zealand whalers and squatters generally took Maori wives or mistresses, and the progeny of this intercourse is a handsome race of half-castes numbering about 500. A native girl makes a most important step in advance of her country-women when she quits her ancestral roof and espouses a European husband. Flattered by his choice, raised in her own estimation, and proud of her influence, she teaches him her soft language, and fascinates him by her simple wiles; and, treated with a respect and tenderness she had never before experienced from man, she repays his attachment by the most unbounded devotion, and her fidelity is as steadfast as the mountain that overlooks her home.

Hence then, it is
 The heart o'erflows, the eye,
 Bedewed with tears, desires
 To catch one fond, one parting glance
 Ere thou art lost to sight for ever,
 Oh! for ever!'

The Bill conferring a constitutional government on New Zealand passed the British Parliament during the short administration of the Earl of Derby in 1853. It confers representative institutions, and ample powers of self-government, on the 60,000 colonists of New Zealand, and never probably were the destinies of so fine and large a country committed to the guidance of so small a number of men. An attempt had been made some years previously, at the time Earl Grey held the seals of the Colonial Department, to create a representative government in New Zealand, but it was exceedingly ill timed, and the measure was withdrawn at the urgent solicitation of Sir George Grey, who demonstrated by the most convincing reasoning that the colony was then quite unprepared for the change. There were fundamental mistakes both in the principles and details of the constitution. It virtually excluded the native population from the franchise by giving votes only to those who could read and write the English language, while a great proportion of the people could read and write their own language fluently! Sir George Grey, in his energetic protest, pointed out this anomaly in a tone of strong reprobation.

'Her Majesty,' he said, 'will not, as it is intended by this constitution, confer upon her subjects the inestimable advantages of free government, but she will give to a small fraction of her subjects of one race the power of governing the large majority of her subjects of another race. She will not give to her subjects the valuable privilege of appropriating, as they may think proper, the funds raised from themselves by taxation, but she will give to a small minority of one race the power of appropriating as they think proper, a large revenue raised by taxation from the great majority of her subjects of another race. . . . There is no nation in the world more sensitive upon the subject of money matters than the natives of these islands; and no people in the world that I am acquainted with less likely to sit down quietly under what they may regard as injustice. They are, at present, certainly not fitted to take a share in a representative form of government, but each year they will become more fitted to do so, and each year the numerical difference between the two races will become less striking; so that a great advantage will be gained by delaying, even for a few years, the introduction of the proposed constitution into New Zealand.'*

* Despatch from Governor Grey to Earl Grey, May, 1847.

It is but justice to Earl Grey to state that he at once admitted the force of this reasoning, thanked the Governor in the most handsome terms for pointing out his error, frankly admitted his mistake, and took immediate steps for suspending the charter.

After an interval of six years the present form of government was established in the colony. It consists of a Governor, appointed by and representing the Crown, a nominated Legislative Council composed of fifteen members, and a House of Representatives consisting of thirty-six members, elected every five years. The franchise is conferred upon every adult colonist or native owner of a freehold worth 50*l.*, or leaseholder of an estate of 10*l.* a-year, or town tenant householder of 10*l.* a-year, or county tenant householder of 5*l.* a-year. A veto is reserved to the Queen to be exercised within two years from the passing of any colonial act. The colony is divided into seven provinces, and each province is governed by a provincial council composed of an officer called a superintendent and certain councillors elected by the provincial population. Such is a brief epitome of the present constitution of New Zealand.

The working of this political machinery must be watched with great interest in this country. Setting aside the provincial councils, which were intended to form bodies in the nature of rural municipalities, the constitution of New Zealand bears a considerable resemblance to that of the mother country. The Governor impersonates the Queen, but takes a more direct part in public affairs; the Legislative Councillors are, as it were, Peers for life, and the House of Representatives is an elected House of Commons; while the Ministry leans directly upon the representatives of the people for support.

'Ministerial responsibility' was the first question raised in the House of Representatives, and a collision took place upon it between the executive and the popular branch of the Legislature in the first year of the assembling of the New Zealand Parliament. The colonists declared that without this guarantee for the harmonious working of the new constitution, representative institutions would be but a mockery, and bear but a faint resemblance to those of the mother country. They insisted upon the virtual appointment of the Ministry by requiring the Governor to select for his cabinet such gentlemen as possessed the confidence of the House of Representatives, and partook of its predominant opinions. This was undoubtedly in strict conformity with the practice of constitutional states, and a concession they not unreasonably expected to complete the resemblance of their own government to that of the British legislature. During the infancy of an English colony the government is an absolute monarchy; but when

representative institutions have been granted, it is not long satisfied with being ruled by an irresponsible executive; and having secured the power of making the laws, its next object is to control their administration. In the early stage of colonial self-government the subordination of the representative of the Crown to a local parliament is doubtless very difficult to realise. A statesman of high rank, great experience, and perhaps with a policy of his own, must at first be greatly perplexed by his anomalous position. In Canada, where the principle of self-government was, from the first, pushed to its extreme limits, Sir Charles Bagot and Lord Metcalfe both strenuously resisted the popular demands, and refused to be reduced to political ciphers, or to be made the mere instruments of a colonial assembly. Yet they were obliged to succumb, for such was the logical necessity of their position; and in that position the heads of all constitutional colonial governments have now scarcely any alternative but to acquiesce. The veto reserved to the Crown cannot be exercised by the Governor, and the effective power of the state is lodged in the body that grants the supplies. Whether the grant of a parliamentary constitution to New Zealand was prudent in the peculiar social condition of that country admits of very considerable doubt. A large body of landed proprietors and a population long accustomed to independence are there incapable, by reason of their dispersion and their habits, of taking the part to which they are entitled in the government of their native land, and the power to which they have hitherto looked for protection is now reduced almost to a political nonentity. But the abstract right of the imperial legislature to modify, suspend, or annul the constitutions which it has conceded is as unquestionable as the right to confer them, should they become depositories of injustice or be made the instruments of oppression.* We are far, however, from intending to intimate the probable necessity of such a course in reference to New Zealand, where the character of the British population affords, we trust, the surest guarantee for the humanity and justice of the government.

No chief, that we are aware of, has yet thought of asking a constituency for the honour of a seat in the House of Representatives. The natives were quite satisfied with the old form of government; the chiefs had always ready access to the Governor, and, as their representations were attentively heard and considered, they had practically some control over the administration. Under the present constitution they have lost their power; and when they

* The suspension of the constitution of Jamaica in 1839 will readily occur to our readers.

discover that the Governor no longer possesses his former authority, it is to be feared that he will lose much of his importance. 'With the natives of New Zealand especially,' says the late Attorney-General for the colony, "fine feathers" by no means make "fine birds," and it neither satisfies the masculine understanding of this sagacious people, nor is it their practice, to dress up a lay figure with feathers and red ochre and then regard it as their king; the visible and vigorous exercise of power is absolutely necessary to sustain amongst them the character of a chief.' The course suggested by the present Governor of retaining the government of the native population in his hands has, we are glad to find, received the approval of the home authorities; and, if his influence is to be maintained, it is clear that he must have the power and the means of promoting the interests of the Maories so far as they are clearly distinct from those of the Europeans.

The seven provinces into which New Zealand has been divided differ considerably in climate and agricultural capabilities, but they all offer very attractive fields for colonization. The chief characteristics of the province of Auckland are a warmer climate, the presence of nearly two-thirds of the native population of the country, the possession of the valuable Kauri forests, and the absence of great pastoral plains. Having been first colonized and made the seat of government, this province is socially in a more advanced state than any of the others. The situation of the capital is imposing, and occupies one of the finest commercial sites in the world. It has often been compared to Corinth, planted on a narrow isthmus between two noble harbours and outlets to the ocean, the waters of which will doubtless be one day united by a canal. A cutting of four miles would accomplish this, when a line-of-battle ship might pass from sea to sea through a channel the banks of which we can imagine studded, at no distant day, with picturesque villas and gardens. Taranaki or New Plymouth is the smallest of the provinces, with an area of three millions of acres, not more than one-fiftieth part of which has yet been acquired from the natives. It was founded by an association of Cornish and Devonshire gentlemen, and in soil, scenery, and climate, is probably unequalled, well meriting the title that has been given to it—the Garden of New Zealand. The taste for sylvan scenery and quiet rustic beauty is amply gratified by a combination of stream and forest, glade and valley, and fields dotted with cattle or waving with corn; while, for the admirers of scenery of a higher order, there is Mount Egmont, with its symmetrical form and lofty summit, rising 8000 feet into the sky, its sides clothed with magnificent forests of deep and never-failing verdure.

verdure. 'Mount Egmont,' writes a lady, enchanted with the first aspect of her new home, 'is worth a hundred a-year to any settler at New Plymouth!' The settlement is described as snugly planted on the margin of a beach, embosomed amid gentle hills and watered by numerous streams, and displays its granite church and chapels, its little mills and snug hostelryes, custom-house, post-office, stores and primitive shops, but, 'affecting no town airs, stands out before the world a robust, hearty-looking village, famed throughout the land for troops of rosy children, pretty women, fat meat, and rivers of Devonshire cream.' Wellington is a province of great importance: it possesses one harbour only, but that a very magnificent one; and the capital, built on its shores, occupies the most central situation in New Zealand. These advantages would naturally have marked it out as the capital of the colony, but they are greatly counteracted by its liability to earthquakes and a boisterous climate. Its production in wheat and wool is considerable. The new province of Hawke Bay, formerly a portion of the Wellington province, situated on the east coast of the North Island, was created by the General Assembly in 1858, for the purpose of extending the principle of self-government to the settlers in that remote district. It is smaller than the Taranaki province, and contains 4000 natives and about 2000 settlers. The climate is described as most delightful. The soil is fertile, and already numerous sheep and cattle, the property of settlers and natives, roam over its extensive plains. The capital has been named Napier, in honour of the hero of Scinde. Nelson, the northern province of the great Southern Island, is a province of great capability, although it possesses a smaller proportion of good land than some others, but this is compensated by its mineral wealth in coal and copper, and, as recently proved, in gold, by a profusion of the finest harbours, and by a climate which no other part of New Zealand possesses. The capital stands at the bottom of a spacious bay, and, sheltered from the cold south winds by a circle of lofty hills, enjoys a climate of Italian serenity, and is surrounded by scenery which in some of its features bears no inconsiderable resemblance to the Bay of Naples. Canterbury possesses an area of fifteen millions of acres, all of which have virtually been acquired from the natives. The characteristics of the province are—sparseness of the native population, a cooler climate, and immense pastoral plains consisting of four millions of acres, watered by twenty rivers, and extending, in a gentle rise, for a distance of forty miles to the foot of the central hills. These vast plains are covered with a perpetual verdure of grasses and dwarf shrubs, and are remarkable
for

for an entire absence of wood and for a profusion of water. Otago, the southern province of the Southern Island, has an area of eighteen millions of acres, all of which has been acquired from the natives. Three-fourths of the province are supposed to consist of interspersed pastoral and wooded agricultural land of great fertility, and there is probably no province of New Zealand capable of a greater annual export of wool, meat, and corn. This is the youngest province but one in the colony; the first settlement was planted in 1848 by an association of the members of the Free Kirk of Scotland. Scotch 'nationality' is as much cultivated, we fear, as some other products of the 'Land of Cakes'; and the emigrants from the northern portion of our island seem determined to maintain in New Zealand the same position relatively to their English fellow-colonists as in Great Britain. They have taken possession of one of the extremities, and that the coldest, of the country; and, unless they are greatly misrepresented, they manifest an unmistakeable desire to keep it entirely to themselves.

The agriculture of New Zealand has not yet advanced far beyond that simple process of cultivation practised at first in all newly settled countries. A settler buys his one hundred or five hundred acres of wild land, gets a pair or two of oxen, ploughs it up by degrees, rudely crops it until it will crop no more, and then either lets it lie fallow or lays it down in grass and turns his attention to stock. Even with the imperfect and inartificial system which prevails, and without the stimulus of manure, a yield of 50 to 60 bushels of wheat per acre is by no means uncommon; 70 bushels have been obtained in Canterbury; and on one occasion, it is asserted, nearly 80 on bush land at New Plymouth. The average yield is believed to be about 30 bushels to the acre, weighing about 65 lbs.; but it is affirmed by practical men who have paid the closest attention to the agriculture of New Zealand and its capabilities, that, by a system more in conformity with the first principles of English agriculture, the yield of wheat and of all grain and root crops might easily be increased 50 or even 75 per cent. This great natural fertility is attributable more to the fineness of the climate than to the richness of the soil; but in no country in the world would the combined arable and grazing plan of England tell with such immediate effect. 'A little animal manure,' says a practical farmer in the colony, 'a night's folding of sheep, produces an effect on New Zealand soils which I know not how to describe, save by terming it magical.' One of the most remarkable features of New Zealand farming is the ease with which the soil, when

when once broken up, can be worked at all seasons of the year; and the farmer is under no necessity of making any winter provision for stock, for vegetation never ceases, and the pastures and natural herbage are equally good at all seasons. The expense of bringing wild land into cultivation varies from 2*l.* to 10*l.* per acre, the extreme price being applicable to thickly timbered land, which, however, from its superior richness, amply repays the outlay.

As a young colony, New Zealand cannot for some time possess a large export for her agricultural produce. As population flows in, a ready market will be found on the spot for all the food she is likely to produce in the present stage of her progress; but in natural capabilities for a great export trade in the products of the soil she is inferior to no country in the world. She is, by nature and by position, to use the words of a writer whom we have before quoted, 'the granary, dairy farm, brewery, and orchard of the South Pacific, and is capable of producing for the Old World markets an annual export of wool and tallow alone worth four to five millions sterling.' The cultivation of hops is making considerable progress, 15,000 bushels having been recently gathered from the gardens of one firm alone. The best market for her agricultural produce will probably be Australia. If that great island-continent remains, as in all likelihood it will, a wool and gold country, New Zealand will undoubtedly be able to place her sea-borne agricultural produce in the Australian market at a lower price than agricultural produce could be raised in Australia. As respects foreign competition, she has only 1000 miles of sea carriage; whereas North and South America, her probable competitors in the Australian markets, have respectively 7000 and 14,000 miles.

But wool will also become a staple product in New Zealand. The quantity of land adapted for grazing is limited; but an opinion is beginning to be entertained, and is being practically acted upon, that sheep-farming can be carried on at much greater profit and with much less trouble than in Australia. New Zealand wool does not yet command so high a price in the London markets as Australian. This is attributable to the inferior getting up—a fault which experience will correct, and which is not likely much longer to prevail. At a very recent date there were not less than 180 applications to the Provincial Government at Nelson from Victoria flockowners for any vacant runs in the Wairau plains, or in any new tracts that might be discovered. Nothing can more strongly mark the value attached by the Australian flockmasters to the New Zealand pastures, as their
own

own are very far from being fully stocked, and are indeed for the present practically unlimited. But sheep-farming will not be confined to extensive and unenclosed tracts of natural pasture. The luxuriance of artificial grasses is such that ordinary lands, when once laid down, are quite equal to the grazing of five sheep per acre throughout the year, and there are many millions of acres of wild fern and grass land in New Zealand which might be converted into permanent pastures at an expense of not more than one pound per acre. It is needless to go through the list of the natural products for which this favoured country may be hereafter famed—its undeveloped mineral wealth, its coalfields, its fisheries, and its cattle, second to none in quality, and its horses; but we may specify as a future source of incalculable riches the flax,* which grows abundantly, and is of a quality to compete successfully with the best Russian hemp. The only obstacle to its extensive export and manufacture is the existence of a resinous gum on the plant, which affects its commercial value. There is every reason to hope that science will soon succeed in removing this objection.

We avail ourselves of some recent statistics of New Zealand, compiled from official records, for the years 1853, 1854, 1855, and 1856, and presented to the General Assembly in 1858, for exhibiting, in a concise form, the material progress of the colony. The returns showing the amount of immigration are unfortunately defective. It was, however, considerable, and the excess of European births over deaths, as registered for a period of two years, proves the augmentation of the population according to a high ratio of increase. The total births for the years 1855 and 1856 were 3182, and the total deaths for the same period 876, showing an excess of births over deaths of 2306. These results demonstrate, in a most forcible manner, the salubrity of the climate and the favourable conditions under which the settlers are placed. The marriages, in a total population of 37,191 and 45,540, were for the years 1855 and 1856 respectively 406 and 404. Of the whole European population in 1856, 28,061 persons could read and write. The total imports amounted in 1853 to 597,829*l.*, and in 1856 to 710,868*l.*, showing an increase in three years of 113,041*l.* The exports for the same years amounted to 303,282*l.* and 318,433*l.* Among the most important of its exports may be classed potatoes. In 1855, owing to the extraordinary demand from the Australian diggings, 9235 tons were exported, realizing a sum of 91,508*l.* This was an exceptional year; but the soil and climate of New Zealand are adapted to the growth of this vegetable in great perfection, and the demand for it in Australia will probably always

* The *Phormium tenax*.

be considerable. Timber is one of the most valuable exports, and realized, in the year 1853, 92,984*l*. The woods of the country are of a varied nature, from the noble kauri, capable of supplying masts and spars for all the navies of the world for an indefinite period, down to the laurel-like karaka, with its glossy foliage and clusters of golden fruit. In England there are about 40 varieties of indigenous trees; in New Zealand there are 120, and of these probably one-half are of a size large enough to entitle them to rank as timber-trees. Of wool the exports have risen from 66,507*l*. in 1853, to 146,072*l*. in 1856. The revenue for the four years ending with 1856 is as follows:—

1853.	1854.	1855.	1856.
£.	£.	£.	£.
149,820	292,040	175,895	188,328

The great prosperity of the years 1854 and 1855 arose from the demands made upon the colony by the Australian gold diggers; but the returns of two extreme years show that the progress is steady and satisfactory.

As establishing the fact of the high salubrity of the colony and the comparative low mortality from diseases of the lungs, the following tables (by Dr. Thomson,* of the 58th regiment) of the health of troops stationed in different parts of the world are of great interest:—

General Mortality.

Number of Soldiers in 1000 who annually die from different Diseases in various Military Stations.

New Zealand	..	..	8½	Cape of Good Hope	..	15
Great Britain	..	..	14	Malta	..	18
Australia	..	..	11	Canada	..	20

Consumption.

Number of Soldiers in 1000 annually attacked and the Number who annually die from Consumption on various Stations.

					Attacked.	Deaths.
New Zealand	..	..	..	..	60	2·7
Great Britain	..	..	..	..	148	10·2
Australia	..	..	..	..	133	5·8
Cape	..	..	..	..	98	3·0
Malta	..	..	..	..	120	6·0
Canada	..	..	..	..	148	6·7

* While these sheets are passing through the press we have had the pleasure of reading a new and admirable little work by this accomplished physician, entitled 'The Story of New Zealand; Past and Present—Savage and Civilised.' His narrative is clear, concise, and comprehensive, and conveys a very complete and exact idea of the country, the climate, the natural history, the people, the language, &c. It is rare indeed to get so intelligent and satisfactory an account of any land.

The large families of the colonists and the robust appearance of the children fully corroborate the conclusion derived from these vital statistics. The registrar's returns for one of the settlements show that out of 1247 children under 14 years of age, there were only 7 deaths in the year, or 1 for every 178. The total number of deaths per 1000 was about 5, while the total number of births per 1000 was 45!

It appears by a meteorological register kept at Auckland, that rain fell in the year 1853 on 194 days, in 1854 on 165 days, in 1855 on 130 days, and in 1856 on 154 days. In the province of Nelson the average number of rainy days in the year was only 30, and fogs and misty weather were rare. The mean annual temperature is at Auckland 59½, and at Otago 50. These two provinces form the extremes of the country, both locally and in point of climate, and the mean annual temperature of the most southerly, that is, the coldest province, exactly corresponds with that of London. No single locality in Europe has a temperature during the whole year like New Zealand. The North Island possesses the summer heat of Paris, with the winter cold of Rome; while the great South Island has a Jersey summer and a winter in coldness resembling that of Montpellier. There is no proper wet and dry season in New Zealand: fourteen days seldom pass without rain, and rain rarely continues for three successive days. From the facts recorded it results that more rain falls in New Zealand than at London, but much less than on the west coast of England. The following Table shows that New Zealand contrasts very favourably with most of the other temperate regions of the globe:—

TABLE OF MEAN TEMPERATURE OF TEMPERATE CLIMATES.

PLACES.	Yearly Mean.	Spring.	Summer.	Autumn.	Winter.
Auckland	58·45	58·82	66·38	59·82	50·68
London	50·39	47·76	62·32	50·35	39·12
Torquay	52·12	50·00	61·26	53·11	44·00
Nice	59·48	56·23	72·26	61·63	47·82
Rome	60·70	57·65	72·16	63·96	48·90
Naples	61·40	58·50	70·83	64·50	48·50
Madeira	64·56	62·20	69·38	67·23	59·50
Sydney	63·63	65·57	72·14	62·87	57·56
Cape Town	66·56	65·66	74·30	67·28	56·64

After its climate one of the greatest attractions of this favoured land is its scenery, presenting a combination of forest, mountain, plain, rivers, bays, and rocky promontories, unequalled perhaps in any other portion of the world. In a coast line of 3000 miles

there are creeks, coves, estuaries, roadsteads, and harbours, sufficient for a dozen countries of the same dimensions, and these inlets are in some places of great depth and extent, their sides, often rising precipitously from the water's edge, being clothed with magnificent woods. Queen Charlotte's Sound, facing Cook's Straits to the north, is 25 miles long, and has been described as a gigantic ocean dock, capable of berthing the whole British navy. But it is in the blending of the grand with the softer features of nature that much of the charm of the country consists. The land is intersected in every direction with rivers, rivulets, brooks, and burns, with banks of enchanting and varied beauty, wooded ranges of moderate elevation giving richness to the landscape, and mountains, rising ten thousand feet into the sky, their sublimity often increased by the smoke and volcanic vapour issuing from their snowy peaks. Lakes of considerable size beautify other parts of the country, and hot mineral springs and geysers, in the interior of the Northern Island, indicate the probable site of some future Cheltenham of the antipodes. Picturesque and convenient sites for future towns, hamlets, mansions, and villas, abound in every direction; and as the universal green becomes in the progress of time varied by the golden tints of corn-fields gradually encroaching upon the sylvan slopes, and the meadows are more profusely dotted with cattle and sheep, and the garden adds its rich hues to the verdant landscape, no country in the world will vie with it in pictorial interest and attractions, or will be more appreciated for the enjoyment which nature never fails to afford wherever Englishmen carry the inherited and cherished tastes of their native land.

But there is one region of New Zealand of singular grandeur, which extends along the entire western coast of the great South Island for 500 miles from Cape Farewell to Dusky Bay. This country is a gloomy, unpeopled wilderness, with an Alpine range covered with perpetual snow. The highest peak rises 13,200 feet above the sea, and is surrounded by dense primeval forests into which the foot even of savage man has never yet penetrated. It cannot be better described than in the language of Captain Richards, H.M.S. *Acheron*, who surveyed the coast in 1851:—

‘A view of the surrounding country from the summit of one of the mountains bordering the coast of from 4000 to 5000 feet elevation, is perhaps one of the most grand and magnificent spectacles it is possible to imagine, and standing on such an elevation, rising over the south side of Caswell's Sound, Cook's description of this region was forcibly recalled to mind. We could only compare the scene around us as far as the eye could reach, north to Milford Haven, south to Dusky Bay, and eastward inwards to a distance of sixty miles, to a vast sea of mountains of every possible

possible variety of shape and ruggedness : the clouds floated far beneath us, and the harbour appeared no more than an insignificant stream.

'A remarkable scene occurred during our stay in Dusky Bay. Our anchorage was at the head of the northern arm of Dagg's Sound—a cable's length from the shore in twelve fathoms: the change of the moon brought a north-west gale, with heavy rain, and in the course of a few hours no less than fourteen magnificent cascades were pouring down the steep sides of the mountains (upwards of 3000 feet high) by which we were surrounded; bringing with them trees of considerable size and all other obstructions met with in their passage. The effect was as if a heavy surf were breaking round the vessel; the mist, floating as low as our masts, occasionally obscured everything but the summit of the mountains and the foam below, and produced altogether a scene as grand as it is possible to conceive, which lasted without abating in any degree for two days, when the water alongside, which had been as salt as the ocean, was for a considerable depth below the surface perfectly fresh.' *

This remarkable district will probably be the last to be colonised in New Zealand. Yet even this cheerless region will in time be brought under the dominion of man, and made to supply his wants and minister to his gratification. It is, doubtless, an undeveloped source of future wealth in mines and timber, and the imagination may readily anticipate the day when these now inaccessible mountains and unpeopled glens shall be the chosen retreats of wealthy merchants and wearied statesmen seeking in the attractions of scenery and the pleasures of the chase the refreshment and diversion which they need. Stately castles will tower above the surrounding woods, and luxurious villas will embellish the green declivities of the hills.

One of the present wants of the country is some of those animals *feræ naturæ* in which English sportsmen rejoice. There is an abundance of cover for game of every description. Pheasants have been introduced with success in the Northern Island, and partridges would doubtless multiply abundantly; the wild turkey of America would find ample room and verge enough for its most ambitious flights in the great forest district of the Southern Island, nor do we suppose that there would be any difficulty in transporting the red roe and the fallow-deer. We should not have thought of suggesting the introduction of sparrows, as they are notoriously addicted to petty larceny; but they possess, it seems, in the opinion of the farmers of New Zealand, some redeeming virtues. The country is, at a particular season, infested by armies of caterpillars, which clear off the

* Remark Book of Commander G. M. Richards, H.M.S. Acheron.

grain crops as completely as if they were mown down by a scythe. With a view of counteracting this plague, we read in the 'Southern Cross,' that Mr. Brodie, a large landed proprietor, has shipped 300 sparrows, 'carefully selected from the best hedge-rows in England.' The food put on board for them alone cost, we are told, 18*l*. The necessity to farmers of small birds to keep down the grubs has been long felt. The British colonist is now too much absorbed in the duties of the homestead, or in the stern task of subduing the wilderness, to find much time for the sports of the field, but these amusements will doubtless, at no distant day, be pursued with the energy characteristic of Englishmen. The forests already afford some food for the hunting propensities of our countrymen in the herds of wild swine which haunt their recesses and often scour the neighbouring plains. The pig, the gift of Captain Cook to these islands, has multiplied to a prodigious, and, notwithstanding the excellent meat which it affords, most inconvenient extent. It roots up and destroys the best feed for sheep, and devours the lambs. There is a run in the Wairau plains which, it has been calculated, has on it at least 18,000 wild pigs; and we have recently heard of a young gentleman who is pushing his fortune at the antipodes in the character of a shepherd, having undertaken a contract for the destruction of 3000 of these pests of the sheep-farmer. The remuneration was to be 9*d.* *per tail*, and some additional advantages.

As a field of emigration, the islands of New Zealand possess, as we have seen, many attractions and advantages. They are exempt from the terrible rigours of a Canadian winter, and they are not scorched by the intolerable blaze of an Australian sun. The climate is one of very equable temperature, is suited to every description of English farm produce, and most favourable to the English constitution. In social advantages it stands very high amongst the colonial possessions of the British empire, and no country at the present time offers so many attractions to an educated Englishman, if necessity or inclination should induce him to emigrate. The colonists are generally a select class, and the working community, we have been assured, numbers in its ranks almost as many gentlemen born and bred as men born to labour. Fortunately there never has been directed to it from the mother country or from other lands the turbid stream of an indiscriminate emigration to pollute the pure source of a future nation. The facilities for purchasing land are greater than in Australia, and it can be readily obtained in quantities proportionate to the capital of the humblest emigrant, and on terms

able to the settler as can be reasonably desired. There is a considerable and increasing field for commercial enterprise, and, for those who possess a taste and the qualifications for public life, New Zealand offers a political career of sufficient importance to content a moderate ambition. But it is not from the United Kingdom alone that the tide of emigration is likely to set towards New Zealand. From Canada and from Nova Scotia a considerable number of persons, dissatisfied with those countries and with their prospects, have recommenced the struggle of life, and undertaken a voyage of 12,000 miles in search of 'fresh fields and pastures new' in the genial climate of Auckland. We have even been informed of an association established in Upper Canada for the purpose of organizing and carrying out this remarkable re-emigration.

It is, however, the condition and prospects of the native race that at the present time chiefly enlist our sympathies and demand the most serious consideration. There are circumstances connected with their present position that are calculated to create great misgivings on their behalf. The Maori people now probably but very little exceed in number the European population. The race is understood to be not increasing, and it must, with the progress of colonization, soon become an inconsiderable minority. The natives are placed by the Constitution on an equality with the Europeans, but they are incapable of exercising the franchise which has been conferred on them as much by reason of their dispersion as by the manner in which landed property is enjoyed. When the assembled chiefs in the Northern Island first accepted the Queen of Great Britain as the sovereign of New Zealand, they had probably no distinct idea of the meaning and consequences of that transaction, for no word synonymous with the term sovereignty exists in their language. Their own form of government was a democracy modified by patriarchal influence. When questioned as to their conception of the nature of the treaty and its effect, they uniformly declare that they only parted with the shadow, keeping the substance to themselves. Their national independence and territorial rights having been guaranteed, they probably thought that they were only conferring upon the Queen that kind of modified supremacy which a great chief possesses over his tribe. Recent events must have rudely shaken their faith in this opinion. Whatever they might have comprehended in the idea of sovereignty, it never could have presented itself to their minds as that form of government which they are now called upon to acknowledge. They could never have supposed that within a period of twenty years the practical government of their country would pass from the Queen of Great Britain into the hands of a
popular

popular assembly, representing, and responsible to, only a few thousand Englishmen. This is a portentous change for a proud, independent, high-spirited, martial, and unconquered race. They are probably yet hardly aware of its full consequences; but they may speedily be made to feel that they have not only parted with the shadow but even lost the substance of freedom, and are reduced to political insignificance. Some guarantee against the oppression of a legislative body, aliens in blood, occasionally, we fear, hostile in feeling, may be possessed by the veto of the Crown, but this is a check against misgovernment and 'class legislation' which the colonists have shown a desire to get rid of as speedily as they can.

The feelings of the Maories have already been unmistakeably displayed on a subject of such vital importance to them as a people. On a recent tour in the interior by the Governor, the uniform tenour of the speeches made by the chiefs was unfavourable to the new system of government. It was urged that no alteration should be made in the administration of native affairs; that they preferred being under the direct management of the Governor, and that it was not just that the Maories should be placed entirely in the power of the white man: 'that salt water and fresh water do not exist well together,' and that if their affairs were to be put into the hands of any assembly, they should be placed in the hands of an assembly consisting of their own race; but that it was to the Governor they had always looked for sympathy, advice, and protection, and they desired still to be under his direct superintendence.

It was, moreover, urged with great truth and force, by a number of individuals, both natives and colonists, to whom the Governor addressed communications, that, like native races in a similar condition, the Maories look more to the person governing than to the principle on which the Government is formed; that they value permanence and stability, and are sensitive on the point of being allowed to deal directly with the principal rather than the subaltern officers of the administration; that the general animus of the colonists is not favourable to the race; and that it is not probable that the members of any responsible ministry will be especially acquainted with the feelings of the people, or will be personally known to or respected by them; that any marked attention to native rights is by no means popular; and that, being left to be dealt with by subordinates, the chiefs will gradually secede from all communications with the authorities, and form leagues and schemes in concert of which the Government will have no cognizance; that they would thus become estranged; and that when they came to
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be feared and suspected there would be the constant risk of the Governor being driven by the ministers to use the military against them, and that the country would not be safe for six months after the question of peace and war had been entrusted to a ministry who had virtually the command of the Queen's troops, but who were themselves irresponsible to the Crown.

Considerations such as these probably gave rise to that political movement among the native race to which we have before adverted, having for its object the appointment of a Maori king. The native agitators of this question were, generally speaking, actuated by no feeling of disaffection to the British rule, but they felt that in matters involving native interests the Colonial Government was practically impotent, and that, as the power of the great chiefs was fast decaying, they believed they might revive it by electing a head for themselves. At a great meeting which was called for that purpose, one chief only expressed himself as directly hostile to our rule. He recapitulated the alleged injuries of his race—the indignities shown to his countrymen in visiting the towns, native women debauched, men made drunk, and the chiefs themselves sometimes insulted. The conservative party, attached to the British rule, hoisted the Union Jack, but with a new device—**POTATAU KING OF NEW ZEALAND**. As the discussion which took place on the occasion brings out strongly the New Zealand character, we shall quote from Mr. Swainson's pages a portion of this very remarkable political debate:—

'**PAORA**.—God is good. Israel were a people. They had a king. I see no reason why any nation should not have a king, if they wish for one. The Gospel does not say we are not to have a king. It says, "Honour the king." Why should the Queen be angry? We shall be in alliance with her; and friendship will be preserved. The Governor does not stop murder and fights among us. A king will be able to do that. Let us have order, so that we may govern as the pakehas * grow. Why should we disappear from the country? New Zealand is ours. I love it.'

'**WIREMU TE AWAITAI** (an old Wairo chief).—I am a small man and a fool. I am ignorant of those Scripture quotations. My name has been heard in the old day, and sometimes it is still mentioned. I am going to speak mildly like a father. My word is this: I promised the first Governor when he came to see me, and I promised all the rest, that I would stick to him and be a subject of the Queen. I intend to keep my promise, for they have kept theirs. They have taken no land. Mine was the desire to sell, and they gave me the money. Why do you bring that flag here? There is trouble in it.

* Colonists.

I can't see my way clear; but I know there is trouble in that flag. I am content with the old one. It is seen all over the world, and belongs to me. I get some of its honour. What honour can I get from your flag? It is like a fountain without water. Don't trouble me. You say we are slaves. If acknowledging that flag makes me a slave, I am a slave. Let me alone in peace. Go back to the mountains. Let us alone in peace. I and the Governor will take our own course. That's all.'

'WIREMU TAMIHANA TARAPITIPI.—I am sorry my father has spoken so strongly. He has killed me. I love New Zealand. I want order and laws. The king could give us these better than the Governor, for the Governor has never done anything except when a pakeha was killed. He lets us kill each other and fight. A king could stop these evils. However, if you don't like the king, pull down the flag.'

'WAATA KUKUTAHU.—Let the flag stand; but wash out the writing on it. Let us not talk like children, but find out some real good for ourselves. We cannot do it by ourselves. The white men have the money, the knowledge, everything. I shall remain a subject of the Queen, and look to this flag (the Union Jack) as my flag for ever, and ever, and ever. If it be dishonoured, I shall be. If it is honoured, so shall I be. I accept fully the arrangement made between the Governor and Potatau;—Laws, a Director, and the Assembly. I don't want to talk, for my mind is made up. I shall begin to work on the basis of that agreement. You may go on talking, and when you have done we will let you join us, for if you follow your road you will be benighted, get into a swamp, and either stick there or come out covered with mud.'

'POTATAU (the proposed king).—Wash me, my friends, I am covered with mud. Love Gospel and friendship. Ngatihaua work, continue to work. The kotutu sits upon the stump and eats the small fish. When he sees one he stoops down and catches it. This is his constant work. William, you understand your work. When the sun shines we see him.'

The old chief who thus closed the debate had always been one of our most staunch allies, and the movement to make him king, Mr. Swainson says, placed him in a most embarrassing position. He did not wish to appear disaffected to the Crown, nor to offend his friends who had paid him the compliment of wishing him to rule over them. He appears in consequence to have spoken, like Oliver Cromwell under somewhat similar circumstances, an incoherent jargon which did not throw any light upon the question under debate. No apprehension is for the present entertained in the colony of any unpleasant result from this demonstration: it is one, nevertheless, calculated to create uneasiness, as tending to revive in the minds of the natives the sense of national independence. The elected 'king' is animated by no feeling of hostility to the British rule, but a different sentiment

his successor. The political future of New Zealand is certainly not so clear as we could desire to see it, and it is to be hoped that the Colonial Assembly will perceive the necessity of considerable concessions to enable the Governor to deal in a satisfactory manner with difficulties which must increase from year to year, and even now present a threatening aspect. The appropriation of a portion of the revenue for native purposes, and the conferring upon the Governor an unfettered discretion in its application, would seem to be the only possible solution of the perplexing problem, how to reconcile the protection of native interests with the domination of a foreign race. The justice and honour of Great Britain are involved, and there can be no doubt that she will see her pledges and intentions fully carried out.

If we have estimated correctly the character of this noble people, they are as sensitive on the point of personal treatment as they are jealous of any infringement of their rights. A New Zealander is even more ready to resent an affront than to avenge a wrong. A sense of personal worth pervades all classes. They were the original and hereditary proprietors of the soil. The gradation of ranks is strictly preserved. The demeanour of a high-born chief, in whatever position he may be placed, is marked by a manly ease, a fine tact, and a lofty bearing that would command the admiration of the most fastidious society. The higher orders are habituated to a deferential treatment from their inferiors, and are courteous and affable in return. They are by no means convinced that we possess any natural superiority, whatever advantages civilization may have conferred upon us, and a slight coming from one of our race would be felt like a wound. They have their vices and their faults, which certainly are not hidden under the mask of an artificial refinement; but in all the attributes of manhood they are in every respect equal to the people with whom they are politically united. Secure at present by their numbers, and by the force of their character, from any flagrant attack upon their rights, may they never be exposed to a social persecution! May no caste prejudice spring up to alienate and repel them from our fellowship! Their habits can never be changed by throwing them back upon themselves, and forcing upon them a social isolation. There are public men in the colony who happily regard the question of a future amalgamation of the two races in a spirit of comprehensive humanity. 'On the part of the Crown,' said the Colonial Secretary, speaking from his place in the House of Representatives, in the session of 1858, 'the promise has been made to the Maories that they shall be one people with us, one people under one law. The magnitude of the promise it is hard to realise. It overwhelms me when

I think of it. It implies a gigantic labour. It is the education of a race. But the promise binds the British Government in honour and conscience. It is a sacred promise, and I say of my Government that when we use these words, conscious as we are of their deep import, we mean what we say.' These sentiments are creditable to the Minister who uttered them and to the Assembly in which they were expressed; and when a policy has been adopted which is calculated to carry them into effect, we shall predict with confidence the future greatness of New Zealand, and shall join cordially in the hopes and anticipations of Her Majesty's late Attorney-General for that country:— 'In other regions of the world,' says Mr. Swainson, 'England has by conquest extended largely the bounds of her dominion—the result of many a brilliant victory. But what is won by the sword, and that which is held by the sword, by the sword may also perish. In New Zealand the issue still is pending, and the victory yet unwon. But if it shall be given to the founders of this colony to be also the instruments of preserving a barbarous native race, and of raising them in the scale of civilization to a level with themselves, then, crowned with these unwonted blessings, the first-fruits of a coming age, the colonization of these islands will be one of the noblest conquests in the annals of our history; and New Zealand, already the cradle of civilization and the dayspring of light to the heathen people of the Southern Seas, will be, indeed, the brightest ornament in the borders of our empire.'

ART. III.—1. *Erdkunde im Verhältn. zur Natur u. Gesch. der Menschen, oder allgemeine vergleichende Geographie.* Von Dr. C. Ritter. *Asien.* VIII.—ii. *Sinai Halbinsel*, 1848. VIII.—iii. *Palästina*, 1850-51. VIII.—iv. *Judäa*, 1852. Berlin.

2. *Sinai and Palestine in connexion with their History.* By Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, M.A., Canon of Canterbury, Oxford, and Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford. Fifth Edition. London, 1858.

3. *Later Biblical Researches in Palestine and the adjacent Regions: a Journal of Travels in the year 1852.* By Edward Robinson, Eli Smith, and others. Drawn up from the original Diaries, with Historical Illustrations, by Edward Robinson, D.D. and LL.D., Professor of Biblical Literature in the Union Theological Seminary, New York. London, 1856.

4. *A Handbook for Travellers in Syria and Palestine.* London, Paris, and Malta, 1858.

5. *Memoir*

5. *Memoir to accompany the Map of the Holy Land constructed by C. W. M. Van de Velde, late Lieut. Dutch R. N., &c. &c.* Gotha, 1858.
6. *Sermons, chiefly on Old Testament Histories, from texts in the Sunday Lessons.* By John Hampden Gurney, M.A., Rector of St. Mary's, Marylebone. London, 1856.
7. *Scripture Biography.* By the Ven. R. W. Evans, M.A., Archdeacon of Westmoreland, late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. 3 Vols. London, 1834-1848.
8. *Practical Sermons on the Characters of the Old Testament, adapted as far as possible to the course of the Christian Year.* By the Rev. E. Monro, M.A., Incumbent of Harrow Weald. 3 Vols. London, 1855-1858.
9. *Daily Bible Illustrations.* By John Kitto, D.D., F.S.A. 8 Vols. Edinburgh and London, 1850-1854.
10. *Undesigned Coincidences in the Writings both of the Old and New Testament, an Argument for their Veracity.* By the Rev. J. J. Blunt, B.D., Margaret Professor of Divinity, Cambridge. Third Edition. London, 1850.

THERE is no doubt that peculiar difficulties are connected with the study of the Old Testament, and that of late some of these difficulties have been felt more than formerly, or at least have been obtruded more prominently on general notice. This is probably an advantage, rather than a loss, to the cause of religion. Each age seems to have its own appointed work in the progress of theological science. And something is always gained when the hard parts of a subject are distinguished from the rest. A problem, once distinctly stated, is often not far from its solution.

Thus much will be granted by all in reference to the Old Testament, that individual characters play a conspicuous part in it, and that its local association of incidents, both great and small, with the aspects of outward scenery is peculiarly close. We are therefore under great obligations to those who enable us to study this part of the sacred Scriptures biographically and topographically. The value of this kind of aid in the instruction of the young can hardly be over estimated. Much improvement is perceptible in the Scripture helps which are published for their benefit; but authors, educators, and preachers do not always seem aware of the stores which are indirectly available for this important part of instruction. Our own age is peculiarly rich in materials for this purpose. In whatever else, as regards religion, it may be defective or hostile, its travellers, naturalists, and geographers have given us large accessions which we are bound

bound to use. The last half century has done more than all the centuries which preceded it, in furnishing an exact topographical basis for the facts of Sacred history.

We are the more disposed to put a high estimate on this kind of geographical commentary on the Old Testament, in proportion as we are aware of the difficulties connected with some of the dates of Jewish history. The topographical basis is quite as valuable as the chronological. 'He that holds a reed in one hand,' says an old and famous writer, 'to mete the Topography, and an *houre-glasse* in the other to measure the Chronology of the Scripture, shall meet with as many, if not more uncertainties, in the latter as the former.'* With regard to chronology it must be admitted that manuscripts are very liable to errors in figures: whereas geographical facts, as it has been well said, are peculiarly stubborn things: they are witnesses always at hand, to be compared and cross examined again and again. And we may say further, that for a clear perception of the significance of transactions, for the harmonising of biographical incidents, and generally for the moral ends which we have in view when we read the Scripture, a vivid realisation of local influence is of more value than minute knowledge of the details of chronology. Those writers help us most who can directly present to us the characters of the Bible in their unity and full expressiveness. But no inconsiderable aid is derived from those who truly and fitly describe the scenes on which the sacred dramas were successively enacted. Our best acknowledgments are due to all, whether to those who supply the frame for the picture, or put the picture within the frame.

The titles of ten works are placed at the head of this article. All are contributions of considerable value towards the intelligent study of the Old Testament. The veteran Ritter, who has done more than any other man for that science which unfolds the history of the civilisation of man in connexion with the phenomena and capabilities of the earth which he inhabits, has travelled slowly since 1812 through a long series of eighteen volumes from China and the confines of the Pacific, to the shores of the Mediterranean, and to those islands of the Archipelago which are the stepping-stones to Europe. Two volumes of this great work on the physical and political geography of the Asiatic

* Fuller's '*Pisgah-sight of Palestine*' (London, 1650), p. 2. A little afterwards, commenting on St. Paul's words in Acts xvii. 26, he says: 'We may see here Divinity the *Queene* waited on by three of her principall *Ladies* of honour, viz., Skill in Genealogies, concerning the persons of men and their pedegrees, Chronology, in the exact computation of the times before appointed, Geography, in the measuring out the limits of the severall nations.'

continent* are devoted to Arabia in general, one to the Sinaitic district, three to Palestine Proper, and two to the rest of Syria. The author has now entered on the concluding portion of his task, the description of Asia Minor. Our business is with the parts which were published between 1848 and 1852.

In 1838 Dr. Robinson gave to the world his celebrated 'Biblical Researches in Palestine.' No other writer has done so much for the ascertaining and fixing of individual Biblical sites. He has now added a supplementary volume,¹ containing the results of another journey undertaken in 1852. The earlier work is republished uniformly. In this reprint we miss the large type and the clear open shading of the maps, which made the first edition so pleasant both for reading and reference. The present map is done by the now eminent cartographer Kiepert, whom in his first edition Dr. Robinson described as 'a young scholar of great talent and promise in Berlin,' where the manuscript was prepared. It is doubtless minutely accurate; but the scale is so small, and the details are so numerous, that it is painful to the eye. Great as are our obligations to Dr. Robinson, we cannot allow our tribute of thanks to be altogether unmixed with regret. His own work is so solid and so good that he might afford to take more notice of other labourers, whose claims likewise are great. His style is not attractive. There is a monotonous uniformity in all his works, and a certain dryness in the enumeration of facts, which at times becomes wearisome. Not so with the next book on our list. If there is a dull and leaden atmosphere over the scene as described by the American traveller, the Oxford Professor's sky is always full of brilliant lights. The 'Sinai and Palestine' of Canon Stanley is in the hands of all readers. It is, as they have doubtless observed, not strictly a systematic work on the Geography of the Holy Land;† still less is it a History of the Holy People; but it is intended to elucidate the relation in which they stand to one another. The book is full of life and reality. The historical circumstances of each successive locality are grouped into a picture, sometimes ingenious, but always delightful and instructive. Even

* Strictly speaking, the Sinaitic volume is the first part of the second section of the eighth volume of the 'Erdkunde von Asien.' The second part of this huge section of a volume is subdivided into two portions, and a supplement (each separately bound), containing respectively the Jordan-district, the coast-district, and the midland regions of Judæa, Samaria, and Galilee. Then follow the two volumes (1854, 1855) on Phœnicia, Lebanon, and Northern Syria; the second containing Antioch, Palmyra, and Damascus. The six volumes form a complete work. At the end of the third and sixth are indices. The reader who wishes to save himself time, as well he may, in consulting these volumes, should look at the admirably-classified tables of contents prefixed to each.

† As a convenient and well-arranged manual, nothing has been published so good as Raumer's 'Palästina.'

the maps are made subservient to this end of vivid representation : for they are not merely delineations of ground in the ordinary conventional sense, but are so tinted as to give the colouring which the various regions actually present to the eye.

Mr. Porter's treatise is a Travellers' Handbook, one of the series which, beginning with Switzerland and the customary routes through Belgium and Germany, is now embracing almost all the countries which attract the adventure and curiosity of English tourists. It is avowedly, in part, a compilation ; but it is the compilation of a man who is minutely acquainted with the land of which he writes, and who has journeyed through it in various directions. Though the transcription of considerable portions is frankly acknowledged, he is still a greater debtor to others than he always confesses.* Possibly there has been some haste in the revision of the pages : otherwise we might say that some blemishes are unscholarlike.† The map is simply Dr. Robinson's, divided conveniently into two parts.

Of Van de Velde's beautiful representation of the country we may safely assert that it supersedes all earlier publications of the kind. Other good maps of Palestine have indeed been compiled during the last half century : among which we may particularly mention that of Berghaus, published in 1835, with an explanatory memoir ; that of Zimmermann in 1850, which accompanied Ritter's volumes ; and that of Kiepert in 1852. But the map of Van de Velde far surpasses them all in fulness and accuracy, in clear delineation, and (no slight recommendation) in the cheerful and pleasing character of its colouring and shading.‡ The author had great advantages for the task from his previous experience in the hydrographical surveys of the Dutch navy. But the construction of this map was almost the settled purpose of a life ; and, undertaken as a labour of love, it was prosecuted and com-

* The description of the ascent of *Jebel-Mousa* (p. 33) has been pointed out to us as a condensation of Robinson, i. pp. 151-154. To this we can make no objection. Nor need we perhaps, in the account of Antioch, censure the similarity of parts of p. 605 to parts of vol. i. p. 143, of Smith's 'Dictionary of Geography.' But we think the due limits are exceeded, when a writer's treatment of a subject is very characteristic, and when that treatment is borrowed without acknowledgment, or when the inverted commas mark only a part of what is taken. In illustration of this remark, we may ask our readers to compare Porter, p. 219, on Bethel, with Stanley, pp. 216, 217, and P. pp. 386, 387, on Sisera, with S. pp. 331, 332.

† As specimens, we give the following :—*Sozomon*, p. 72. *Trachonites*, 295. *Ieraticus*, 309. *Zuave*, 442. *Philopater*, 605. At p. 334 are two extraordinary mistakes in a quotation from Horace. For a similar instance, see p. 401. From the occasional occurrence of 'would' for 'should' in these volumes, we might suppose Mr. Porter to be a Scotchman. But this is impossible ; for on p. 384 he writes 'clacken' for 'clachan.'

‡ The relative scales of Robinson's and Van de Velde's maps are represented by the fractions $\frac{1000}{1000}$ and $\frac{117}{1000}$.

pleted with a serious sense of religious duty. The narrative of Van de Velde's journey,*—a narrative which (though perhaps, as the Germans would say, too subjective) is alike remarkable for its devout and Christian spirit and its rich stores of Scriptural illustration,—was given to the world before his ultimate task was completed. With the map is now published a companion volume, containing a detailed analysis and itineraries; tables of geographical positions and elevations; and an admirable index † of the ancient names which have been identified, the dates and authorship of the identifications being conscientiously stated. We believe it will be agreed by all who have examined the subject, that the five authors whom we have enumerated have, by well arranged stores of learning, by careful and patient personal inquiry, by picturesque grouping, by practically useful suggestions and good topographical delineation, combined to place the geography of the Old Testament on a level immeasurably higher than any that had been previously attained.

We could not use similar language of any group of works on the Biography of the Old Testament. Much is expected from Professor Stanley's Oxford Lectures. The books, however, which we have put together in our list are in various degrees, and for various reasons, well worthy of notice. Mr. Gurney's volume is an unpretending collection of sermons, marked by good sense and sound doctrine. The name of Archdeacon Evans is a familiar and honoured name in Cambridge; and is also well known to the public in connexion with a series of works characterised by poetic thought and practical usefulness. These volumes of Scripture Biography have something of the meditative (perhaps we ought to say, dreamy) air of the 'Rectory of Valehead;' but they show the hand of a Christian scholar, and their high religious standard is that which has rebuked and aided many a minister of the Gospel in the 'Bishopric of souls.' One of the features of Mr. Monro's 'Practical Sermons on the Old Testament' is a deep appreciation of the varieties of human character and a sympathising sense of the pressure of circumstances. Some of their theological statements are, in our opinion, questionable; and several passages will be thought fanciful; but we know few better contri-

* 'Narrative of a Journey through Syria and Palestine, in 1851 and 1852.' Edinburgh and London, 1854.

† The best features of a recent work by Professor Osburn, of Roanoke College, Virginia ('Palestine, Past and Present,' London and New York, 1859), are the geographical index and the clear, open shading of the map. America is very prolific of books on the Holy Land. Another, which has lately appeared, is by Dr. Thomson, a medical missionary, who has long resided there ('The Land and the Book,' London and New York, 1859).

butions towards the understanding of the men and women who lived under the old dispensations. In this enumeration it would not be right to leave out the name of Dr. Kitto, whose other works on Palestine are well known, and who in eight little volumes has popularised, for the benefit of families and schools, a large amount of knowledge not otherwise so conveniently accessible. Lastly, we come to Professor Blunt's 'Undesigned Coincidences.' He treads here, firmly yet warily, in Paley's steps. Every page is a specimen of his strong shrewd sense and manly style. These lectures were published before the appearance of the recent important contributions to Biblical topography. But he too (as, for instance, in his remarks on the position of the tribe of Ephraim in the Holy Land, with its religious capital at Shiloh and its political capital at Shechem) * shows a full appreciation of the value of geographical relations in elucidating coherence of events and consistency of narrative.

The history of the Jewish people is the most remarkable of all histories. But it is equally true, in one respect at least, that the geography of the Jewish land is the most remarkable of all geographies. The extraordinary depression of the Jordan valley, though the measurements are now exactly given through the observations of Lynch and others, is hardly yet as familiar as it ought to be.† There is no such second gash on the surface of the earth. Petermann, in one of his geographical papers, puts the matter before the German reader by supposing the summit of the Brocken 400 feet higher than it is, and Jerusalem placed there, and the Dead Sea on the level and at the distance of Halberstadt. This is a fall of 3000 or 4000 feet within an interval of less than twenty miles. In the Biblical narrative, too, this valley or plain of the Jordan is of the utmost interest. Here the political history of the Jews really began. Over this level, to the western hills beyond, the last gaze of Moses was directed. Here was the starting-point of Joshua's campaigns. Here the separating line of the eastern and western tribes. Here the last scene of Elijah's life. Here too his antitype John the Baptist inaugurated the Gospel history. In fact, as Elijah is biographically the link between the Old Testament and the New, so is the Jordan geographically. In the course of theology the basin of this river might be taken as our starting-point, as Ritter takes it in the course of physical delineation. The whole of his fifteenth volume is devoted to this valley, in which the

* Pp. 176, 177.

† It is evident that even Dr. Robinson, when he published his first edition, was far from appreciating the state of the case.

Jordan descends, by a curious symmetry, after being on the level of the Mediterranean at the Lake of Merom, first to 650 feet below that level at the Sea of Tiberias, and then to exactly the double of that depression at the Dead Sea. Leaving this district, our description naturally falls into two divisions,—first, of the Eastern highlands which rise abruptly like a wall into a broad pastoral region of downs and forests, and then slope away through desert to the steppes of the Euphrates,—and secondly, of the Western highlands, which also rise abruptly from the sultry plain of Jericho and descend by a longer and more gradual inclination to the green plain along the coast, which is thus sheltered from the hot eastern winds as well as refreshed by the breezes from the sea. The high eastern district, the inheritance of the two tribes and a half, was rather a border-land than an essential part of the country in which the Sacred history was unfolded; but the vision which Jacob saw at Mahanaim in anticipation of his meeting with Esau, the associations of Ruth's early life, the sieges of Ramoth Gilead, and many other impressive episodes of the history, invest these comparatively unexplored uplands with peculiar interest. In traversing the western 'hill-country' from north to south, as traveller after traveller has recently done year by year, the plain along the coast is constantly visible. From its broadest part near the Egyptian frontier it gradually narrows northwards, as the coast recedes to the east and the range of Mount Carmel advances north-west to its commanding promontory. The level ground runs round the promontory like a fringe, and then, after expanding suddenly inland into the extensive plain of Esdraelon, dies finally in a narrow strip along the Phœnician shore. The plain of Esdraelon or Jezreel (the words are the same*) is the one marked exception to the general law of the configuration of the country, which otherwise would be a uniform range of hill, with a low belt on either hand, from the Sinaitic desert to the snows and forests of Lebanon. And this plain is alike remarkable, physically and historically. It is the battle-field of Palestine. Travellers are sometimes fortunate in unexpected coincidences. We ourselves well remember the pleasure with which, on a first Sunday in Athens, we heard the seventeenth chapter of the Acts read in the English Church, and went after service to read it again in solitude on the Areopagus. Professor Stanley tells us, in a recently published volume of sermons, that he was at the convent of Mount Sinai on a Sunday when the fourth chapter of Galatians was the Epistle for the day; and he

* Esdraelon is the Greek form. That which is strictly called the 'Valley of Jezreel' is the central pass between the plain and the Jordan-valley.

did not fail to preach accordingly.* A friend, just returned from Palestine, has described to us a startling moment in the early morning, on a ride from Jerusalem by Bethhoron to Jaffa, when the sun rose over Gibeon and the moon was full before him over the valley of Ajalon. Similar must have been the satisfaction of Mr. Porter in 1857, who came upon a scene in this 'valley of Jezreel,' which was a singular repetition of that witnessed in the days of Gideon, when the Midianites, the Amalekites, and the children of the East invaded the land. There the Bedouins 'lay along in the valley like grasshoppers for multitude;' the innumerable camels were there with their 'silver ornaments,' the sheikhs with scarlet and blood-stained robes, fit representatives of Oreb and Zeb, the 'Raven' and the 'Wolf.† Other opportunities will occur, as we proceed, for noticing military or personal incidents, which were] dependent, in a very important manner, on the geographical relations of this distinctly defined and exceptional district.

A single glance at the boundaries of this land of Palestine brings its most important characteristic immediately into view. Though closely connected with two continents, it was an isolated land. On the west is the 'Great Sea' with an inhospitable shore; on the east is a broad sea of sand; to the south and north are vast mountain-systems, differing as much as possible in character, but rising to about the same elevation,—the bare peaks of Sinai above their plateau of arid wilderness,—and the richly wooded, well-watered ranges of Lebanon, the source of the fertility of Canaan, and its defence against the Syrian invaders. Thus, 'as Israel was a separated people, so was the land of Israel a separated land.' This is finely pointed out in detail by Ritter in the opening of his fifteenth volume. He says truly that History and Nature are not placed accidentally side by side, but that the former has a close dependence on the latter,—that as there is a necessary connexion between the body and the soul, so is there 'between the Home and the People, between Physics and Politics.' And then he proceeds to show that on no scene could the Sacred history have been so well transacted as on this. Possibly there is some over-statement in one of his remarks concerning the absence of roads through this region. But of Jerusalem at least it is true, that it stood apart from all the great roads.‡ Nor can we fail to remember that the ships of the
Mediterranean

* 'Sermons, preached mostly in Canterbury Cathedral.' London, 1859.

† Judg. vi., vii., viii. See Pa. lxxxiii. 'Handbook,' p. 355.

‡ This isolation of Jerusalem was noticed by Fuller. After remarking that it was the destined centre, whence the lines of salvation were to go into all lands, he adds:

Mediterranean merchants sailed past this poor harbourless coast. The theocracy precluded communion with other nations; and the physical barriers, within which the Jews were placed, were an aid to this seclusion. Though in close proximity to the culture and idolatry of Egypt, Phœnicia, and Assyria, their circumstances were favourable to the retention of their peculiar institutions and their pure monotheism.

It has not, however, always been noticed so clearly as it might have been, that Palestine, though a separated land during the appointed time of separation, was a prepared land for the time that came afterwards. It was isolated, it is true, by remarkable physical provisions, but isolated only in the earlier part of the world's history. The time came when the truth, which was committed to the keeping of the Jews, was to act on the mind of all nations, through dispersion and commercial intercourse, through the language of the Greeks and the polity of the Romans; and the geographical place of Palestine was a condition of the later history as it had been of the earlier. The Lebanon may be a grand barrier on the north, but between its parallel chains is the long valley of El-Bekâa, leading up to that 'entering in of Hamath,' which is so significantly mentioned in many of the Sacred books, and where the eyes of the last king Zedekiah were put out on the march of the captives towards Babylon. Though the dreary frontiers of the south and east must always be unfavourable to the movements of armies and discouraging to commercial enterprise, and though Jewish efforts in the Red Sea trade were premature and unfortunate, yet (to say nothing of Petra) the short desert of El-Arish became rather a link than an impediment between Syria and Egypt, when civilization and conquest began to move on the great scale. Alexander crossed it almost as easily as the French in our day, when on his march to the siege of Gaza. The wars of the Maccabees, and of Alexander's successors in Syria and Egypt, show these two avenues into the Holy Land thrown more and more open, as the time of the Roman sway approached. Even the sea was no longer a separating thing, when Alexandria and Antioch added their traffic to that of Tyre and Sidon, and still less when the noble harbour and wharves of Cæsarea were built. We see at a glance how the appointed isolation of Judæa was ended after the destruction of Jerusalem, if we look at the Itineraries and trace

adds: 'Yet it was distanced from the sea welnigh forty miles, having no navigable river near unto it. For God intended not Jerusalem for a staple of trade, but for a Royall Exchange of Religion, chiefly holding correspondency with Heaven itself, daily receiving Blessings thence, duly returning Praises thither. Besides, God would not have his virgin people, the Jews, wooed with, much less wedded to, outlandish fashions.'—p. 315.

the

the Roman coast-road and all its ramifications between the Nile, the Euphrates, and the Orontes. Thus, if Palestine was the secluded home of 'a peculiar people,' it was also the hearth, whence the sacred fire went forth into all lands.

Another point of paramount interest has been brought out with great force by Canon Stanley. Palestine is remarkable for its alternations of structure and scenery, and its sharp contrasts both of human pursuits and physical temperature. 'Such a country furnished at once the natural theatre of a history and a literature, which were destined to spread into nations accustomed to the most various climates and imagery.' The pastoral life and the agricultural were in close proximity. The populous city and the wilderness not far from one another. The sea was visible from all the highlands; and the allusions in Hebrew poetry to seafaring life are frequent. 'If the valley of the Nile or the Arabian desert had witnessed the whole of the sacred history, it is impossible not to feel how widely separated it would have been from the ordinary European mind; how small a portion of our feelings and imaginations would have been represented by it.' The books of the Bible were written in the midst of great variety of natural phenomena,—oppressive heat, storm and hurricane, barren waste, rain and fruitful soil. The bleak mountain top could be reached in a short space from the deep tropical valley. The snowy summit was combined in one view with the far-stretching region of sand. 'The sacred poetry, which was to be the delight and support of the human mind and the human soul in all regions of the world, embraced within its range the natural features of almost every country.*'

For a detailed survey of the land no more convenient course could be adopted, certainly none more instructive, than to follow some of the more important biographical threads which the Old Testament places in our hands. Taking such lines as our guide we might, without any artificial process, so pursue them as to obtain continually a wider and more exact view at once of the country and the history. Such lives would be, for instance, those of Abraham, Moses, Joshua, David, and Elijah. Nor does it seem to us that any plan is better adapted to show in a coherent form, though necessarily on a small scale, and in a cursory manner, the resources provided in the books before us.

The journeys of ABRAHAM bring us successively to the best points that could be chosen for a survey of the characteristic

* Stanley, pp. 124-127.

features of the home that was promised to his children. Here we speak of the land not in its widest prophetic aspect, but in its limited sense, viz., from Dan at the roots of Lebanon, to Beersheba at the edge of the desert, and from the Jordan on the east to the Sea on the west. Abraham was indeed acquainted with the surrounding countries, which are the outskirts of the promised land. The Moabite mountains were the background of the picture in the most terrible scene that was presented to him during his life.* The neighbourhood of Damascus was evidently well known to him.† Once he was at Dan, on the northern frontier;‡ and for many years he resided near the Wells in the extreme south. The Mediterranean must have been a familiar sight to him. The image under which the promise of posterity is presented to him is sometimes the sand of the sea, and sometimes the sand of the desert.§ He was, as it were, a type of the wider fortunes of his race. All his earlier days had been spent in the plains near the Euphrates, and under the sky and stars of Assyria; while one important passage of his life made him acquainted with the rich cultivation and populous cities of Egypt. But taking the main points of his biography, we can say with truth that if he had travelled so as to survey Palestine and obtain a general view of it (and indeed he was commanded so to travel, to turn his eyes 'north and south, and east and west,' and to go through the land 'in the length and the breadth of it'), no points could have been more wisely selected than those which were his successive residences. Alike for the topography of the Holy Land, and for the Patriarch's life, four of the most remarkable places are Shechem, Bethel, Hebron, and Beersheba, separated in succession from each other by about equal intervals, and in a general line of direction from the north to the south.

When he came within the sacred limits, the first place where he rested was *Shechem*. Here he was told that the fulfilment of the promise was begun, and that he was really in the land which had been dimly announced to him.|| We have no power to enter into the state of Abraham's knowledge and feeling; but when we consider that the land was to be one which God himself would show him, it is natural to imagine that some thoughts of the Paradise of our first parents would enter into his mind.¶

If

* Gen. xix. 27, 28.

† Gen. xiv. 15; xv. 2.

‡ Gen. xiv. 14.

§ Gen. xiii. 16; xxii. 17. Heb. xi. 12. || Gen. xii. 1, 7.

¶ See a *Life of Abraham* by Hoffmann, in Piper's 'Evangelischer Kalender' for 1857. The biographies in this unpretending periodical are well worthy of notice. The writers are such men as Neander, Nitzsch, Ullman, Sack, Lange, Krummacher. Great good is done when really able men write in a popular form for the general public. The other lives from the Old Testament which have

hitherto

If this was so, no place that he had ever seen could be more in harmony with the thought. No place could well be more contrasted with the Padan Aram—the 'Plains of Syria'—which he had left behind. No spot could be more consoling and encouraging. Shechem is the garden of Palestine. Van de Velde describes it in charming language. Here, he tells us, there are indeed no wild forests and tangled thickets, but there is always verdure—no violent mountain torrents, but always water. He mentions too the melody of a host of singing birds—'for they too know where to find their best quarters'—and he dwells on that peculiar haze which produces the atmospheric tints so often wanted in an Eastern landscape. These characteristics have reminded many travellers at Shechem of the parks of England. It is observable that this is the very scene of Jotham's parable of the trees, the first parable of Scripture.* That in Abraham's time foliage was not wanting, is evident. The place of his encampment is called the 'plain of Moreh,' but it ought to be the 'tree of Moreh,' or the 'wood of Moreh.' If we take another view of the subject, and follow Ritter, who deals with the country physically, and describes it systematically, according to its drainage towards the sea-side plain, or towards the basin of the Jordan, we notice that Shechem is exactly on the water-shed. All the country to the west slopes off to the Mediterranean, while the waters of the plain *El-Mukhna* have now been ascertained to find their way to the eastern *wady*s. Shechem is on the edge of this plain, just where a remarkable transverse cleft is made in the general course of the mountain range. The hills, which rise precipitously on each side of this narrow gorge, are Ebal and Gerizim, where Joshua, according to the command of Moses, gathered the victorious tribes in two companies, near the tomb where the bones of Joseph were laid. Shechem, during the period of the Judges, was the political capital of the Israelites, as Shiloh was the religious. It was the rallying-point of Rehoboam after the death of Solomon, and again a metropolis when Jeroboam established his revolted kingdom. Here also was the scene of the conversation with the Samaritan woman, in which He who was the end of the promise unfolded the meaning of the dispensations which began in Abraham. Shechem seems to combine into one view all the passages of Jewish history. Nowhere, if his prophetic vision had extended so far, could the

hitherto appeared are those of Moses (1852), Hannah (1853), David (1857), Isaiah (1859). Besides these, are Papers by Ritter (1852, 1854), on the Sinaitic Peninsula and the Forty Years' Wandering.

* Judg. ix. 7-15.

Great Patriarch have more appropriately gazed upon the varied fortunes and the ultimate glory of his race.

But it was the land, not the history, which Abraham was to survey in detail. He soon moved onwards. His next resting-place was *Bethel*. Both on leaving Shechem, and again on his return from Egypt, he pitched his tent on a spot which is very definitely described as 'a mountain, having Bethel on the west and Ai on the east.' Now that Bethel has been identified with *Beitin*, travellers have little difficulty in fixing on the very eminence where Abram and Lot stood together with that striking view before them and beneath them, when Lot 'beheld all the plain of Jordan that it was well-watered everywhere, even as the garden of the Lord, like the land of Egypt,' and when he made his fatal choice and journeyed 'east.' And it is significant in connexion both with this view and (as Archdeacon Evans observes*) with Abram's loneliness after his kinsman's departure, that it is precisely here that the promise is given in fuller detail: 'Lift up now thine eyes, and look from the place where thou art, northward and southward, and eastward and westward; for all the land which thou seest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed for ever.' Henceforward Bethel was always a sacred spot. It was surely not by accident that Jacob's dream took place here; and not without a meaning that this hill marked the line of a geographical boundary, first between two tribes and then between two kingdoms. It is to Dr. Robinson that we owe the fixing of the site of Bethel. Lieutenant Van de Velde has more recently determined that of Ai. Nor is the question one of trivial importance. For Ai was a critical point in the first military operations of Joshua, after the fall of Jericho; and a clear perception of its relation to the pass by which the ascent was made from Jericho, is a great help to the understanding of the campaign. This is one of the districts in which the superiority of Van de Velde's map over Robinson's is conspicuous.

Hebron, the Patriarch's next station, and afterwards his most settled home, has never been unknown or lost. It takes rank with Gaza and Damascus, as one of the cities of Genesis, which have never ceased to exist and to be important. Even in Abraham's time it shows the marks of settled political life. It was not 'a place' like Shechem, or a stony eminence crowned with wood, like Bethel. The scene of the bargain at the gate

* 'Ser. Biog.' i. p. 58. The outward aspect of the country, as seen from the high ground, is vividly noticed by the Archdeacon, in his account of Abraham's first journey; but the expression 'peaks' (p. 54) is more suitable to Westmoreland than to Palestine.

with the sons of Heth for the cave of Machpelah might be enacted in a modern Eastern city. Hebron is a very marked point in the southern part of Palestine, partly because of the fertility of its neighbourhood, but still more from its elevated position. It is the highest town in Syria, being placed as much as 2800 feet above the level of the sea. Those who have read Professor Stanley's charming description of the transition from the desert to Judæa, will have noticed how much stress he lays on Hebron. Those who have followed Dr. Robinson's various routes will have observed how often he passed this way. Historically this city has always been prominent. The spies of Moses entered the land here and gathered their clusters of grapes in the neighbouring vineyards. Hebron was a city of refuge and a Levitical city. It was the rallying-point of the tribe of Judah, the capital of David for seven years, and the place where Absalom set up his standard. So we might follow its history down to Godfrey of Bouillon at the beginning of the twelfth century, and Saladin at the end of it. But of all the recollections of Hebron none are of so universal an interest as the promises given here to Abraham, and the seal here affixed to his faith. He was told to look up to the sky at night, and assured that his seed should be innumerable as the stars; the sway of his posterity was to extend over the whole land, between the furthest rivers with which his travels had made him acquainted; and to him at this place was applied that saying, twice quoted in the New Testament, which expresses the principle and the reward of all true religion: 'He believed God, and it was counted to him for righteousness.'

Southwards again, to about the same distance, we follow Abraham to the frontier at *Beersheba*, where the cultivated country passes gradually into the wilderness. Here the promise had reference, not so much to the land as to the universal blessing which was to arise from his seed. It was at Beersheba that Isaac was born; and here that the faith of the father was put to the severest test by the demand of the sacrifice of the son. We must not enter into the discussion raised by Stanley and others, who wish to remove the scene of sacrifice from the hill where the Temple of Jerusalem afterwards stood, to the more conspicuous height of Mount Gerizim, near Shechem. Though disposed to adhere to the old-fashioned view, we will merely say, that an argument in favour of the newer view may perhaps be drawn from the circumstance, that the image presented to Abraham in the prophetic announcement is now not the sand of the desert, but 'the sand of the sea-shore'—the very sea-sand which would be on his left, if, as is suggested, he journeyed on this occasion along the Philistine plain. The

scenes

scenes at Beersheba, both before and after this journey, are eminently characteristic of the proximity of the desert. The story of Hagar and Ishmael is a story of the wilderness, and consistent in all its parts. We may notice especially the allusion to the scanty shelter of the single tree, which finds its parallel in the life of Elijah, when he is travelling by this spot on his way to Horeb. But especially we should remark, in all this part of the narrative of Abraham's life, the significant mention of *the wells* of the south frontier, which, as opposed to natural springs, play so important a part in the life of the wilderness. Beersheba, 'the well of the oath,' or 'the well of seven,' now identified beyond a doubt, still retains its name. When Isaac met Rebekah, it is said that he 'came from the way of the well Lahai-roi, *for he dwelt on the south.*' Professor Blunt has an ingenious section on the consistency of those parts of the Mosaic narrative where reference is made to wells. He notices the contention and agreement of Abraham and Abimelech, 'because of a well of water,' and the later strife of Isaac's servants and the herdsmen of Gerar for a similar reason; and passing on to the message sent by Moses to the king of Edom, and afterwards to the king of the Amorites, he then suggests the conclusion that the onset of the Amalekites, when the children of Israel were entering the heart of the Sinaitic range under the Lawgiver's guidance, was caused by the supernatural outburst of water, and reminds us that such a coincidence, by making the narrative more trustworthy, confirms the miracle.*

If now we turn to the life of MOSES himself, we find ourselves, in various respects, in the midst of very different scenes. Characters are presented to us in more minute detail, as well as the countries in which their actions were performed; and we are no longer following the Arab sheikh with his flocks and herds, but are surrounded by all the struggles and varied movements of political life. There is a certain dim stillness about the character of Abraham. 'Dreamy, grand, and solemn,' as Mr. Monro says, 'is the figure of the Semitic patriarch, advancing by slow marches over the steppes of Asia. He looms like some vast mountain through the mists of the early morning of the world, before the clearer and more minute painting of the noon-day sun had wrought out the closer details of the history of man. His character suggests rather than delineates; it hints rather than describes.' But in the life of Moses all is movement, activity, enterprise, and struggle. We can study him in a vast variety of circumstances, and under the

* 'Und. Coinc.,' pp. 69-74.

conditions imposed by difficulties and opponents of all kinds. We see him learning his first lessons of self-knowledge in solitude, among the grandest scenes of nature: next we see him in a royal court, resisting the king, defeating the hierarchy, and breaking the chains of his countrymen; thence we follow him through his unceasing work of government, legislation, diplomacy, and war. And, as we follow him, there is brought before us a vast range of the country, which is necessarily associated with the history of the Holy People. We do not indeed enter the Holy Land itself, but we once almost enter it on the southern border; and we become familiar with those famous views from Mount Hor, Mount Peor, and Mount Nebo, which were presented to the gaze of Aaron, Balaam, and the legislator himself. We study the whole outer framework which encloses the land on the south and on the east. Of these two regions the former has been more fully explored, and the results of the research more exactly recorded, than is the case with the latter. Much indeed remains to be done before the Sinaitic peninsula and the desert plateau to the north of it can be considered as really known; but the last twenty-five years have furnished large resources for an appreciation of the early life of Moses and the scene of the giving of the Law. Of the Transjordanic land, first imperfectly made known to us through Seetzen and Burckhardt, and afterwards visited by Irby and Mangles, we are only now beginning to have an accurate knowledge through the researches of Mr. Porter and Mr. Cyril Graham.

The more closely we consider the region of *Mount Sinai* simply as a question of geography—in its mere place on the map, and in its physical features—the more remarkable does this district appear. It lies on the bridge, as it were, between Africa and Asia, yet not on the direct road between one continent and the other. It is near Egypt on one side and near Palestine on the other, yet separated by a wilderness from both,—near the Indian Ocean, over which the trade has passed in all ages between east and west, and near the Mediterranean, where all the early advances of civilisation took place, yet not in direct contact with either of those seas,—near all the more marked scenes of sacred and early secular history, yet standing remote in a solitude of its own. If geographical position can justly be regarded as having anything to do with an event like the giving of the Law,—an event which, though of universal interest, was destined to a temporary reserve,—none can be conceived more suitable than Sinai. And this train of thought is more fully justified if, from the geographical position of the mountain, we pass to its physical characteristics. The awful
grandeur

grandeur and impressive desolation of this range are described by all travellers. No scene can be imagined more appropriate—either for impressing on Moses the unity of God, which was revealed to him here when a shepherd in exile from Egypt,—or for giving force to the teaching of the Jewish people, who were turned here from a horde of slaves into an organised nation. No scene could be more contrasted either with the rich alluvial plain which the Israelites had left, or with the land of hills and valleys which was destined to be their home. The passage in the history is not more marked than the region where it occurred. It is impossible to believe that the place of the giving of the Law was chosen without regard to its natural impressiveness, heightened as that impressiveness was by other outward phenomena of an awful kind. How great and permanent an effect was produced on the Jewish mind by the circumstances in which their legislation began, may be gathered, possibly from the lives of Elijah and St. Paul,* certainly from the Epistles to the Galatians and Hebrews and from the speech of St. Stephen.† As to the place where the Israelites were encamped on the occasion, it would perhaps be premature, till the whole Sinaitic region is explored, to say that no shadow of doubt rests on the subject; but it seems to us that the level space fixed on by Robinson, and since re-examined by Stanley, sufficiently satisfies all the conditions of the case. Here is extent enough in the plain and in the *wadys* opening out of it for the tents of all the Israelites: here is the mountain descending abruptly to the level ground, in the sight of all the assembly: here Moses might come down and hear the tumult of the people without seeing the cause: here, too, at certain seasons of the year, is a torrent of water. We cannot enter into all the arguments connected with the fixing of this locality. Nor can we go back to trace the stages of the Israelites from Suez, through the desert and the mountains. In leaving out this portion, we are avowedly passing by the discussion of considerable difficulties; and this is the part of the ‘Sinai and Palestine’ with which many readers will be least satisfied. For ourselves we must say, that in regard to the support of the people in the wilderness, we believe the supernatural explanation to be the easiest.‡ When there is a miracle at all, there is good reason for believing a great miracle. To this Professor Stanley would probably not demur. But still we think that from excessive candour he concedes, or appears to

* 1 Kings xix. 8; Gal. i. 17. † Gal. iv. 24, 25; Heb. xii. 18; Acts vii. 30.

‡ Archdeacon Evans says of the cattle and flocks, that they must have been miraculously supplied with fodder, or else reserved in some green region during the marches of the people. (‘Scr. Biog.’ iii. p. 62.)

concede, too much in the miraculous parts of Jewish history.* One geographical point, in this early part of the history, he brings out with singular vividness. The 'encampment by the Red Sea,' between Elim and the wilderness of Sin, appears to be fixed beyond a doubt† Leaving this point, we are probably correct if we imagine the Israelites, after the interview with Jethro, to have gone up eastwards into the central mass of mountains, and that the fight with Amalek took place in the *Wady Feiran*, from the end of which the *Wady Esh-Sheikh* sweeps round in a vast semi-circle, northwards, eastwards, and southwards, and thus forms a solemn approach to the plain designated as the scene of the Giving of the Law. No one can read descriptions of the cliffs and summits which surround this spot without perceiving that they are fit to be, as we believe them to be, the awful and magnificent propylæa of Jewish history.

After leaving Sinai, the Israelites, as we have said, were no longer a horde of slaves, but already an organised people. We are far more at fault, however, in tracing their wanderings henceforward than previously. If we could have the assistance of Hobab the Midianite‡ he would be to us 'instead of eyes, forasmuch as he knew' how travellers were to encamp in the wilderness. But until the limestone plateau of *Et-Tih*, with its various *wadys*, is thoroughly explored,§ we must be content to see a cloud rest on the wanderings of the forty years. It is only when we approach the mountains on the southern and eastern sides of the Dead Sea and the country beyond the Jordan, that we begin to have a clear view of another of the regions in which the Holy History was enacted, another part of the framework which encloses the Holy Land. The district beyond the Jordan is, as has been remarked, less fully known to us than the Peninsula of Sinai. We must indeed except Petra and the Idumæan country, which since the time of Burckhardt have been constantly visited by travellers who take the longer route from Egypt to Palestine. But the regions which lie to the north and north-east of Idumæa are still very inadequately explored. They were not visited by Canon Stanley; nor

* The charm of Professor Stanley's book is so great, and it is so certain to be much in the hands of all classes of people, that we regret his referring to Miss Martineau's 'Eastern Life' without some word of reprobation. It is true that it was written before her Deism became Atheism; but its spirit is in no real sense Christian.

† Numb. xxxiii. 10; Stanley, pp. 37, 69.

‡ Numb. x. 31.

§ This would not be a light undertaking. 'There is no comparison,' says Mr. Galton in a paper on the exploration of arid countries, 'between the difficulty of first exploring a desert land and that of travelling across it when its oases have been discovered.' ('Proc. of Geog. Soc.,' ii. 60.) An expedition to this part of Arabia, to be conducted by Mr. Galton himself and Mr. Spottiswoode, was recently in contemplation. We hope it has not been abandoned.

did Dr. Robinson enter them on either of his journeys, with the exception of one short excursion, on which he was accompanied by Van de Velde,* in search of the site of Pella. A still more recent traveller, Roth, has died prematurely, and the notes which he had collected are not yet fully published.† It is, indeed, by no means an easy enterprise to explore the countries which lie to the East of Jordan and the Dead Sea. Their inhabitants are proverbially lawless and dangerous. A dissatisfied and intimidated sheikh wished that Irby and Mangles might be struck with lightning before they reached Kerek; and the people of Wady Mousa and Mount Hor swore that these Christian dogs should not drink of their wells of water. It was as nearly as possible in the same words, and as nearly as possible in the same place, that a similarly inhospitable reception was given by the Edomites to the children of Israel. Miriam had died at Kadesh Barnea, which most authorities agree with Robinson in fixing in the southern desert about as far south from Beersheba as Beersheba is from Hebron. Aaron had died on the summit of Mount Hor, one of the most conspicuous heights in that range of wild broken cliffs of porphyry, which rise on the east of the Arabah or valley that connects the southern part of the Dead Sea with the Elanitic arm of the Red Sea. These two events, of such deep personal interest to Moses, closed the period of the wanderings. Henceforward the most marked passages, both of the lawgiver's life and of the history of the people before entering the land of promise, may be summed up in the two victories over '*Sihon king of the Amorites, and Og, the king of Basan*,' which, as mentioned in the Psalms read in our churches on the twenty-eighth day of the month, are seldom apprehended in their full significance.‡

The geography of these two kingdoms is as well marked as the events themselves, and has an equally permanent connexion with the fortunes of the chosen people. The precipitous valley of the Arnon opens upon the Dead Sea, about half-way between its northern and southern extremities: the break in the mountain-wall can be well seen by those who descend on the opposite side of the Jordan from Jerusalem towards Jericho. This valley of the Arnon was the southern frontier of the kingdom of the Amorites. It became the southern frontier of the Israelite territory in this direction. Sihon's royal city was Heshbon, the

* '*Later Biblical Researches*,' p. 323. Van de Velde, ii. p. 353.

† This traveller was sent out by the King of Bavaria. Short notices of his progress were given in Petermann's '*Mittheilungen*.' In 1857 the hope was expressed (iii. p. 113) that he would be a second Burckhardt. His death, from fever, caught near the waters of Merom, was announced last year (iv. p. 342).

‡ Numb. xxi.; Deut. ii., iii.; Ps. cxxxv., cxxxvi.

position of which is still pointed out to us by the name of the *Wady-Hesban*, immediately opposite to Jericho. This ravine divided the tribes of Reuben and Gad, who, in consequence of their large property in flocks and herds, asked and obtained possession of the high-swelling downs and rich pasture-land which stretch from the Arnon to the Jabbok.

The inheritance of Manasseh, originally the kingdom of Og,—the Bashan which was celebrated in all ages for its oaks and its cattle, and which stretched to the north from the Jabbok as far as the sea of Tiberias,—was obtained after a more difficult struggle than the kingdom of Sihon. There are certain allusions in the Bible to peculiarities in Bashan, which have received a remarkable elucidation very recently. We are told in the first book of Kings of the 'region of Argob, which is in Bashan, three score great cities with walls and brazen bars.'* This region of Argob, the 'Rugged Region,' the Trachonitis of the New Testament,† now called the *Lejah*, is an island of basalt, rent in the wildest manner into deep clefts, like the crevasses of a glacier, if we may compare two things which in most respects are as different as possible. Edrei, the capital of Og, and the place where he was slain in the decisive battle with the Israelites, seems to be well identified by Mr. Porter with some ruins bearing a similar name on a rocky promontory at the south-western edge of the *Lejah*, in the latitude of the sea of Tiberias, but very considerably to the east of that lake. Full details are given in a different work from that we are reviewing.‡ But these are far from being the only ruins which remain as a memorial of the struggles of the Israelites in taking possession of this country. Mr. Cyril Graham has given us an extraordinary account of deserted cities, with houses as perfect as those of Pompeii, but in their stone doors and large dimensions showing all the impress of a gigantic race of men. We must be content to refer to what he has made known to us in various periodical publications, and especially to his essay in one of the volumes of the quarterly journals, which bear the names of our two great Universities, and which have recently closed a brief but useful career.§ Nor is the interest of Mr. Graham's discoveries by any means limited to the region of Argob. The extent of Og's dominions, and the territory of Manasseh afterwards, reached to Salcah in the south-east.¶ From the castle of Salcah, a Mahomedan

* 1 Kings iv. 13. The iron bedstead of Og is well illustrated by Dr. Kitto. Mr. Graham also enters into the early history of metallurgy, as connected with Damascus. † Luke iii. 1.

‡ Porter's 'Five Years in Damascus,' ii. 219-223. § 'Cambridge Essays,' 1858. ¶ Deut. iii. 10; Josh. xii. 5, xiii. 11, 12.

structure of the thirteenth century, is a vast prospect over the eastern desert. The appearance of distant cities in the waste, and the rumours of more, tempted the adventurous traveller of whom we are speaking. The results of his journeys are now before the learned in the form of undeciphered inscriptions and other traces of an unknown civilization.* But we must not allow ourselves to be tempted in this direction. Our business is with the home which was allotted to the Israelites. After the victories over Sihon and Og, the interest of the sacred narrative rapidly concentrates itself on the summit of Mount Pisgah, and on the view which the expiring Legislator from thence obtained westwards over the land of promise.

There is nothing in the records of the world more affecting than the story of the death of Moses, as there is nothing more romantic than the story of his birth, and nothing more stupendous than the work with which he grappled during his life. The more minutely we review the details of this extraordinary biography, the more deeply we are impressed with the significant pathos of its close. The more carefully we study the character of Moses, the more emphatic are the religious lessons derived from his final disappointment. The child, whose beauty, three times mentioned in Scripture,† is noticed in such a manner by Josephus as to show that it was always a traditional subject of poetic thought among the Jews,—who was trained for his high mission, first at a royal court in the midst of the earliest recorded civilization, then under the cliffs and on the slopes of the mountains among the most solitary scenes of nature,—who became the liberator of his people, their lawgiver and prophet, and more than their monarch,—yet left the promise made to Abraham, concerning the land, just unfulfilled. He whose devotion to the people had been so unfailing, whose forgetfulness of self, whose humility, patience, and indignant zeal, and the faith on which these virtues rested, were an example to all time,—still, for a sin which man would hardly notice, is not to set his foot on the soil for which the nation had been prepared. A most touching melancholy rests on all the latest passages of his life. His sister was dead; his brother was dead. Of those who had reached manhood when the Red Sea was crossed, hardly one remained; and he himself was not to see the accomplishment of his work, though all the preparation, all the responsibility, had been his. The two last victories have just been won. The Amorites of Heshbon have been subdued; the rock fortresses of

* 'Jour. of Roy. Geog. Soc.' vols. xxvii. and xxviii.

† Ex. ii. 2; Acts vii. 20; Heb. xi. 23.

Bashan have been stormed. Three tribes have received their allotment, but it was on that side Jordan eastward; on the western side he is never to set his foot. As far as he is concerned, it would appear that all this preparation had been for nothing; as if all this legislation, this government, this war, this varied adventure, had been the discipline for one last sorrow, the prelude to one deep humiliation. The river is there, but he is not to cross it,—he is only to see the land from the mountain-summit,—his work, all but finished, is to be handed over to another for completion. Even his tomb is not to be known. No provision is made for the posthumous honour, which is sometimes so dear to those who have toiled for others. Of all generations of the Israelites on either side Jordan, no one ever knew where their Lawgiver was buried.

The religious lessons arising from the disappointment itself are not obscure. But for the onward movement of the history, as well as for instruction, we should not fail to notice how nobly Moses rises above the disappointment, how steadily he looks forward to the future of the people, though he himself must die. His own personal hopes are broken, and his own departure near; but he does not forget the great end for which he had been summoned to his post, or the duty of making provision for its accomplishment. This looking forward to the future is characteristic of Moses. Joshua is the religious soldier and conqueror, the unselfish divider of the spoil. David is the poet-king, giving utterance in richest psalms to the varied experience of a most sensitive heart. Elijah is the stern rebuker of sin, the fearless reformer of a nation's morals. But Moses is always building for the time to come. His thoughts are with the children of the next generation, and with their children's children. Even Abraham's prophetic faith was, so to speak, of a different type and character. He looked dimly forward 'for a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God.' But the mind of Moses is always occupied with definite settled arrangements for the continuance of the religious work which had occupied his life. And not only is he himself thinking of the future and labouring for the future, but distinct provision is made by a higher Power that the great plan shall really be continued. When he takes his leave of the people, *Joshua is by his side*. The significant presence of JOSHUA attracts our attention again and again through all the later scenes of the lawgiver's life, and it becomes still more so the last. If the local associations of this great Lawgiver are by the constant allusions

sions to the land and the last wistful gaze of Moses over the scenery of the land, so also are the individual actors on the occasion. The geographical and biographical features of the narrative are alike distinctive; and the two are in close combination with one another. Of the character of Joshua this may be said, that he is one of the few saints of Scripture, perhaps the only one, of whom no fault is recorded. Possibly it is this very freedom from fault which makes him appear less great than he really was.* He was essentially *the religious soldier*. It is remarkable how the military element is apparent throughout his life. In the first conflict with Amalek he was put forward evidently because Moses saw his capacity, not only to command the troops, but also to choose them. When Moses and Joshua come down from Sinai and hear the noise of the people in the plain, the latter exclaims, with characteristic impulse, 'It is *the sound of battle* which I hear;'[†] and, with the harmony which we always observe in the visions of Scripture, when the angel appears to him before the taking of Jericho, it is as a man *with a drawn sword*, and '*as the captain of the Lord's host*.'[‡] Joshua's moral character is consistent throughout. He is terrible, indeed, to his enemies, but he has all that gentleness which belongs to the true soldier. Other features may be brought together by using the hints supplied in sermons by Mr. Gurney and Mr. Monro,—personal courage, active untiring energy, severe sense of honour, singleness of aim, straightforward truthfulness, modesty in referring to his own services, and reverence in the discharge of religious duties.

With Joshua we enter the land itself, round part of which Moses had travelled, and which Abraham had viewed in its general features. And now we can supply the details which were omitted in that preliminary survey. The deeper shades can be filled into the picture which has already been slightly sketched. The book of Joshua contains the narrative, not only of the occupation of the territory, but of its division and allotment. The *Tribes*, which were dimly foreshadowed in Jacob's prophetic blessing, which appear in their early nomadic form in the wilderness, which do

* Dr. Kittó's remark is just: 'In the distant view, the personal and even public character of Joshua is overshadowed by the very greatness of the events and circumstances in which he is placed. The events are greater than the man . . . , and hence individually he attracts less attention than an inferior man among events of less importance. This, when rightly viewed, is not a dishonour to him, but a glory; for it shows how accurately he measured, and how truly he used, his right position.'—p. 315.

† Ex. xxxii. 17. '*Das ist Kriegsgeschrei*.'—Niemeyer, 'Charakteristik der Bibel,' iii. 383.

‡ Josh. v. 13, 14. See Monro, ii. 424.

not cease to be prominent in the New Testament and have their names perpetuated to the Book of Revelation, were connected by Joshua, as indeed they had been partially by Moses, with permanent geographical districts. No one, so far as we know, has shown so true an appreciation of—no one has so clearly elucidated—the topography of the tribes in connexion with their history, as Canon Stanley, who has happily entitled the book, which bears Joshua's name, 'the Domesday-Book of the Conquest of Canaan.' If we were to specify one part of the 'Sinai and Palestine' as eminently the author's own, and eminently useful and new, it would be that part in which the physical characteristics of the tracts occupied by Benjamin, Ephraim, and Manasseh, are connected with the corresponding historical transactions. In that earlier work, indeed, from which we have twice already quoted, the 'Pisgah-Sight of Palestine,' the tribes are singled out and separately delineated, after the fashion of county-maps and county-descriptions, not only with a charming mixture of quaint humour and devout feeling, but also with a remarkable anticipation of what we now feel concerning the importance of combining maps* with description, and both with history. The author also of the 'Scriptural Coincidences,' with the fine tact and ingenious observation which are conspicuous throughout the book, notices the great consequences which resulted from the relations of the tribes to one another, and even from the combinations into which they fell in passing through the wilderness.

Thus, to linger for a moment still among the tribes beyond the Jordan, Professor Blunt notices how naturally the request of *Reuben* and *Gad*,† to have lands assigned to them together, followed from their contiguous position during their long and trying campaign. Both had marched together on the south side of the tabernacle;‡ and we can well imagine that these two tribes, 'in addition to considerations about their cattle, feeling the strong bond of well-trying companionship in hardships and in arms, were very likely to act with one common council, and to have a desire still to dwell beside one another, after the toil of battle, as quiet neighbours in a peaceful country, when they were finally to set up their rest.' The pastoral and Bedouin character of these tribes comes into view at various points of their subsequent history. Fuller says, in quoting the exclamation of Deborah's song concerning Reuben abiding among the sheepfolds to hear

* Fuller says, p. 2, that before his time there had been 'many Discourses without Mappes, and more Mappes without Discourses,' but that none had previously given 'distinct Mappes and Descriptions together.'

† Numb. xxxii. 1.

‡ Numb. ii. 10, 14.

the bleatings of the flocks, 'No wonder if he preferred such musick before the clashing of the swords and the sound of trumpets in the battail against the Canaanites.'* This tribe was not renowned in history. 'He shall not excel,' was the stigma affixed to Reuben by Jacob; 'wherefore came such a dearth of eminent persons of this tribe, that neither King, Judge, Priest, nor Prophet descended thereof,—yea, few men of fame, only two notoriously infamous, Dathan and Abiram, Generalls of the mutineers against Moses.'† Of Gad, Fuller says:—'A tribe inferiour to none for fair rivers, fruitfull pastures, shady woods; superiour to most for populous cities and memorable actions atchieved therein.'‡ Passing northward to *Manasseh*, half of which tribe was settled on the east side of Jordan and half on the west, we find a remark of real importance, however amusing it is in form. 'Unity in affection may consist with locall separation. Besides, divine Providence might seem to have a designe therein, that this tribe of *Manasseh*, having a joint interest on both sides of Jordan, might claspe these countries together; and the *Manassites*, being (as I may say) *Amphibii*, on both sides of the river, might, by visits amongst their kindred, continue a correspondency and civill communion one with another.'§ It is evident, from what we have said concerning the chasm of the Jordan valley, that in itself it was enough to form a very serious separation between the eastern and western tribes. Everything which indicated and kept up the unity of these two portions of the Israelite community is interesting and important. No incident of this kind, both in its local and its really historical character, is more expressive than that of which an account is given in the twenty-second chapter of *Joshua*. When the two tribes and a half had fulfilled their promise of fighting for their brethren, and had returned across the river, they set up 'an altar by Jordan, a great altar to see to.' The other tribes, on hearing of this, rushed to the conclusion that idolatry had been committed, and must be followed up by civil war. The answer of the accused parties sets forth, in a most picturesque manner, at once the natural conformation of the land and the great principle of the religious unity of the nation. 'In time to come your children might speak unto our children, saying, What have ye to do with the Lord God of Israel? for the Lord hath made Jordan a border between us and you, ye children of Reuben, and children of Gad: so shall your children make our children cease from fearing the Lord. Therefore we said, Let us build an altar,

* Fuller, p. 60; Judg. v. 16.

† P. 75.

† Fuller, p. 55.

§ P. 91.

that it may be a witness between us and you, that your children may not say to our children in time to come, Ye have no part in the Lord.'

If we pass now to the western side of Jordan, we may take together as one group the four northern tribes—*Asher* along the edge of the Mediterranean, its inhabitants always tending to mingle with the Phœnicians of Tyre and Sidon—*Issachar* on the south, resting on the plain of Esdraelon—*Zebulon* and *Naphtali* dividing the east between them, and both bordering on the sea of Tiberias, and thus, in a well-known passage of the New Testament, mixing old associations with that Galilæan district, which first received the blessings of the gospel. One of Joshua's three great victories, the defeat of the northern confederation of the Canaanites near the marshy border of the 'tarn' of Merom, was won within the territory of Naphtali. Here, too, but in the higher region, among the varied and richly-wooded mountains which form the last ridges of Lebanon, was Kedesh,* the birth-place of Barak and the scene of the death of Sisera. The 'princes of Zebulon' are connected with the 'princes of Naphtali' in the Psalms,† as they are in a critical passage of the life of David during the early part of his reign.‡ The affinities of the territory of Zebulon are shown, in their relation to Asher, by the mention of Sidon and the sea in the blessing of Jacob,§ and in their southern relation by the allusion to the tents of Issachar in the blessing of Moses.¶ The tribe of Asher is of no note in the history of the Old Testament; and this makes it all the more remarkable, that one woman in the New, the prophetess Anna, should be singled out as belonging to it. Of Issachar, the geographical range, at least, is very marked. The low wide hot plain of Esdraelon is in Palestine (to compare small things with great) what the plain of Lombardy is in Italy, or the plain of Bengal in India; and the character of its inhabitants seems to have corresponded to the position. Whatever doubt there may be about the translation and exact interpretation of Jacob's words, 'Issachar is a strong ass, couching down between two burdens,' the substantial truth is expressed by Fuller—'the two burdens were Tribute and Tillage, betwixt which Issachar, advantaged by his equall situation, quietly couched, never meddling with wars, but when forced thereunto in his own defence.'¶¶

Crossing the plain of Esdraelon, we pass, in the language of the New Testament, from the hills of Galilee to the hills of Samaria—in that of the Old, from the four northern cantons to

* Robinson's 'Later Researches,' 367-369; Porter's 'Handbook,' p. 443.

† Ps. lxxviii. 27.

‡ 1 Chron. xii. 33, 34.

§ Gen. xlix. 13.

¶ Deut. xxxiii. 18, 19.

¶¶ P. 166.

the three central of the Israelitish people: 'A glance at the situation of this famous plain will show that, to a certain extent, though not in an equal degree, it formed the same kind of separation between the mass of Central Palestine and the tribes of the extreme north, as the valley of the Jordan effected between that same mass and the trans-Jordanic tribes in the east.' These are Professor Stanley's words: and now we enter the district which, as we have said, he has described with so much power and effect. It is peculiarly to our purpose to call attention to this district here, in following the thread of the life of Joshua; for here were the scenes of his most decisive campaigns; his own tribe was planted here; and within its limits was his home, so far as he had a settled home. The two sons of Rachel were, in their descendants, placed side by side in the Holy Land. Ephraim, Benjamin, and Manasseh were the three central tribes of the community; and it was not without a touching appropriateness that Joseph, brought far from the scene where Jacob had blessed his two boys, was buried here in the midst of the possessions of his posterity. *Manasseh*, on this side Jordan, was only the half of the whole tribe, and otherwise also it was far weaker and less distinguished than Ephraim; but it held a very marked and well-defined position, favourable both for agriculture and for war. Stretching all across along the high ground which rises from the southern side of the plain of Esdraelon, and commanding the valleys which enter the plain, it was a military frontier of extreme importance. 'Through these passes, occasionally guarded by strongholds, the lines of communication must have run between the north and the south: in these passes "the horns of Joseph, the ten thousands of Ephraim, and the thousands of Manasseh" * were to repulse the invaders from the north.' Professor Stanley adds that these passes are very little known; but that, whenever the plain of Esdraelon has been occupied by hostile forces, it must have been overlooked from the hills of Manasseh. 'On this turns the whole history of the great hero of Manasseh—Gideon,† who amongst these hills was raised up to descend on the Midianite host.'‡ *Ephraim* lay immediately to the south of Manasseh. Of the historical dignity of Ephraim we shall have a word to say again presently. 'We are so familiar with the supremacy of the tribe of Judah, that we are apt to

* Deut. xxxiii. 17.

† Jephthah was from the eastern section of Manasseh; and his character, like that of Elijah, bears all the impress of that wild half-Bedouin district. See Stanley, p. 321.

‡ Stanley, p. 243. He adds, that in the Apocryphal book of Judith the whole stress of the defence of Palestine against Holofernes is laid on this tribe, and on their 'keeping the passages of the hill country.'

forget that it was of comparatively recent date. For more than four hundred years—a period equal in length to that which elapsed between the Norman conquest and the wars of the Roses—Ephraim, with its two dependent tribes of Manasseh and Benjamin, exercised undisputed pre-eminence.* With this history the geography of the tribe had an intimate and necessary connexion. Whether the choice of a district so rich, so central, and so strong, was the cause or the effect of the power of Ephraim, we need not inquire. But here they were established, in the heart and fortress of the land; and this choice led on, by a natural succession of events, to the fulfilment of Jacob's prophecy. We should especially notice (what, indeed, we have noticed before as forcibly pointed out by Professor Blunt) that Shiloh, the religious capital, and Shechem, the political capital, of the Jews until the time of David, were both in this tribe. Of the critical situation of Shechem we have said enough in following the life of Abraham. But we cannot help remarking here, while describing the detailed fulfilment of the ancient promise, what a peculiar fitness there was in the convening of the tribes by Joshua at this place, when he was about to take his last farewell, and how, after the recounting of the annals of the nation from the call of Abraham, a local impression is stamped on the whole scene by his concluding action and words: 'He took a stone and set it there under an oak: and Joshua said unto all the people, Behold this stone shall be a witness unto us; for it hath heard all the words of the Lord which he spake unto us: it shall, therefore, be a witness unto you, lest ye deny your God. So Joshua let the people depart, every man unto his inheritance.'

But we must not entirely lose sight of Joshua till we have observed, with the help of Canon Stanley, how the situation and configuration of the ground occupied by the Benjamites were connected with the two most important victories of the son of Nun. *Benjamin* lay again to the south, stretching across from east to west between Ephraim and Judah. The fourth chapter of 'Sinai and Palestine' is devoted to this subject, under the two heads of the 'heights' and the 'passes' of Benjamin. It is the latter of these features which chiefly concerns us here. The middle region of the territory is part of the high table-land which runs from north to south through the whole of southern Palestine. Far up into this table-land, and often overlapping one another, the passes ascend transversely, westward from the deep valley of

* Stanley, p. 225. The Cambridge professor has in some degree anticipated this in the excellent passage on Ephraim to which we have referred before. 'Und. Coinc.,' pp. 176, 177.

the Jordan and eastward by a more gradual slope from the plain of Philistia. One of the former of these passes is the steep ascent from Jericho by Bethel and Ai—places already associated with critical passages of patriarchal history, and under Joshua the scenes of desperate conflict, as they were again in the early life of David. Down one of the latter, at the descent of Beth-Horon—not far from that other valley where David slew the champion of the Philistines—Joshua chased the Canaanites in the midst of the storm and the supernatural aid which accompanied his most important battle. For details we must refer to Professor Stanley, who describes in the most animated manner, and in close accord with the nature of the ground, the advance from Gilgal, and the defeat and flight in the valley of Ajalon. This cursory view of the territory of Benjamin may suffice to show that the consequences can hardly have failed to be important when it became the possession of an energetic and warlike tribe.

No Jewish tribe attracts the imagination so much as that of Benjamin, whether we consider it as a separate canton of the confederation, or in the part which it played in the national history, or in reference to the eminent individual characters which it produced. In the amount of its population, as in the extent of its territory, it seems never to have been large. We do indeed see a remarkable increase of numbers between the census of Sinai and the census of Moab. In that interval the tribe rose from thirty-five thousand to forty-five. But the fearful tragedy of the civil war, which is recounted at the end of the book of Judges, reduced this clan almost to nothing. The recovery, as regards numbers, must have been gradual and slow; and there is no doubt that the exclamation of the son of Kish, 'Am I not a Benjamite, of *the smallest of the tribes of Israel?*' and the '*little Benjamin*' of David's triumphal hymn, have reference to a literal fact. But the scanty numbers of the Benjamites were amply made up by their vigour and lawless energy. Their first tendency was to combine with Ephraim, with whom they had been associated in their journey through the wilderness. Afterwards they coalesced with Judah, to whose fortunes they became permanently attached. If we are asked for the individual characters for whom this tribe is famous, we point to the prophet Jeremiah, to Queen Esther and her kinsman Mordecai, who saved the whole nation in the time of captivity, but especially to two men, who bore the same name in widely different periods of Jewish history—the first King, whose commanding stature and popular qualities marked him out as a fit ruler for a turbulent and imperfectly-civilized nation, and the Apostle, whose Jewish feelings are always conspicuous in the midst of his work of gathering in the Gentiles. The Fathers delight to apply

to St. Paul,* in reference to his early persecution of the Church; and to his later devotion and service, the original prediction concerning his tribe: 'Benjamin shall ravine as a wolf: in the morning he shall devour the prey, and at night he shall divide the spoil.' And it is not without an evident hereditary pride that he himself refers to his tribe, not only in his Epistles but also in his Speeches. When he says that he is not merely a true-born Jew, but of the tribe of Benjamin,† and when he reminds his hearers at Antioch in Pisidia that the first Jewish king was of that tribe,‡ it is clearly the old spirit of the words 'Hear now, ye Benjamites,'§ softened and sanctified.

From Benjamin to *Judah*|| the transition is obvious and natural, whether we follow the geographical sequence or the order of historical events. And thus we pass at once to DAVID. The attitude taken by Benjamin was of the utmost importance to the new monarch during the early years of his reign. It was a royal tribe, like his own; its power was pre-eminent at Saul's death, and it contained David's most bitter enemies. For a time they raised the standard of a rival dynasty; but no long time elapsed before they gave in their allegiance at Hebron, and they were the means of drawing over the other ten tribes. Henceforward Judah and Benjamin were indissolubly united. For this fusion various reasons may be given. There is something in the sympathy¶ which would naturally arise between the two royal houses, and more in the intermarriage between the two houses. But perhaps we should not be far wrong if we were to say that the affinity of the two tribes depended chiefly on geographical considerations. Benjamin was the debateable ground between the great families of Ephraim and Judah.** Here, too, the table-land is continuous. There is no break like that between the northern tribes and the southern, or between the eastern and the western. But, above all, we must look to the critical position of Jerusalem,

* Tertull. 'Adv. Marc.' 1.

† Rom. xi. 1; Phil. iii. 5.

‡ Acts xiii. 21.

§ 1 Sam. xxii. 7.

|| A note is the right place for the tribes of *Simeon* and *Dan*. The former is omitted in the blessing of Moses (Deut. xxxiii.), the latter in the enumeration of the Apocalypse (Rev. vii.). For the first omission Professor Blunt finds a reason in the matter of Baal Peor (Numb. xxv. 14), noticing coincidentally the remarkable diminution of the tribe of Simeon shortly afterwards. It has also been suggested that the tribe of Dan is omitted in the other case, because of their early apostasy to Idolatry (Judg. xviii.). It is certain that the history of these tribes is insignificant. Simeon was early absorbed in Judah (Josh. xix. 9). Dan, on the Philistine frontier, ceased to be conspicuous after the period of their great hero Samson, though the enterprising expedition to the sources of the Jordan (Judg. xviii.) left a permanent mark in the topographical nomenclature of the country.

¶ 'Und. Coinc.' pp. 181, 189.

** Stanley, p. 195.

and its establishment as the metropolitan city. The choice of a capital is of peculiar moment in a kingdom made up of confederated portions. Hebron was the chief town of Judah; Shechem was, as we have seen, the chief town of Ephraim. Jerusalem was intermediate. It was, indeed, actually on the border line between the territories of Judah and Benjamin. David chose his city wisely, not only because the deep ravines made Zion strong in the military sense, but because it was well placed in reference to the general population. Hitherto there had been no true geographical centre of the Jewish people. One of the greatest results of David's reign was the drawing of the political and religious allegiance of all his subjects towards the city of Jewish poetry and prophecy. There is something very striking in this coincidence and combination of the personal history of David and the topographical interest of Jerusalem. The Kingly Prophet and the Prophetic City come into view and command our attention together. Jerusalem is our natural centre, if we wish to examine the Holy Land more minutely than before, and to connect its features with the poetry and the life of the Psalmist King.

No one can be indifferent, certainly no one ought to be indifferent, to the characteristics of the scenery in the midst of which the Psalms were composed. Doubtless many things in the Psalms are difficult and uncertain; but their topographical allusions we have the means of realizing with accuracy and force. And the gain is great, when, in our Church services or private devotions, we can intelligently associate incidents and places with sentences apparently obscure. We obtain a real help in this way towards putting ourselves in sympathy with David's trials, his feelings, his weakness, and his strength. It is wise to remember that David's history has its strictly human side, and to take this side thoroughly and heartily, just as it has its strictly supernatural side, and as we vehemently object to any half-hearted reception of inspiration and miracle. In David, as presented to us in his history and in his hymns, there is a marked individuality of character. We may add that the consistency of the geography connected with his life, and the truth of the appropriate scenery, are equally remarkable. All such elements in the narrative and the poetry are important, whatever explanations may be given of difficulties in the Biography or the Psalms; and such difficulties are often exaggerated.

Taking *Jerusalem* then as a centre, we might, in excursions of no great length, study the topography of Southern Palestine minutely, in the midst of recollections of King David. Immediately to the south, within an easy ride, is Bethlehem. On the upland pastures, and among the rocks and caves around his birth-

place, the young shepherd acquired not only that familiar knowledge of the outward objects of nature which reveals itself in all his psalms, but that courage and elastic vigour and presence of mind which served him so well in times of exile and war. Archdeacon Evans, with his characteristic love of a mountainous country, has pleasantly described this cheerful discipline and its precious results. Still further to the south and south-east we come to a region made memorable by the varied adventures of David when evading the pursuit of Saul. Here are Ziph, whose inhabitants twice nearly betrayed the fugitive as he lay in his stronghold in the wood or on the hill, and Carmel,* the scene of the charming episode of Nabal and Abigail. Both these places retain their old names hardly altered. Here also is En-gedi, a green oasis in a wilderness of bare rocks and ravines on the edge of the Dead Sea. For a description, and a good engraving, we may refer to De Saulcy, who is probably more trustworthy here than in his account of what he imagined he saw on other parts of this desolate shore.† If our eye ranges now towards the district that lies to the south-west of Jerusalem, where the hill country falls in open valleys towards the Philistine plain, we have before us the scene of the conflict with Goliath. There seems no reason to doubt that Mr. Porter, by the close similarity of the existing names, by the presence of the wide water-course with its smooth pebbles, and the suitable disposition of the ground, has fixed upon the right positions of Shochoh and Azekah. His remarks on the probable site of Gath, which lay still further in this direction, are well worthy of attention. Further still, somewhere on the edge of the desert, was Ziklag, which David was allowed to hold as his own under the Philistines, and whence he made forays on the Amalekites. Turning now to the other side of Jerusalem we have, to the north-west, Kirjath-jearim, a border town of Benjamin, whence the ark was brought to Mount Zion. To the north of the royal city, at about the same distance as Bethlehem, in the opposite direction, is Ramah,‡ the home of Samuel, not identified with certainty, but doubtless one of the 'heights' of Benjamin, to which Professor Stanley calls our attention. Not far off was Nob, infamous for Doeg's treachery and the massacre of the priests. Here again we are under obligations to the author of the 'Handbook.' It would seem from a

* It is needless to say that this Carmel must not be confounded with the scene of Elijah's conflict with the priests of Baal.

† His expressions are—'toute la plage couverte de verdure—une source admirable, une végétation splendide—c'est un véritable jardin.' 'Voyage autour de la Mer Morte.' Paris, 1853.

‡ See the note at the end of his fourth chapter. It is well known that the site of Ramah is one of the vexed questions of Scripture topography.

passage in Isaiah * that Mount Zion was visible from Nob; and Mr. Porter noticed, on one of his journeys, that it is full in view from a *tell*, which satisfies the other conditions of being near Anathoth, and close on the south of Gibeah. Completing now our irregular circle round Jerusalem, we come, on the north-east, to that valley between Bethel and Jericho which has been mentioned twice already. The upper part of it was the scene of Jonathan's heroism at the battle of Michmash, in the most disastrous part of Saul's reign; the lower part opens out upon the district which is full of the recollections of the most pathetic passages of David's reign. We might take a wider circle round the same centre, and speak of the great monarch's conquests over the Philistines on one side, and the Moabites and Ammonites on the other; of his relations with Phœnicia and Syria in the north, and, in the south, of his successes against the Amalekites and his bridling the Edomites with strong garrisons. But the allusion which has just been made, and our wish rather to follow the personal life of the son of Jesse, lead us into another train of thought.

All the circumstances which connect David with *the country beyond the Jordan*, are singularly adapted to leave pictures in the memory. We might begin with the story of Ruth from whom he was descended. In her life the fields of Bethlehem are connected with the purple hills of Moab by the most touching association. It is to this domestic link between two regions naturally hostile, that we must attribute the step which David took fifty years later, of boldly conveying his parents beyond the Dead Sea, and committing them to the care of the king of Moab, while he himself took refuge from Saul in the cave of Adullam. A confidence in the permanent feeling of kindred, even among enemies of his nation, is implied in his request: 'Let my father and mother, I pray thee, be with you, till I know what God will do for me.' And the confidence was not misplaced. 'They dwelt with the king of Moab all the time that David was in the hold.'†

When we pass on to the death of Saul, and the events which immediately succeeded, we are much struck by the incidents which first brought the new king into communication with the Transjordanic part of Manasseh. The dead bodies of Saul and his sons were 'gibbeted by way of insult and intimidation' on the walls of Bethshan. 'To the Jews, whose law forbade such exposure of a dead body beyond the sunset of the first day, this dreadful spectacle was far more horrible than it would, till recently, have been with us, whose roads and shores, and solitary places, have,

* Is. x. 32.

† 1 Sam. xxii. 1-4.

within the memory of living man, been defiled with corpses similarly exposed.' The Philistines probably knew the feelings of the Israelites, and purposely made the ignominy as terrible as they could. None ventured to interfere, save the men of Jabesh Gilead, 'whose grateful remembrance of their deliverance by Saul at the commencement of his reign, impelled them to undertake the bold and dangerous enterprise of rescuing the remains of their benefactor and his sons. They travelled at least ten miles, and having crossed the Jordan, stole away the bodies by night, in the face, as it were, of a hostile garrison.' Returning the same night to Jabesh, they burned the bodies, buried the bones under a tree, and mourned and fasted seven days for their fallen king.* David showed both generosity and policy in the warm message which, immediately on hearing of this transaction, he sent to these Manassites.† The point of interest to which we wish to refer here is, that Bethshan is in a valley which leads down under Mount Gilboa, from the plain of Esdraelon to the Jordan. Full in view are the wooded hills of Gilead; and Jabesh itself was probably distinctly visible from Bethshan.‡

In noticing David's early communications with the eastern tribes, we ought not to forget the Gadites, who appear, from what we read in the Chronicles, to have attached themselves to his fortunes during the adventurous life which he led before the death of Saul. 'These are they that went over Jordan in the first month, when it had overflowed all its banks; and they put to flight all them of the valleys, both toward the east and toward the west.'§ But by far the deepest interest in the associations of David with the eastern country is concentrated on the war with the Ammonites, beyond the further frontier of Gad. Joab was commanding there in the siege of Rabbath-Ammon when the sealed dispatch came, which resulted in the murder of Uriah. Professor Blunt points out indications of the power which Joab, once in possession of this terrible secret, thenceforward exercised over David. Mr. Monro has unfolded this more boldly, and quite conclusively. The significance of one part of the story might easily escape notice. Joab had taken the 'City of Waters,' which seems to have been the lower suburb of Rabbah, and now he sends messengers to David, urging him to bring reinforcements and conclude the siege himself—'lest,' he

* 1 Sam. xxxi. 11-13; Kitto, p. 313.

† 2 Sam. ii. 5-7.

‡ Bethshan, afterwards Scythopolis, but still called *Beisan*, has now been very fully described by Robinson and Van de Velde. The position of Jabesh is not quite certain. Porter places it to the south of Pella; Stanley, to the north.

§ 1 Chron. xii. 15.

says, 'I take the city and it be called after my name.' This diplomatic message of the crafty captain seems to have been intended to make the king feel that power, which had already been more than once displayed, but which from that time became an oppressive and intolerable influence,* thwarting him at every turn. From this critical period a shadow settles on the remainder of the monarch's life; and there is a pathetic interest in the later events which associate him with the country beyond the Jordan. First, there is the flight to Mahanaim in Absalom's rebellion. David's crossing of the Kedron, his progress over Olivet, the insults which he received, his own deep grief, his forbearance with his enemies, are described in words which admit of a prophetic application to other occurrences on the same scene. Of the incidents which took place while the king was on the further side of the river, engaged in the miserable war with his son, we naturally single out the intercourse with Barzillai, the rich and loyal Gileadite, who supplied the wants of the army at his individual cost. It is noticed by Dr. Kitto,† and others, as a natural coincidence, how appropriate the gifts are, as the produce of a pastoral country—'wheat, barley and lentiles, honey and butter, and sheep and cheese of kine.' Finally, there is the return, after the death of Absalom, and the close of the rebellion. The narrative rivets our attention on each minute particular. There is the 'ferry-boat' in which the Jordan was crossed,—the parting with Barzillai, 'too great a man to care to be a guest at the royal table, too true to desire any other sepulchre than that in which the dust of his fathers lay'—the promise to Chimham, fulfilled, as is curiously ascertained from a passage in Jeremiah,‡ by the giving of a possession near Bethlehem,—and the words addressed so abruptly to Mephibosheth: 'Why speakest thou any more of thy matters? I have said, Thou and Ziba divide the land.'§ David's character has suffered from his apparently unjust treatment of Jonathan's son. The popular view is expressed in the heading to the sixteenth chapter in the Authorised Version: 'Ziba, by presents and false suggestions, obtaineth his master's inheritance.' But we are inclined to think with Professor Blunt, that there was more treachery in Mephibosheth than in Ziba, and that David saw reasons to suspect this.|| The bitter feeling of the bereaved father, and the distrust which sad experience had justified, seem to speak in these impatient words. The whole

* 2 Sam. xii. 28; *Monro*, i. pp. 43, 44. The power of the Wicked over the Saint.
 † P. 422. ‡ Jer. xli. 17. § 2 Sam. xix. 29.

|| Professor Blunt lays much stress on the fact that Mephibosheth is entirely omitted in the last instructions which David gave before his death.

occasion is full of melancholy. There is a threatening, too, of political danger in the quarrelsome spirit shown by the representatives of the tribes. 'We have ten parts in the king, wherefore did ye despise us?' said the men of Israel to the men of Judah. An ominous hint of future schism is in the sentence which concludes the chapter: 'The words of the men of Judah were fiercer than the words of the men of Israel.'

The whole interest of the closing passages of David's life is concentrated upon Jerusalem, his own city, the sacred city of all future generations. His palace and his tomb, the site of the Temple on the holy hill, and the two deep ravines on the south and the east, are vividly brought before us at the last. A shade of sadness is over the whole scene. The fixing of the sacred site on the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite, is connected with calamity and destruction. Disaffection in the priesthood follows, and treason in the army and the royal household. The dark cloud of Joab's influence rests even on the monarch's death-bed. When David has almost reached the extreme limit of his years, he is suddenly disturbed by hearing of the rebellion of his son Adonijah, who has gathered his adherents at En-rogel, in the deep hollow where the ravines meet under the city. Not a moment is lost. The dying monarch has strength to display one last act of vigour. His clear intellect and prompt sagacity have not forsaken him, though his body is bowed down with age. The youthful Solomon is proclaimed and made to ride 'on the king's own mule,' and with his father's retinue, 'down to Gihon,' in the western ravine; and from thence 'they come up rejoicing, so that the city rings again.' The joyous uproar reaches the rebels down in En-rogel, and disperses them: and presently the accession of the new king is formally announced in a convention of the chief men of the city.* A knowledge of the topography of Jerusalem is a great help towards the realisation of these occurrences; and it is in every way a clear gain to associate David, intimately and accurately, with the locality which must always bear his name. The feeling of the Jews towards the 'Holy City' was ever afterwards co-ordinate with their feeling towards the Prophet-King;† and the local presence of his tomb amongst them was never forgotten.‡

To give a summary of the character of David is no easy task. Not only are we met by the difficulty, common to all parts of the

* 1 Kings i. ; 1 Chron. xxix. 'This mention of a second anointing in a narrative that does not record the first, and the description of the first in a narrative that takes no notice of the second, form an incidental corroboration of great value.' Kitto, p. 444.

† Matt. v. 35; xxvii. 53.

‡ 1 Kings ii. 10; Acts ii. 29.

Old Testament, which arises from the intermingling of the human and the Divine—so that, in dealing separately with the warp and the woof, we are in danger of misconceiving and disturbing the whole fabric of the narrative—but in this case there is an extraordinary diversity, and an apparent inconsistency, in what may be called the personal characteristics of the man. We feel indeed an unmixed pleasure when we contemplate him at the first, in the winning openness of his youth, in the courage which always charms us when displayed in boyhood, in his eager love of enterprise, and his cheerful trust in God. But as the experience of his life becomes more varied, as sorrows and struggles are multiplied, the lights and shadows of his character are perplexing. To put on one side those qualities, which either are defects, or at least do not necessarily command moral approbation, we see in David intense human affections, popular talents, a nature sensitive and sensuous, high ambition, impatience of restraint, keen love of approbation, sagacious prudence, military capacity, shrewd perception of character. On the other hand, his biography displays boundless generosity, as in the adventure of the well of Bethlehem,—undaunted bravery, as when his followers withheld him from the front of the battle, fearing ‘lest the light of Israel should be quenched’—noble designs for the good of others, a true sense of the best interests of his country, deep self-knowledge, unsatisfied yearning after holiness, unbroken belief in God’s infinite goodness, and a heart full of thankfulness and praise in the midst of affliction. In such a character there must be apparent inconsistencies and contradictions. And here is probably the secret of the attraction which David exerted and still exerts. He could easily place himself in sympathy with others. He had a strong power of loving and inspiring love. The elementary features of various men met in him. He had an extraordinary facility of drawing others round him. We find him surrounded by the most various groups of men—herein, as in so many other things, being a type of his Lord and his Son.* Even the human infirmities of David were a source of union between himself and others. A sense of kindred weakness often draws men together with a peculiar force of personal sympathy. It is evident that such a character needed a peculiar discipline. David was thwarted in his happiness; his affections were wounded; he was humbled by the results of his own sin. The bitter exclamation, ‘What have I to do with you, ye sons of Zeruiah?’ sums up a long experience of vexatious circumstances and deep suffering. Of these three sons of his

* See *Monro*, vol. ii. *David. Sympathising Characters.*

sister,

sister, Asahel was killed in early manhood, and his death was avenged by a second murder; Abishai was eager at various times in his incitements to bloodshed; and Joab exercised over his master the tyranny which we have described. Yet, on the other hand, David had proof, as no one ever had, of the free and unlimited mercy of God; and to him were granted, in richest measure, the tender feelings, the high resolve, the watchful care, which spring from conscious forgiveness. And the benefits of all this discipline and experience are ours. Their results are recorded and brought home to us in the Psalter. David's heart lies open to us, as well as his life. Thus, as he attracted and assimilated to himself all kinds of character during his life, so it is still. Multitudes of men, in all ages, and of various dispositions, have been under his influence. We are all drawn to him still; we see ourselves reflected in his confessions, and find our prayers in his prayers. The son of Jesse lives for ever in the Psalms, to sympathise, encourage, humble, and instruct.

The interest of David's personal life is chiefly connected with the southern parts of Palestine, or, as we have seen, with the country beyond the Jordan. If we wish to combine the scenery of the north with stirring incident, with moral lessons of momentous import, and with a man of commanding and extraordinary character, we turn, of course, to ELIJAH. We have spoken of the plain of Esdraelon as a physical feature of the country, and as a boundary between the Northern and Southern tribes. Some parts of David's life indirectly touched upon it, as, for instance, the lament of Gilboa and the exposure and burial of the body of his oppressor. But all the most prominent scenes of Elijah's life were associated with this plain. In fact, there could be no better way of studying all its aspects than by following his biography. A few further words of local description will help us in our cursory notice of the Tishbite's life and character.

As the northern part of Palestine is approached, the hills have a tendency, not observed in the south, to open into plains. Of these, *the plain of Esdraelon* is by far the grandest and most extensive, as it is the most eminent in history. Thus it stands alone as an impressive feature of the country with which no well-informed traveller fails to be struck. Dr. Robinson's description, always careful and precise, here becomes more animated than usual, and almost enthusiastic. As to the boundaries of this great level, Professor Stanley remarks that it is cut out of the mountains as with a knife. It lies extremely low, and on the west it touches the sea, where the Kishon enters to the south of Acre. The heat is often intense, even early in spring. Van de Velde was reminded,

reminded, when crossing the plain under a burning noonday sun, of the Shunamite's child, who was struck down by the fierce rays when he went out to his father among the reapers.* Eastwards, the plain stretches across nearly to the valley of the Jordan, with which it is connected by two prolongations of the low ground, sweeping past Mount Gilboa and Mount Tabor and the intermediate ridge which bears the name of the Little Hermon. Saul must have crossed this ridge on the night before his death, for his army was encamped to the south of it, and Endor was on the north, towards Tabor, and not far from the village of Nain. It is this valley to the north of Gilboa—the 'valley of Jezreel'—with which we are so closely concerned in the biographies of Elijah and Ahab. If we take these mountains, with their interruptions, as one side of the plain, we may consider it as triangular in shape, with one angle at the sea. Behind the hills which form the northern side are Nazareth and Cana, and all that Galilæan country which is associated with a later and still more sacred history than that which we are considering. The third side of the triangle runs in a south-easterly direction from the sea, and consists mainly of the high ridge of Carmel, and the lower hills into which it declines in the direction of Gilboa. These are the hills of Manasseh, and through them are the passes of which we have spoken above. Here, at the entrances of the hill-country, are Taanach, famous in the song of Deborah, and Megiddo, where Josiah died in battle against the Egyptian king. Careful attention has been given to these localities by Robinson in both his journeys, and his results are confirmed by Van de Velde, who gives important elucidations of Josiah's campaign.† To the south, not far from Shechem, among the hills which still bore the name of Ephraim, was Samaria, the metropolis of a new kingdom.

A great revolution had been accomplished in the country which had been united under the sway of David and his son. The change since Solomon's death had been rapid and disastrous. We have no longer one united land from Dan to Beersheba. The limits of which we read now are Dan and Bethel, and each of these places had been desecrated. A separation into two kingdoms had been made, as sharp and effectual as the division of the Low Countries in our times into Holland and Belgium. Such changes, however suddenly they may come at the last, do not usually take place without a long and silent preparation. Professor Blunt‡ has gathered together, with remarkable ingenuity,

* Vol. ii. p. 372. See 2 Kings iv.

† Vol. ii. pp. 351-356.

‡ Pp. 175-191.

several scattered hints, which might easily escape the notice of a casual reader, and which show the tendency of the tribes to subside into two confederacies, and the steady working of events towards an ultimate schism. Ephraim and Judah were singled out by Jacob for future pre-eminence. They entered the Holy Land 'with the Patriarch's blessing on their heads.' We have seen that Ephraim was paramount during all the time of the Judges. Deborah and Tola, who both seem to have been of Issachar,* judged Israel, as did Samuel, 'in Mount Ephraim.' We are called also to notice 'the tone of authority, not to say of menace,' assumed by this tribe towards their brethren in the wars which were conducted by Gideon and Jephthah.† Well might David say, when the allegiance of all the tribes was secured, 'Ephraim is the strength of my head.'‡ The seeds of future change had been sown, however great his present strength might be, when he exclaimed, on another occasion, 'He refused the tabernacle of Joseph, and chose not the tribe of Ephraim, but chose the tribe of Judah, even the hill of Zion, which He loved.'§ It is not to be supposed that so proud a clan as that of Ephraim could tamely see the seat of power transferred from Shechem to Jerusalem. Nor was this simply a political feeling, such as that on which we have been speculating this autumn, while our minds have been fixed on Milan and Turin. The worship also was transferred from Shiloh|| to Jerusalem, and the whole religious life of the nation was made to move round a new centre. In David's reign, indeed, the harmony was maintained, and Mount Zion was recognised as 'the seat of judgment; thither the tribes went up, even the tribes of the Lord;' and prayer was offered for 'the peace of Jerusalem.'¶ But a latent division existed, which needed only occasion to break into an open schism. Such occasion was furnished by the taxation imposed on all the tribes by Solomon for his great works at Jerusalem, and by the assigning to Jeroboam of an office which gave him full opportunity for intrigue and for laying the foundation of his future power.** The choice of Bethel, a frontier fortress, for one of his idolatrous sanctuaries, was a significant and decisive act.†† Geographical coincidences connected with this gorge that leads up from Jericho, meet us still as we follow the thread of history.

Religious degeneracy and political disorder followed rapidly

* Judg. iv. 5, v. 15, x. 1; 'Und. Coine.' p. 178; Stanley, p. 227.

† Judg. viii. 1, xii. 1.

‡ Ps. lx. 7.

§ Ps. lxxviii. 68, 69.

|| The temporary stay of the ark at Kirjath-jearim could hardly have affected the old feelings of reverence for Shiloh.

¶ Ps. cxlii. 3-7.

** 'Und. Coine.' pp. 183-186.

†† See Stanley, pp. 217, 218.

upon

upon the separation of Israel from Judah. While the line of David continued unbroken in Jerusalem, perpetual changes of dynasty occurred in the northern kingdom; and this uncertainty was reflected in the fluctuations which took place in the seats of government and the position of royal residences. Shechem, as was natural, was the first metropolis. At no great distance Jeroboam built for himself a palace and made pleasure-grounds in Tirzah.* Omri built Samaria and made it his capital, while Jezreel became to Ahab his son what Tirzah had been to his predecessors. No place in the Holy Land is more conspicuous in the present day than the isolated hill which Omri bought from Shemer and called by his name. Its existing ruins—the colonnades of Herod's city and the apse of the church of the Crusaders—belong to widely different periods from that of Ahab and Jezebel. The hill stands in a valley which opens westward to the sea. For military strength, for beauty, and for salubrity it is equally remarkable. Here Ahab reigned, while much of his more private life was spent at Jezreel, which was placed at the edge of the famous plain, and commanded a view deep down by Bethshan towards the Jordan and to the mountains beyond. In this reign the history begins to take a wider scope, and we are brought into close contact with Syria on one side and Phœnicia on the other. From the former came military disasters, from the latter the far worse evil of an unblushing and licentious idolatry. Jeroboam had earned the unenviable title of 'the man who made Israel to sin.' Ahab is branded in words which indicate both the weakness and utter depth of his fall: 'there was none like unto Ahab, which did sell himself to work wickedness in the sight of the Lord, whom Jezebel his wife stirred up.' The false worship with which Bethel and Dan had been desecrated was apparently intended to have some reference to Jehovah: but the hill of Samaria was crowned with the temples of Baal and Ashtaroth; the foreign priests were in honour at the palace, and all the influence of the court was exerted to spread moral corruption among the people.

It is just at this time that Elijah appears, suddenly and abruptly, on the scene. No character in the Old Testament is so remarkable, if we may use the expression, for picturesque grandeur. This startling figure is met at intervals, in the most unexpected manner, in various parts of the land. The feeling which he inspired is expressed by Obadiah, 'It shall come to pass, as soon as I am gone from thee, that the spirit of the Lord

* It is evident, from what is said in the Song of Solomon (vi. 4), that the beauty of Tirzah was proverbial. Its exact position is not known, though Robinson has fixed on a site which is probable.

shall carry thee whither I know not ; and so, when I come and tell Ahab, and he cannot find thee, he shall slay me.' The geographical range through which we trace Elijah is extraordinary. Himself a native of the wild border country of Gilead, we see him at Jezreel by the palace of Ahab,—in the ravine of Cherith* by the Jordan,—at Sarepta in the heart of Jezebel's country,—on Mount Carmel,—at Beersheba,—among the cliffs and caves of Horeb,—and on the northward road to the Syrian city of Damascus. His individuality is everywhere strongly marked. There is no better way of seeing what Elijah was than to contrast him with Ahab. The character of the king brings out that of the prophet into forcible relief. In one point, indeed, there was, on a superficial view, a similarity between the two men. Both were complainers: but the complaints of Elijah were those of a great mind, those of Ahab of a contemptibly weak one. Ahab is the true type of moral cowardice. He could not face a difficulty. He allowed others to do for him what he did not dare to do himself. There were indeed some good points about him. He had resolutions of amendment; but they vanished before the sarcasms of his wife. He could make a show of vigour; but it was always at the wrong time. Possibly he was not destitute of physical courage, for we read that, when he was wounded, he was 'stayed up in his chariot' during the battle till the evening. But the whole tenor of his life displays meanness, vacillation, selfishness, obsequiousness, and compromise. He looked up with terror to Elijah, and yet trembled in the firm grasp of Jezebel. 'He showed a singular consistency of character in suffering the steward of his household to thwart the aim and designs of his life, and yet retaining him in his position, consulting his judgment, and using his services.' In going up to Ramoth-Gilead to battle, he was superstitious enough to crave the moral assent of a prophet, and yet 'he was satisfied with the guarantee of a man whom he knew to be an impostor.' How great is Elijah, when viewed in comparison! As the hard austerity of his outer life to the luxurious weakness of the palace of Jezreel, so was his character to that of the king. In all the incidents of his career we see uncompromising firmness, bold decision, disregard of danger, neglect of his own ease, and a glorious unswerving simplicity in maintaining the cause of God. His dejection in solitude en-

* The arguments are strong for identifying the 'watercourse' of Cherith with the *Wady Kelt*. A difficulty has been felt in adopting this view from the supposition that the phrase translated 'before Jordan' in 1 Kings xvii. 3, really means 'east of Jordan.' But Professor Osburn shows, by a great collection of instances, that this is by no means necessary. Van de Velde argues in favour of the *Ain Fusaeh*. Both valleys run eastwards into the Jordan-valley, and either would sufficiently satisfy the conditions of the case.

hances the courage which rose with the occasion when peril was to be faced. Such features of the two contrasted characters are well delineated by Mr. Monro in three of the best of his sermons.* And he notices, with a true appreciation of Elijah's life, the probable influence of the great objects of nature upon his character. The circumstances which surrounded Samuel in his quiet home at Ramah, or Daniel in the Assyrian court, were very different from those with which the Hermit-Prophet was familiar. He loved the grand and lonely scenes of the outer world, and from them he may well have drawn many of his lessons, and through them been strengthened in his vast designs and stern vigour of purpose. This is certain, that the scenes of nature in which he appears prominent—the wild ravine, the desert waste, the mountain-summit—were majestic and impressive, and in harmony with his peculiar disposition; and that, in taking all this into account, we obtain a deeper sense of the reality of his life.

Carmel deserves our most careful attention. No more suitable and impressive scene could have been chosen for the momentous struggle of Elijah and the priests. We find it impossible to believe that the place can have been selected without reference to this fitness. If the theatres of the Greeks were proverbially well placed for commanding views associated with national and religious feeling, so was the theatre of this great drama. As a marked geographical boundary, the conspicuous mountain-ridge of 'farthest Carmel' was familiar to every Israelite. On the north side it rises abruptly, full in view from the plain. The park-like glades and wooded dells on its summit made it the recognised type of fruitfulness and natural beauty.† If we enter more closely into details, we are struck by the harmony of the topography with the narrative. The mountain itself lay without the range of Dr. Robinson's first journey; but Van de Velde has examined the locality with successful diligence, and enables us to realise the occurrence with minute accuracy. Many conditions require to be satisfied. There must have been space enough for a vast multitude to watch what took place at the altars; there must have been stones on the ground, and yet with the possibility of making a trench without delay; water must have been within reach, though in a time of drought; the Kishon must have been near, and below the place of sacrifice; not far above it must have been an eminence commanding a view of the sea; finally, the distance from Jezreel must have been such that it could be

* Elijah: the Faults of great Minds. Ahab: Moral Cowardice. Jezebel: the Fruits of perfect Sin. Vols. i. and ii.

† Song of Sol. vii. 5; Amos i. 2.

reached the same evening after the threatening of rain appeared. All these conditions are satisfied at a spot in the south-eastern part of Carmel called *El-Mohraka*, or the 'Burnt Place,' the same probably where Tacitus and Suetonius tell us that Vespasian went through a religious ceremony before seizing the Imperial throne. The cliffs rise abruptly here to a great height; and the Kishon winds immediately below. The point of greatest importance is, that if the sacrifice took place close to the sea, the distance from Jezreel would create a serious difficulty. It is commonly assumed that the water for Elijah's altar came from the sea. We remember a passage in one of Mr. Melvill's sermons where the dashing of the waves below is introduced to give more life to the description. And all such accessories are suitable, if they rest on reality. But Van de Velde found a perennial fountain at the place which he has described, and thus two difficulties vanish at once. It is impossible not to feel the value of this consistent topography. Taken in connexion with the consistent individuality of Elijah and Ahab, it furnishes no mean addition to the evidences of the truth of the narrative.

There is no need to dwell here on any topographical questions connected with Beersheba and Horeb, the next scenes in which Elijah appears. Beersheba is marked, naturally but incidentally, as belonging 'to Judah.' We have already noticed how the mention of the one 'juniper-tree' harmonises with the scenery of the desert. Horeb too has eminently characteristic accompaniments in the storm, the sound, and the silence. Concerning the state of Elijah's mind during this flight, and the lessons which he learnt in the course of it, we have read nothing better than the suggestions contained in Mr. Gurney's sermons. The fearless prophet had suffered a bitter disappointment. Jezebel was still powerful. The land was not cleared of idolatry. It seemed 'as if the world wanted him no longer, or as if all his labours to mend it were spent in vain.' There was no advance on the earlier time. He was 'no better than his fathers.' He had expected that all would have been changed, when Baal and his priests had been put to shame so publicly. His patience was exhausted: and he thought that the time for judgment was come. The answer conveyed to him on Horeb shows him that persuasion is better than vengeance; that a whisper can be heard by a willing listener; that tones of love and mercy may act on the conscience when terror would fail.* As to the Prophet's utter despair of his countrymen, and his hasty conclusion that the apostacy pervaded every family, the answer is that God knows

* Sermon xii., 'The still Small Voice.'

much which man does not know ; that there may be true piety in many, though they do not stand on Carmel face to face with the priests of Baal ; that we must not always judge of men by what we see. Well may the preacher give to this lesson a modern application. Ages and countries, which seem most unpromising, may be rich in true religion. Those may be better than ourselves, who do not belong to our party.*

As we have said, the chief recollections of Elijah and Ahab are in the northern parts of Palestine. The war with Benhadad has its points of extreme geographical interest. At the beginning of it the king of Syria had 'streets in Samaria' ; at the end of it the king of Israel had 'streets in Damascus.' The saying of the invading soldiers, after their defeat—'The gods of Israel are *gods of the hills*, therefore they were stronger than we ; let us fight against them *in the plain*, and surely we shall be stronger than they'—receives a vivid illustration from the nature of the country. M. Van de Velde, who is our best Scriptural guide throughout this district, marks the road by which Benhadad came with his chariots, and describes in an animated manner the local circumstances of the sieges of Samaria.† But our biographical thread conducts us rather to Jezreel. The weakness of Ahab had reached its lowest point in the case of Naboth's vineyard. The foolish '*O si angulus ille*,' which has made so many men miserable, placed him again in the terrible power of his wife. He is content that the crime should be vigorously done, if only she will take the responsibility. But suddenly, like an apparition, Elijah meets him in the very hour of his contemptible triumph, and on the very ground that he had coveted. We can all but determine the exact spot on which so much crime and retribution were concentrated. M. Van de Velde shows us how well chosen was the position of the palace, commanding, as it did, one view over the plain of Esdraelon, and another by Bethshan towards the Jordan ; and, by comparing together the narrative of Ahab's death in the first book of Kings, and the narrative of Jezebel's death in the second, he fixes with high probability the place of the vineyard.‡

It is impossible to quit these scenes without touching upon the close of this episode of Jewish history. The life of Elijah is indeed incomplete, till we see the last act of the tragedy of the house of Ahab. The names of the places which meet us in the later narrative are still the same. Though Jezebel is now an old woman, there is again war with the Syrians for Ramoth Gilead, again an alliance between the kings of Israel and Judah. These alliances, connected as they were with intermarriages, were

* Sermon xiii., 'God's Hidden Ones.'

† Vol. i. pp. 370, 374-385.

‡ Vol. ii. p. 371.

full of serious consequences to the religion and prosperity of the Jews. Ahab, by taking the Phœnician princess for his wife, was the means of introducing idolatry into both royal lines. The remark of Archdeacon Evans is most true, that his biography 'displays in clear lines the irreparable mischief which can be done to society by a character intrinsically insignificant, when external circumstances have exalted it into a situation among the public agents of the world.*' Ahaziah and Joram were the allied kings on the second occasion, as Jehoshaphat and Ahab on the first. Joram, the king of Israel, was at Jezreel in consequence of a wound received before Ramoth Gilead. To Jezreel Jehu came on his terrible errand, driving furiously in his chariot along the 'valley' which leads up by Bethshan from the Jordan. Ahaziah, the king of Judah, who was on a visit at Jezreel, fled across the plain towards Carmel, and died of his wounds at Megiddo. Esdraelon is seen associated with blood and deeds of battle, as it had been many times before, and has been many times since. Well may Armageddon, the 'hill of Megiddo,' be named in the Apocalypse as the ideal locality for the great struggle of good and evil.†

One modern passage in the history of the plain of Esdraelon we can hardly forbear to mention. The transition from Barak and Jehu to Napoleon and his generals seems at first sight strange and fantastic. But it is not really so, when our eye is fixed on the geography of Palestine. With the traveller in Lombardy the mind turns, naturally and without effort, from the battle of Bedriacum to those of Magenta and Solferino. So we realise the military facts of sacred story all the better, if we remember that the ground is still the same, whatever else may be changed, and that old wars were waged under the same strategic conditions as the new. Gaza was the key of southern Palestine to Alexander, to Saladin, to the French in 1799, as it was felt to be of old by Joshua, or by the Pharaoh of whose invasion the prophet Jeremiah speaks.‡ And we have really a commentary on Scripture, when we take up the Atlas which accompanies the Memoirs dictated at St. Helena,§ and look at the plan of the action which is commonly called the battle of Mount Tabor. Murat was at Tiberias. Junot at Nazareth. Kleber was in difficulties a little to the north-east of Jenin,—in

* 'Ser. Biog.,' Ahab, vol. iii. p. 158. He notices, on the other hand, the great and permanent results of Elijah's life, in breaking the power of idolatry. 'Thenceforward its struggles were for existence, not for dominion.' Elijah, vol. i. p. 172.

† Rev. xvi. 16.

‡ Jerem. xlvii. 1.

§ Bertrand, 'Campagnes d'Egypte et de Syrie,' vol. ii. Paris, 1847.

other words, not far from Gilboa. The corn, with which the plain of Esdraelon was covered, was so high as to conceal Napoleon's advance. 'Voilà le petit caporal !' was the exclamation when he was seen approaching. The action was short and decisive. Some of the enemy fled southwards to Nablous or Shechem ; others hurried eastwards by the 'valley of Jezreel' to the Jordan. The river was flooded : for, as in Joshua's day, it was the season of early harvest : and many of the Turks were drowned.

Whatever helps to give geographical precision to our conceptions of Scripture narratives is an advantage which it would be foolish to despise. It is of course quite possible to exaggerate the value of such aids and to forget that they are only means to an end. 'It matters not to any man's salvation,' says old Fuller, 'to know the accurate distance betwixt Jericho and Jerusalem ; and he that hath climbed to the top of Mount Libanus is not, in respect of his soul, a hair's breadth nearer heaven.'* It would be an unfortunate mistake to be so occupied with the casket as to forget the jewel, and to take so much pains with the drapery as to conceal the figure. But there is some safeguard, if we pursue the biographical course along with the geographical. Here again our aim should be to realise the men as they were. We lose instruction, unless we appreciate the human element in Scripture characters, while we are careful not to forget what is divine in the direction and the record of their lives. The more we feel them to be men like ourselves, the more shall we learn from their actions and their sufferings. Biographical principles ought to be fearlessly applied in the Holy History, just as we cannot make ourselves acquainted with the Holy Land except after close geographical inquiry. The haze of unreality is in both cases alike undesirable. Nor are the religious lessons of the Old Testament in any degree impaired because the men of whom we read were homely in the circumstances of their lives, rude in their civilisation, and strangely like other men in their motives and conduct. The smallness of the life does not detract from the greatness of the promise, but rather enhances our sense of that superintendence which conducted every step of the history onwards to its conclusion ; just as the smallness of the land involves no dishonour, but invites our attention all the more pointedly to its glorious destinies. David's inconsistencies and sins do not in any way interfere with the fact that he was typical of a Sinless One to come, however painfully they may remind us of the infirmity of

our common human nature. Abraham was only an Arab sheikh ; but this is no reason why (to quote from that famous passage of the Apocrypha, where the worthies of the Old Testament are celebrated) he should not be 'a great father of many people,' or why the encouragement to us should be less in that, 'when he was proved, he was found faithful.* If we deal with Joshua's campaigns as conducted on the principles of primitive warfare, this need not hinder us from believing that the mission on which he was sent, was, that 'the land, which God esteemed above all other, might receive a worthy colony of God's children.† When the biographical element is so strongly marked, it is evidently intended to be studied ; and a careful study of it ought not to disturb the impressions which we derive even from the highest and most solemn occasions. We may say with reverence of the Transfiguration, when Moses and Elijah met,‡ that it is a great advantage to us, in our meditations on that mysterious event, if we feel that we know the men, not only by name, or in their relation to critical passages of the old dispensation, but also in their individual characters.

No age of the Church has overlooked the importance of thus carefully studying the personal lives of those who are the prominent figures in Sacred history, though the subject is by no means yet exhausted. In regard, however, to the parallel study of Biblical topography, we may say with truth that our own age has practically begun it, that great results have already been obtained in it, but that much yet remains to be accomplished. We have a strong conviction that, in proportion as this subsidiary branch of theological science is carefully pursued, 'Undesigned Coincidences' of greater or less value will come to view in large numbers. We believe that an interesting and useful book might be written on the *geographical evidences of Christianity*. It does not seem to have occurred to Paley, in reference to the New Testament, to extend his observations to particulars of this kind. Thus in commenting on the Second Epistle to Timothy, he has made good use of the mention of Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch in Pisidia ; but he has failed to strengthen his argument by the correct topographical order in which they are named. Biscoe, with a true instinct, saw how geography might be used for testimony ; and in his work on the Acts of the Apostles he has

* Ecclesiasticus xlv. 19, 20. See 1 Macc. ii. 51-58.

† Wisdom xii. 7.

‡ Prof. Stanley suggests (p. 399) that Hermon was the 'Holy Mountain' (2 Pet. i. 18) of Transfiguration. So far as we know, this suggestion is quite new and original, as it is eminently characteristic ; and we think Mr. Porter ought to have placed the inverted commas lower down his 447th page.

given some good illustrations.* Blunt has followed, more or less, in the same direction. Our practical travellers are continually furnishing us with new materials. To turn to the places just mentioned, Colonel Leake said in 1824, when speaking of the slow progress made up to that time in the knowledge of the ancient geography of Asia Minor, that of five cities made interesting to us by a single journey of St. Paul, only one (Iconium) was certainly known; 'Perga, Antioch of Pisidia, Lystra and Derbe, remained to be discovered.' The two first of these have been undoubtedly identified since that time, the former by Sir Charles Fellows, the latter by Mr. Arundell; and of the sites of the two others there is now little doubt. And who will say that such matters are of no importance? Who will say that the journey of Dr. Eli Smith, in which he found the traces of a Roman road running directly from Jerusalem to Antipatris, is of no moment towards elucidating the time spent by the escort in conveying St. Paul to Cæsarea?† Who will set a light value on the ascertaining of the soundings of Phœnice, or the discovery of Lasæa, on the south coast of Crete? It is to be regretted that the materials, which are thus accumulating, are not used so rapidly as they might be by those who compile books and maps for popular use. Even in Kiepert's *Bibel Atlas*, which Ritter recommends as the best, we are sorry to see (and in an edition of this year) something of the old confusion in the track of that voyage to Rome which has now been so thoroughly explained. But this wandering into regions beyond Palestine is a digression from our proper subject; and it is in the Old Testament, not the New, that geography has so prominent and important a place; as indeed we feel to be natural, when we consider the universal scope of Christianity and the necessary localisation of Judaism. There is no doubt that great service may be done by every new identification of an ancient site, and by the repeated comparison of local circumstances with historical incidents or poetical allusions. Each undesigned coincidence adds something to our general conviction of the truth and reality of the Old Testament. How natural does it seem, when we remember the pass of which we have so often spoken, that on the rebuilding of Jericho, the daring man who did this was a Bethelite!‡ How true to the history is the geographical description of Jehoshaphat's progress through his shrunken kingdom 'from Beersheba to Mount Ephraim'!§ How much we seem to gain in appreciating the force of the 'mourning of Hadadrimmon' in the Prophets, if, as

* For the possible relation of Biscoe's work to Paley's, see Prof. Blunt's preface to his third edition.

† Acts xxiii. 31, 32.

‡ 1 Kings xvi. 34.

§ 2 Chron. xix. 4.

Van de Velde tells us, the name still survives of that Rimmon in the 'valley of Megiddo,' where the pathetic lamentation was first uttered! * These are only specimens of illustrations, which are clearly very variable in their individual force, though collectively they become of great value.

Nor ought we to forget, in addition to these results of pure geography, how much elucidation of Scripture may still be expected from the allied sciences of botany and zoology. As a collection of philological materials for illustrating the animals of the Bible, nothing can go beyond the *Hierozaicon* of Bochart, published in the seventeenth century, and re-edited with additions, in the eighteenth, by Rosenmüller. But what is wanted is the close combination of scientific observation with philological research. To the botanist the publication of the *Hierobotanicon* of Celsius in 1745 is doubly interesting; for it was an accidental meeting in the academical garden of Upsala, just after his return from the Holy Land, which led to his first encouragement of young Linnæus; and these small volumes, now rare and dear, may really be regarded as the starting-point of all researches into the Flora of Palestine. What has been done since in these directions is very fragmentary and incomplete. Something, but not much, has been contributed by some of the authors mentioned in this paper, Lynch, De Saulcy, and Osburn. It is essential, in researches of this kind, that the usage of the Hebrew words should be carefully noted, and compared with observed facts. The Authorised Version is as liable to mislead us in phrases connected with natural history, as it is in the use of topographical terms. We see the Kishon, the Arnon, and the Jabbok sometimes called 'rivers' and sometimes 'brooks,' neither term being strictly suitable: and, conversely, the same English word 'valley' is used for at least three very different Hebrew words. So with the nomenclature of Natural History. We shall remain very much in the dark concerning the plants and animals mentioned in Scripture, unless the inductive process is followed, which has been adopted with so much success in furtherance of exact topographical description in the Appendix to Professor Stanley's 'Sinai and Palestine.' †

Some minds are impatient of such minute details; and it may indeed fairly be contended that they have little to do with dogmatic divinity, and that religious teaching may be very practical without them. But on a broad view of the whole subject, we have no hesitation in saying that the Biblical student

* 2 Chron.

of

11.

of Mr. Grove of Sydenham.

must

must be very careless, if he fails to notice how great a part the Chosen Land had in the growth and progress of the Chosen People. The patriarchal expectations were bound up in the future existence of a nation; and a nation requires a country. When the nation was formed, its institutions were exclusive. An isolated land, like Palestine, was almost essential. Yet the land was so placed, that its reaction afterwards on the world was as remarkable as its isolation at the first. 'The covenant-people was to be the heart of the nations. There fresh and healthy blood was to be prepared, and thence it was vigorously to circulate through all mankind.' Hence the land, in which these purposes were to be realised, must have corresponded to them: and Palestine did unite, in an unparalleled and wonderful manner, the apparently opposed characteristics of being secluded and yet central. From first to last we find it impossible to dis sever the seed of promise from the land of promise. The connexion was formed in the earliest period, while the nation was yet a family. Under the patriarchs the house of Israel lived long enough in the predicted land 'for the home feeling, so important and necessary, to be deeply and ineradicably fixed in the national character.' A man's home is where he was born and where he has spent his childhood. And 'there, where the chosen race was to dwell after it had grown into a nation, and where it had to discharge its peculiar task, it was to spend the time of its infancy, in order that the people might ever regard it as their proper home, and that, as such, it might obtain that deep hold on them which only a home has upon the heart.' The conquest itself could not be accomplished, till the nation was formed. Hence the nation was formed elsewhere. With the Exodus and the crossing of the Jordan, we enter fully on the 'lively and mutual relation' of the country and the people during the progressive development of the latter. We have been quoting from a German book, one of the best of a large number of works of Continental theology which have been recently translated.* With another quotation from the same source we may conclude. 'The bond still continues. As the body is adapted and destined for the soul and the soul for the body, so is Israel for that country and that country for Israel: without Israel, the land is like a body from which the soul has fled; banished from its country, Israel is like a ghost which cannot find rest.'

* Kurtz's 'History of the Old Covenant' (in Clark's 'Foreign Theological Library'), vol. i. pp. 147-150, 178, 214; vol. ii. p. 18.

- ART. IV.—1. *The Order of Nature considered in reference to the Claims of Revelation. A Third Series of Essays.* By the Rev. Baden Powell, M.A., &c. &c. London, 1859.
2. *Tradition Unveiled: or, An Exposition of the Pretensions and Tendency of Authoritative Teaching in the Church.* By the Rev. Baden Powell, M.A., &c. &c. London, 1839.
3. *Dr. Paley's Works. A Lecture.* Delivered by Richard Whately, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin. London, 1859.
4. *Cautions for the Times.* Addressed to the Parishioners of a Parish in England by their former Rector. Edited by the Archbishop of Dublin. 2nd Edition. London, 1854.

‘THE Order of Nature considered in reference to the Claims of Revelation’ is a work which will attract notice rather from the name and position of the author than from any intrinsic merits. It is loosely reasoned, and composed in a vague and somewhat heavy and verbose style. If it had been published anonymously, we should hardly have thought it worth noticing in this journal.

Its design is to ‘consider *miracles* in reference to the whole relations of *physical*, to revealed or spiritual truth,’ and the discussion is declared to tend to the conclusion of their independence; ‘while the true influence of that revelation is secured as based on the recognition of the important distinction, at once Baconian and Pauline, between the provinces and objects of reason and of faith.’ The result of the enquiry is, that, in the present state of science, all physical miracles—as the resurrection of Jesus, for example—are incapable of rational proof; since, if viewed as violations of the order of nature, they are inconsistent with the ‘grand Inductive Principle’ of the ‘Cosmos,’ or ‘Order of Nature,’ and viewed in any way as the acts of God, they require, to make them credible, the ascription to Him of a kind of omnipotence, that can be learned only from the revelation itself, which they are alleged to attest. These doctrines, coming from such an author, we notice rather for the sake of morality than religion.

Among the refined luxuries that Sir Epicure Mammon, in Jonson’s ‘Alchemist,’ anticipates from the possession of the philosopher’s stone, one is, that his ‘flatterers shall be the purest and gravest of divines.’ If there be among the infidels of England any of so rancorous a temper as to wish to see religion not only conquered but debased, he must already experience a similar exquisite enjoyment in reading Professor Powell’s book. Strange things have been said and done in times past by persons in the garb of clergymen and with an academic hood upon their shoulders;

shoulders; but, at least since Woolston, no such phenomenon as the present has appeared on this side of the Rhine in Europe,—the calm, deliberate declaration, by a minister of the Gospel, made professedly in the interest of Christianity, that belief in miracles is no longer tenable, and that it only remains for the Church to surrender at discretion the literal dogma of the resurrection of her Lord. That Professor Powell should have openly become, in all respects, one of the infidel party,—that, like the Bishop of Paris in the first French Revolution, he should have doffed his vestments before sacrificing at the altar of Reason,—that, like poor, dissolute (but bluff and honest) Churchill, he should have

‘Laid his orders at his bishop’s feet,
Sent his dishonoured gown to Monmouth Street,’

before appearing in his present character, would have been to such an enemy but a small and vulgar triumph compared with what is actually obtained—a triumph not over the reason only, but over the moral principle of a divine.

Meanwhile Professor Powell, unhappily unconscious of disgrace, is so satisfied with his own position, that he warmly (or as warmly as his nature permits) recommends it also to his brethren:—

‘In many instances,’ he observes, ‘the Christian doctrines *have been* formerly maintained in close connexion with *physical* ideas; while *those* ideas, and the views taken of them, must of necessity be liable to change and improvement as science advances. And if some expressions, apparently implying such connexion, are retained in the formularies of the Church of England’—as, *e. g.*, that Jesus Christ was crucified, dead, and buried, and likewise did rise again the third day—‘which thus acquire a modified interpretation, it must also be observed that many points of great importance are there left without any determination or mention. Thus, to whatever extent individual or even general opinion may have given a turn to such questions, they are undeniably *open questions* to those who adopt those formularies. Of this class are the entire subjects of philosophical theism or natural theology, the evidences of Christianity, the inspiration of the Bible, the immateriality of the soul, and the nature of miracles. That thus, in the moderate tone of the requisitions of the Church of England, free course is allowed to more enlightened views, without impugning a system so highly and practically valuable, is at once the security of the established institution in an age of progress, and supplies the sure means by which eventually the advance of truth, without external innovation, will carry out its noiseless triumph over all artificial obstructions.’—*Order of Nature*, Preface, p. vii.

On the part of the Church of England we take leave emphatically to reject the intended honour. She has no ambition to
survive,

survive, for one hour, the faith of her Master; nor, indeed, in this country is it possible that she should. The people of England are at once too discerning and too truth-loving to tolerate a system of phenakism and reserve, whether in the interest of Popery or of infidelity. The '*honesta facies Ecclesiae*'* cannot long be conserved amongst us, without the '*incoctum generoso pectus honesto*' that would spurn all double doctrine and double dealing, alike in things sacred and profane. Professor Powell's scheme is not calculated for the British meridian. It would not endure our climate. Elsewhere a church may stand after Christianity has died out; but here the inwardly rotten whited sepulchre would fall to pieces in a week. The fabric would collapse at once under the scorn and execration of the multitude; and we should thank God for it; for, painful as it is to contemplate a general abandonment of Christianity, it is still more painful to contemplate, along with that, a general abandonment of common decency and common morals.

But the unsophisticated reader will be apt to ask, 'How can Professor Powell reconcile a profession of Christianity in any sense with a disbelief of its miraculous facts?' Why, truly, the *modus quo* is a mystery less easily penetrable than most of those we meet even in the volumes of the mystical Schoolmen. There is, it seems, a certain SPIRITUAL FAITH that reconciles all contradictions; and that can, without any change of his specific qualities, *transubstantiate* an Atheist into a Devotee. To discover what this *Spiritual Faith* is—*Hic labor, hoc opus est*: and Professor Powell, who can write clearly enough when he pleases, becomes, on this subject, as obscure as the Seraphic Doctor. It is not grounded on evidence. It is 'a spiritual apprehension, the objects of which are ideas not cognisable by reason.' (p. 217.) It is concerned only with objects, 'apart from the world of material existence, of ordinary human action, or even of metaphysical speculation.' (p. 276.) It has nothing to do 'with physical things or even the moral order of the world.' It does not at all 'appeal to the understanding, or to the laws of reason, with which it professedly and essentially disclaims *all connexion*.' It 'rejects criticism.' (p. 375.) It receives the 'miraculous narratives of the Gospel for the *divine instruction they were designed to convey*, without prejudice to the invariable laws of physiology, of gravitation, or of the constitution of nature.' (p. 377.) It is 'nearly allied to the æsthetic and imaginative faculties of our nature—MAY be most fervently and sincerely

* Mr. Powell quotes and adopts a passage in which Semler declares his intention of pursuing his *free inquiries* to the utmost '*conservato tamen ordine, et honesta Ecclesiae forma salva.*'

associated with what is fabulous or mythical, or *may* attach itself to a high spiritual truth, under the outward imagery of a marvellous narrative'—nay, 'it has been contended,' and Mr. Powell does not dispute the point—'that mystery and parable are *more* congenial to the nature of faith than fact and history; which are rather subjects of reason and knowledge; far below the aspirations of the spiritual mind.' (p. 428.) It 'transfers miracles to the region of spiritual contemplation and Divine Mystery.' (p. 440.) It 'obviates the difficulties of reason by claiming earthly marvels to its own province and prerogative.' (p. 458.) Its objects are 'delivered in traditional formularies—celebrated in festivals and solemnities—by sacred rites and symbols—embodied in the creations of art, and proclaimed by choral harmonies.' (p. 460.) Such is the clearest exposition of the wonder-working Principle of Faith that we can gather from Professor Powell's book. Apollo 'thundering down the Loxian steep' was hardly less obscure in his Oracles, and the profane herd will be apt to conjecture that this mysterious *Spiritual Faith* is no other than Pantagruel's 'Chimæra bombinans in vacuo,' whose appropriate food is 'Second Intentions.' Seriously, we ask, does Professor Powell think that plain, matter-of-fact Englishmen can be imposed upon by such *galimatias* as this? If he does, he is grievously mistaken. This coin may, for aught we know, still pass current at Tübingen or Jena, but it is not, and never will be, a legal tender in London.

There was a time when Professor Powell better understood the moral feelings of Englishmen than he seems to understand them now. In 1844 he is known to have reviewed in a periodical Journal, that Essay on Miracles by Dr. Newman, of which he makes such important use against Christianity in his present work. He was not then, any more than now, blind to its tendency, and it was thus that he stamped it with his reprobation:—

'We place these passages before our readers without comment: we simply ask, whether their bare language, however intended, can be otherwise than deeply offensive to every believer in Scripture, and whether, on the most candid interpretation, any meaning can be put upon that language *consistent with ANY real belief in revelation*. The writer of Tract 90 can of course find no difficulty in vindicating the consistency of such ideas with the loftiest pretensions of orthodoxy and honesty: the Christian world may judge differently, and may find these disclosures open their eyes to the true nature of the whole scheme, and stamp it with a far more deadly character than that of any apparent tendency to Popery; as evincing, in fact, nothing less than an entire rejection of all distinctive evidences of Scripture revelation, and, under the most flimsy and transparent professions of faith

faith and sanctity, the adoption of a system undistinguishable from that of rationalism or deism, against which its advocates make so incessant a pretence of declaiming, and infinitely more offensive from the tone of equivocal inference and indirect insinuation in which it is conveyed. * * * For the worldly-minded, it is far easier to profess unlimited submission, than really to accept the Gospel as true, or even seriously to inquire into its claims. Scriptural Protestantism, as such, is therefore uncongenial to their views; Popery of course is proscribed by their own previous professions; but the pretensions of Anglo-Catholicism offer precisely what they seek. The emptiness and inconsistency of those pretensions constitute no serious objection,—they even conspire to divest the doctrine of too severe a character, and are so far recommendations; moreover they will not be too curiously inquired into by the many, if indeed they be perceived at all. The mutilated church, with its imperfections skilfully disguised, can still practically hold out much to which human nature will fondly cling, especially when better aid cannot conveniently be resorted to. It puts forth pleas which at once easily satisfy the ignorant and careless, the refined and worldly, the learned and sceptical, and harmonize with the various motives which lead men to adopt the external profession of religion, while they assert a sublime influence over the sincere votary. Dispensing with all considerations of truth, and having no reference to internal conviction, it suits equally the views of those who regard religion as a mere matter of feeling or taste, as a question of party or political utility, or lastly, as altogether a popular delusion in which it is yet decent to acquiesce. Such persons can readily ascend to Christianity when proposed on grounds which make it no better than a fiction, and can sincerely adopt the happy mythology of tradition, the convenient legend of catholic antiquity.'—*British and Foreign Review*, No. XXXII. p. 556-558.

He had previously, in 1839, published a Tract under the title of 'Tradition Unveiled:' and it will be worth while to compare at some length the Baden Powell of '39 with the Baden Powell of '59. 'Look first on this picture and then on this.'

'Thus the manifest consequence of the system of tradition and church authority is to obliterate the boundary line of distinctive evidence between the New Testament and the fathers and councils; between the apostles and their successors to the present day. In this view both are placed on the same footing; both must be equally inspired and divine; or (we have the alternative), both equally uninspired and human. It is on all hands confessed that the subject of the miracles of the early church is not free from difficulties; but, upon the system of church authority, they become serious. The state of things in the Christian world, even to the present times, is thus identified with that which, in other ages, was deemed miraculous. And this manifestly tends to impugn all those distinct notions of special divine interposition, which have been insisted on by those who have attempted a logical discussion of the evidence of miracles. According to the views so laid down

down by the most eminent writers, the precise force of that evidence is, to supply a definite test of that which is *divine revelation*, and that which is *not*. Hence, any system which breaks down the boundary line, which disguises it, renders it hazy or ill-defined, as effectually defeats and nullifies the evidence as if it were rejected and denied altogether. We have, then, to inquire further, how can the traditional doctrine be relieved from this serious objection? And we may consider the alternatives which present themselves.

'1st, Is it alleged that the miracles of the primitive church were not *evidential*, but wrought for some other objects?—for the support of the church under difficulties? or, appealed to as a triumph over the magical pretensions of the heathen from their *superior* wonder and power? * And that, in fact, in an age where everything was ascribed to the supernatural, no distinction would be perceived, no test afforded? If so, how can we argue upon the miracles of the New Testament as *being evidential*? How are we to draw the distinction? If *several* parties present the *same credentials*, how are we to distinguish any as *the ambassador*?

'Or, 2ndly, Are we (along with some eminent writers) to call in question the *credit* of the miracles of the later ages, and contend that the belief in demoniacal possessions and the power of exorcism, or the general proneness to the supernatural, was only what was common to the spirit of the times, to which the Christian teachers were either not superior, or conformed themselves? Or that legendary fictions and pious frauds were the admitted and justified vehicles of orthodox instruction? If so, upon the *traditional principle*, how are we to avoid extending the same observations to the *earlier ages*? If tradition and authoritative teaching are combined *uninterruptedly* into one body with the records of the apostles, how shall credit be given to one part, which is withheld from another, of the *same connected system* of authoritative truth? How and where shall we break up the indivisibility of the *one body* and *scheme* of Christian instruction and apostolic authority? and of the evidences which authenticate it? It is not the rejection of the miracles of later ages, the partial and one-sided criticisms of Middleton, which will avail; the traditionist must take higher ground, and rather seek alliance with Gibbon and Hume. The same principle must apply to the truth of miracles in the Church in all ages alike, if the teaching of all ages be alike authoritative and divine. Were then the successive bishops and teachers of the Church divinely attested messengers? the accredited depositaries of an infallible revelation, the oracles of Christian truth? or are the miracles of the apostles and their Lord to be rejected or explained away? are we to adopt *faith* in the *fathers* or *rationalism* towards the *New Testament*? One of the two courses we must follow, if this system be true. The advocates of authoritative tradition and an inspired church must equally uphold or reject its external credentials in all times.

'3rdly, Another alternative remains. We have thus far *assumed* the

* See Neander's *Ecc. Hist. Transl.*, p. 67, and Paley's *Evid.*, vol. ii. p. 339.

correctness

correctness of the view of the external evidence of Christianity, as laid down by the most approved writers: as Paley and others. Will the advocates of tradition contend that these views are *altogether faulty in principle*? will they reject, as fallacious and presumptuous, the idea of demanding miracles as the *indispensable** credentials of inspiration? Shall we be told that these statements of evidence are merely of a nature addressed to popular apprehension; and that, to insist on them as the necessary proofs of our faith, only shows that we have not fathomed the depths of the subject? Or, allowing the existence of those difficulties in establishing their credibility, which have appeared so insurmountable to sceptics, will it be considered better to avoid discussing them, and thus to discard such arguments as altogether of no force and no value, and in fact concede everything to the unbeliever? When we come to the actual declarations of the traditionists, it is difficult to make out their views on matters of evidence, or in the ambiguity of their language to discover which of the above alternatives they prefer. But their sentiments, when they do break through what seems a conscious shyness of discussion, appear, to say the least, open to much doubt and suspicion. Such ideas (for instance) as are implied in the following passage, surely can but tend directly to confound all distinct notions of miraculous evidence. "Whoso will not recognize the finger of God in his providential cures, will not see it in his miraculous: When men had explained away, as the mere effects of imagination, cures, in modern times out of the wonted order of God's providence, which, though no confirmation of a religious system, seem to have been personal rewards to strong personal faith, they were ready to apply the same principle to many of the miracles of the Gospel; when they had ceased to see in lunatics the power permitted to evil spirits, they were prepared, and did, as soon as it was suggested, deny it in the demoniacs of the New Testament."† Again, we may, perhaps, discover their sense of the value of the miraculous evidence of the New Testament, when they ascribe exactly *as much* certainty to similar claims *unsupported* by such evidence: *e.g.* "We must be as *sure*," they say, "that the bishop is Christ's appointed representative, as if we actually saw him work miracles as St. Peter and St. Paul did."‡ At all events, it is certain that the very discussion of the entire question of Christian evidence is greatly *disliked* and *avoided* by the theologians of this school; they are fond of alleging the seeming *irreverence* in its whole character and spirit. Involving as it does, as a first hypothesis, the putting the inquirer, for the moment, into the position of a sceptic, the very process of such argument is objected to as unbecoming, and even perilous. It is conceived to imply a coldness, and a want of "loyalty" to the spiritual authority of the Gospel, so much as to stop to entertain any question respecting it, or discussion of its truth; the very attitude of challenging evidence is one which

* 'See Paley's Evidences, vol. i. p. 3.

† 'Dr. Pusey's Sermon, on 5th Nov., 1837, p. 3.

‡ 'Tracts for the Times, No. 10, p. 4.

bears a bold and hostile appearance, which can never be assumed by the humble and submissive votary of the church. They affect to turn away in a fastidious disgust from the subject of evidence, or perhaps really shrink from it in a correct perception of its inconsistency with their views. They regard faith as degraded by the very mention of proof: "As if," they indignantly exclaim, "evidence to the word of God were a thing to be tolerated by a Christian, except as an additional *condemnation* for those who reject it, or as a sort of *exercise* and *indulgence* for a Christian *understanding*." * What are such ideas but the exact counterpart of those professed in a very opposite school?—in which it is a constant topic to urge that the ardent spirit of faith, offended by cold discussion, dispenses with the dry details of evidence; that our Lord's miracles were only adaptations to the prevailing superstitions of those to whom they were presented, and who thus stood peculiarly *condemned* in rejecting them; and that, in fact, he himself put them in this light, and assigned them but a very secondary importance. Or again, what is it but the favourite speculation of a party, the most denounced by the orthodox, to give a wide scope to the *indulgence* of a contemplative spirit, in tracing out the "mythic" interpretation of miracles (the narratives of which they contend were only designed for religious parables); and to find extensive *exercise* for an enlightened *understanding*, in applying the resources of learning and science to examine the philological ambiguities of the text, or to explain the apparent miracles as only extraordinary natural occurrences, cases of suspended animation, or of animal magnetism? Or, while they are *exoterically* condemned, are those some of the *esoteric* doctrines into which only the privileged adepts in the school of tradition are admitted?

'Thus, whichever alternative be adopted, whichever view of the subject be preferred, it cannot but equally appear, that all distinctive evidence is virtually lost, confounded, or rejected. And thus the traditionists in practice take the consistent course. They dismiss all difficulties and silence all objections at once, by prohibiting the use of reason on the subject. The disciple is invited to take refuge from all perplexities in an uninquiring acquiescence in oracular decrees; and is consoled with the assurance that he will ultimately feel complete satisfaction in the patient assiduous practice of dutiful submission to the authority of the Church. Thus he is infallibly secured from harassing doubts and unprofitable speculations, by discarding all positive views of evidence and truth.'—*Tradition Unveiled*, p. 38-45.

Let this clear protest against the views of others be compared with the point that Mr. Powell has himself reached in twenty years.

'From what has preceded it appears that while the difficulties of miracles are fully seen, if not explicitly avowed by some theologians, the acceptance of them is regarded purely as a matter of religious faith

* 'British Critic, No. 48, p. 304.

and spiritual apprehension, not as a point of reason or a deduction of the intellect,—to which they admit it is even opposed. And thus this confession on the side of religion entirely concurs and harmonises with the verdict of philosophy, which, if it fail to recognise physical interruption, freely acknowledges spiritual influence and the power of faith; and where its own dominion ends, cordially recognises the landmarks of the neighbour territory, and allows that what is not a subject for a problem may hold its place in a creed.

‘In a past age, as we have already noticed, great stress was laid on certain precise “evidential” arguments, especially turning on inferences from miracles. The exclusive, or even principal, importance of this class of *proofs* has in later times been greatly called in question—even by orthodox theologians, who have evinced a disposition to recede much from formal arguments addressed to the intellect, and to prefer an appeal to spiritual conviction and religious sense. It is now admitted that the strict “evidential” tests once exacted are little applicable to a great part of the Gospel narratives, especially in the earlier portion. Bishop Butler* long ago drew the distinction: “There are also *invisible* miracles, the incarnation of Christ, for instance,” which are therefore wholly matters of faith: and Anglican theologians insist upon the *traditional* source of all our knowledge of the origin or authority of the Gospels as derived from the Fathers;—and maintain that evidence and reasoning are little congenial to the spirit of faith, which harmonises better with spiritual doctrine and submission to *divine* teaching: again, on quite an opposite side† it is observed that St. Paul, when he does enter on evidential discussion, dismisses it very slightly; his own *witness*‡ to the resurrection being merely to an appearance long after, the nature of which he does not even mention, but he nevertheless considers this attestation fully equal to that of the other Apostles: while it is contended all *real* conviction must be from within. Hume, indeed, expressly puts forward his argument against miracles on the plea that “it may serve to confound those dangerous friends or disguised enemies to the Christian religion, who have undertaken to defend it by the principles of human reason. Our most holy religion is founded on FAITH, *not on reason*: and it is a sure method of exposing it to such a trial as it is by no means fitted to endure.”§ If understood in accordance with the distinction between *physical* inter-

* ‘Analogy, Pt. II. ch. ii. p. 227, ed. 1807.

† ‘Phases of Faith, p. 181, 1st ed.

‡ ‘1 Cor. xv. 8.’ [It is scarcely necessary to remark that, in the passage here referred to, the Apostle is merely recalling, very briefly, to the minds of his converts the proofs which he had already largely explained to them. Considering that the Epistles are all written to persons already converted, they cannot be reasonably expected to contain ‘evidential discussions.’ The place for expecting evidences is in addresses to unbelievers; and there we find them. Acts ii. 32; iii. 15, 16; iv. 10; x. 37-42. As for the Conversion of Paul himself, the circumstances of it were thought, by at least as good a reasoner as Professor Powell, sufficient in themselves to prove the truth of Christianity. See Lord Lyttelton’s ‘Observations on the Conversion of St. Paul.’]

§ ‘Essays, vol. ii. p. 136, ed. 1800.

ruption and *spiritual* influence, this declaration would be eminently satisfactory: but it appears from the context of the passage, that the author makes this very "faith" to which he refers, in itself something as supernatural, and contrary to reason as any of the miracles which he rejects. The declaration can thus only be regarded as designed in an insidious sense. Yet if understood in the meaning just indicated, the appeal to faith entirely harmonises with the views of some of the most earnest advocates of revelation who have expressly maintained that "conversions not miracles are the real and abiding evidences of Christianity." And more reasoning inquirers have admitted that if the miracles of the Evangelists be regarded as adapted to the conceptions of the age to which they belong, still the internal evidence of Christianity,—its moral and spiritual appeals to the hearts and consciences of men, equally address themselves to more enlightened apprehensions in all ages.—*Order of Nature*, p. 429-432.

Of this change of opinion and feeling there is not the slightest hint in the volume before us. No apology tendered to the former objects of his attack; no retractation; no apparent consciousness of change. It has been conjectured, indeed, that his object has been to supply the Theory of the Transformation of Species with (what it sadly lacked) an actual instance of the sort of transmutations which it supposes. Certainly, a fish changing into an ape would hardly be a more astonishing metamorphosis.

If we look now for new and potent arguments which have suddenly shaken the foundations of Professor Powell's historical faith, we shall be much at a loss to find them. Over and above some very old and often-repeated, and often-refuted, objections to religion, both natural and revealed, we discover no topic more prominently urged, and more frequently reiterated—as apparently quite decisive—than the solemn declaration that 'a belief in miracles is inconsistent with the spirit of the age.' Now, since—so far as we can remember the facts of history—sound philosophy and true religion never made their way by conforming to the spirit of the age, but rather by making the spirit of the age conform to them, this announcement, even if true, does not at all reduce us to despair. We have seen so many things take place that were pronounced by very sage people 'impossible in the nineteenth century,' that we begin to lose faith in the Ephemerides that are calculated upon such principles. We should desire to calculate our religion and philosophy not 'for the age' but 'for all time.' The spirit of the Apostle's age was that 'of the Princes of this world.*' The spirit of the age some time ago required an immoveable earth and circulating heavens. The spirit of one age worshipped Aristotle: the spirit of another despised

* 1 Cor. ii. 8, τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου.

and trampled on the idol of the former. We should desire to try the spirit of every age by the standard, not of fashion, but of sound reason: and we are convinced that ages of enlightenment and advanced civilization have their own peculiar prejudices as well as ages of comparative obscurity. Of late years so much has been done to correct some mistakes in physics, on which hasty reasoners had founded arguments for natural religion; and so much also to explain the manner in which mythologies have arisen, and the fables of ancient history have been formed; that men's minds have—as is usual—become heated by the work; and attention has been concentrated rather on the resemblances (and they are necessarily many) between Truth and Falsehood in religious systems natural and revealed,* than upon the essential differences between the genuine metal and its counterfeit. The verdict of the 'spirit of the age' seems to Professor Powell pretty nearly decisive of the whole question: and, in confirmation of his plea, he has put in a mass of very curious evidence to show how *the friends of religion* have latterly felt themselves coerced to frame theories that shall get rid of miraculous interferences. For this purpose he gives a sketch of the naturalistic theory of Paulus†—of the mythic theory of Strauss—of the subjective theory of Feuerbach—of the psychological theory of Ewald—of the doctrinal theory of Neander. We humbly trust that these theories are *not* correct *exponents* of the spirit of the present age. If they be, then certainly incredulity is not the besetting sin of this generation. The faith that can receive them is a faith that can remove mountains. Cicero long ago declared that there was nothing so absurd as not to have been taught by some philosophers. Had he lived till our days and seen this goodly array of specimens, he would doubtless have extended his remark to divines. But 'non usque adeo desperandum est de sensibus humanis ut talia persuaderi posse putentur.' Most of them have long since died and been buried in the land of their nativity; and, though curious persons have brought their mummies across the water,

* See the Archbishop of Dublin's 'Essays on the Peculiarities of Christianity.'

† The Naturalistic theory is that which resolves the Scripture narratives of miracles into accounts of natural events that were mistaken for super-natural. Thus, *c.g.*, the star which led the Magi was a flambeau; the angel that liberated Peter, a flash of lightning, &c. The Mythic theory resolves them into legends, expressing only what the Messiah might properly be conceived and imagined to have done. Of this last theory there is a masterly refutation by Bishop Fitzgerald in the 29th number of the 'Cautions for the Times.' As for the subjective and psychological theories, we do not undertake to explain what we must confess ourselves unable distinctly to understand. Even Mr. Powell himself does not pretend to see his way very clearly to the meaning of Feuerbach and Ewald.

'Ipse diem noctemque negat discernere cœlo,
Nec meminisse viæ mediâ Palinurus in undâ.'

we may safely leave them in the cabinets of those who admire such rarities. The principal use of them is to show that the facts of Christianity resist the application of all possible engines of critical torture. The two great parties, like the offspring of the dragon's teeth, destroy each other. The Naturalists prove invincibly the genuineness and authenticity of the New Testament, and show its early origin to be inconsistent with a mythic character. The Mythics prove equally well that the naturalistic explanation of the miracles is utterly absurd and incredible. Thus the 'rock of offence' lies still in the way of infidelity, and whoever falls upon it is broken.

Professor Powell is not quite satisfied with any of these ingenious theories; but it is amusing to remark his kindly sympathy with the framers of them. Thus, for example, he points out that Paulus' theory originated in a sincere wish to *vindicate* the Sacred narrative from the attacks made by Lessing in the 'Wolfenbüttel Fragments.' Now, considering that the grand object of Lessing was to explode Christianity as a *miraculous Revelation*, and that Paulus surrendered all its claims to that character, we do not clearly see how he *vindicated* the *Sacred* narrative. If the divine authority of Scripture be given up, it is a mere antiquarian question, whether the writers of it were deceivers or deceived. Imagine a man *vindicating* Cromwell by conceding, indeed, that he was a traitor and a murderer, but stoutly denying that he was a brewer's boy, or had a copper nose. Not content, however, with these respectable authorities, Professor Powell makes larger claims to countenance from less doubtful friends of Christianity, * at least in so far as the disowning of the *evidential* character of miracles.† Even at the first preaching of the Gospel, he tells us,

* We must, however, warn our readers once for all, against putting any trust whatever in the fairness of Professor Powell's quotations and representations of other men's opinions. We could fill many pages with evidence of the extraordinary obliquity of his dealings with the authors he quotes. But all the rest are cast into the shade by the monstrous and unparalleled audacity of the Note pp. 223, 224, in which he represents Archdeacon Pratt as holding in his 'Scripture and Science not at Variance,' that a common origin of the human race is not taught in Scripture, but is 'a false conclusion deduced by its votaries;' whereas what the Archdeacon says is, that the *denial* of a common origin is a 'false conclusion of Science drawn by some of its votaries.' See the work, third edition; London, 1859, p. 52.

† Yet it was thus that Professor Powell wrote, when commenting upon the 'traditional system' in 1840. 'It is a system which divests truth of all the attributes and signs of truth; which lowers the evidence of Christian belief to the level of the most fabulous legends or the most unsubstantial fanaticism. And when we consider the extended influence it obtains, we can little doubt the secret of that influence. Men are not averse to some sort of reception and profession of religion; but they do not like to regard Christianity *as true*—to view it in a rational light as connected with history and interpreted by facts; the traditional scheme of legendary faith precisely accommodates it to their desires.'—*Supplement to Tradition Unveiled*, p. 11.

'though accepted by properly disposed minds, they are rejected by others. It was not the mere external apparent event, but the moral and spiritual qualifications of the parties which formed the ground of real conviction' (p. 435). This is something like arguing that the circulation of the blood, and the Copernican system, were not received on rational evidence, because even in Harvey's and Galileo's time, 'though accepted by properly disposed minds, they were rejected by others.' The proofs did not convince prejudiced or unthinking people, therefore they were not logical proofs, and did not really convince any body! If this be human reason, consistent with the 'spirit of the age,' we shall begin to think better than we did of 'spiritual apprehension.' It must be bad indeed, if it be not better than such reasoning as this.

In his zeal to get rid of the evidence from miracles, Professor Powell avers that 'the appeal to them was not exclusively, or even principally relied on by Christ or his apostles' (p. 436). The reference in support of this assertion is curious. It is John x. 38. We take leave to go back a verse, and quote a little more of the context than Professor Powell may judge convenient. 'IF I DO NOT THE WORKS OF MY FATHER, BELIEVE ME NOT; but if I do, *though you believe not me, believe the works.*' Upon what is the principal stress laid in this passage? Upon his own word, which He is content to waive, or upon the miracles which He treats as irrefragable? Suppose a chemist, after describing to his auditors some wonderful transformation to be effected by art, were to add, 'I will not require you to take this on my word, nor ask you to believe it possible, unless I show it to you actually performed'—would he be understood as urging them to rely *principally* upon the word of their instructor? 'If,' says our Lord, 'I had not done among them the *works which none other man did, they had not had sin*' (John xv. 24). Again, when John the Baptist sent two of his disciples to Jesus to inquire, 'Art thou he that should come, or do we look for another?' He neither appealed to 'the spiritual apprehension' of John, nor did he base his pretensions upon his own word. But 'in that same hour,' the Evangelist informs us, 'He cured many of their infirmities and plagues and of evil spirits, and unto many that were blind he gave sight. Then Jesus answering said unto them, Go your way and tell John what things ye have seen and heard; how that the blind see, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised, to the poor the gospel is preached' (Luke vii. 21, 22). He gave no direct reply to the question addressed to him. He worked the miracles and left John to draw the inference.

It

It required no less boldness to maintain that the *Apostles* did not principally appeal to miracles. Had Professor Powell forgotten such a declaration as that in John xx. 30? 'And many other *signs* truly did Jesus in the presence of his disciples which are not written in this book, *but these are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ the son of God.*' Had he forgotten the language of Peter on the day of Pentecost? 'Jesus of Nazareth, a man *approved of God among you by miracles and wonders and signs*, which God did by him in the midst of you' (Acts ii. 22). Had he forgotten that the priests and the Sadducees arrested Peter and John, 'being grieved that they taught the people, and *preached through Jesus the resurrection of the dead?*' (Acts iv. 2)—that is, appealed in support of this doctrine to the miraculous resurrection of Jesus himself. It was upon miracles, therefore, that the Apostles rested the pretensions of our Lord, and it was equally upon miracles that they rested their own pretensions to be the exponents of his will. The very 'signs of an apostle,' we learn from St. Paul, 'were *signs, and wonders, and mighty deeds*' (2 Cor. xii. 12). Accordingly, when he speaks of having 'made the Gentiles obedient by word and deed,' he says he did it 'through *mighty signs and wonders*, by the power of the Spirit of God' (Rom. xv. 18, 19). And as with him, so it was with the rest of the Apostles. 'They went forth and preached everywhere, the Lord working with them, and *confirming the word with signs* following' (Mark xvi. 20). Truly Professor Powell appears to have been so absorbed by the study of the 'order of nature' and the 'grand inductive principle,' that he seems not only to have left off studying his Bible, but to have forgotten what is written there.

There still remains a single case which is quoted by Professor Powell as an illustration of his position that our Lord did not mainly appeal to miracles. It is the case of Nicodemus. 'Even he,' it seems, 'was but a half convert'! (p. 434), and 'Jesus dismisses in silence the *logic* of Nicodemus, to turn instantly to the essential requirement of *spiritual* regeneration' (p. 436). Surely it must be by 'Spiritual faith,' which is so much akin to fiction, that Professor Powell receives these wonderful Revelations! Nicodemus declares himself convinced by the miracles that Jesus is sent from God as a teacher; and comes apparently to discover whether this Divine Teacher claimed further to be the Messiah; feeling, no doubt, that if He were the King of Israel, the children of Israel must be His proper subjects. A disciple, admitting already the authority of his Teacher, requires not proof of that authority, but instruction in doctrine, and that, therefore, our Lord proceeds to give; explaining that birth

birth according to the flesh was not the qualification of His subjects, but new birth 'of water and the Holy Ghost.' This is what Professor Powell calls 'dismissing the logic of Nicodemus.' If Jesus, instead of proceeding to instruct him, had said to Nicodemus, what He did say afterwards to the incredulous Jews, 'The works that I do in my Father's name, those works *bear witness of Me*'—this *would* have indicated a doubt of the perfect sincerity of Nicodemus' convictions. That Nicodemus was for some time afraid to avow his convictions, may indeed be true. He may have been, like Joseph, 'a disciple secretly for fear of the Jews,' and in that *moral* sense may be called a half convert; but what that has to do with the present argument we are quite at a loss to discover. Galileo, we apprehend, was fully convinced, and reasonably convinced, of the motion of the earth, although, under terror of the rack, he put his hand to a distinct denial of it. Perhaps even Professor Powell's 'spiritual faith' might fail him under a similar trial.

As Professor Powell denies that our Lord and his Apostles principally appealed to miracles, so he denies that converts were often made by them. 'In few instances did the miracles produce any real conviction' (p. 434). 'Little question of facts or evidence was entertained; conviction depended on quite other considerations' (p. 436). Here again the 'spiritual faith' of Professor Powell is in glaring opposition to the Gospel narrative. '*This beginning of miracles did Jesus in Cana of Galilee, and manifested forth his glory; and his disciples believed on him*' (John ii. 11). 'Now when he was in Jerusalem at the pass-over, in the feast day, *many believed on his name when they saw the miracles which he did*' (John ii. 23). 'Then was brought unto him one possessed of a devil, blind and dumb, and he healed him, insomuch that the blind and dumb both spake and saw, and *all the people were amazed, and said, Is not this the son of David?*' (Matt. xii. 22, 23). 'And *many of the people believed on him, and said, When Christ cometh, will he do more miracles than these which this man doth?*' (John vii. 31.) When, on the triumphal entry of our Lord into Jerusalem, the multitude exclaimed, 'Hosanna, blessed be the king of Israel that cometh *in the name of the Lord,*' what was the ground of their homage? 'The people therefore that was with him when he called Lazarus out of his grave, and raised him from the dead, bare record. *For this cause* the people also met him, *for that they had heard that he had done this miracle.* The Pharisees therefore said among themselves, Perceive ye how ye prevail nothing? *Behold the world is gone after him*' (John xii. 17-19). So, too, when He restored to life the son of the widow at Nain in the presence

presence of '*much people*,' 'there came a fear on *all*, and they glorified God, saying, *That a great prophet is risen up among us*, and that *God hath visited his people*' (Luke vii. 16). The conviction in every one of these cases is ascribed to the miracles, and the persons convinced are not merely a few, as Professor Powell affirms, but entire crowds. On the day of Pentecost, when, at the preaching of Peter, three thousand souls were converted together, had the gift of tongues, at which 'the multitude were all amazed and marvelled,' no influence in producing the result? Or when five thousand men believed the word in consequence of the Apostles 'preaching through Jesus the resurrection from the dead' (Acts iv. 4), had their testimony to the fact of his resurrection nothing to do with the reception of their doctrines? These cases testify as plainly for themselves as when it is said in express words that 'the people with one accord gave heed unto those things which Philip *spake*, hearing and seeing the *miracles* which he *did*' (Acts viii. 6). To what purpose did the Apostles assert that they were witnesses of the resurrection of Christ? to what purpose did they work 'many wonders and signs?' (Acts ii. 43)—to what purpose did they appeal to our Lord's miracles (Acts ii. 22), and our Lord to His own, in proof of the reality of His pretensions, if 'conviction depended on quite other considerations?' Professor Powell, who is as prodigal in assertions as he is sparing in proofs, has not condescended to instance one solitary example in which any persons believed without reference to the evidence from miracles or prophecy, and he leaves the 'quite other considerations' to be discovered by that 'spiritual faith' which is to overrule the plainest language of the Bible.

There is, indeed, a statement of Professor Powell which he seems to design for an argument that miracles were not in the Gospel age a ground of belief. 'The Pharisees,' says he, 'did not at all *deny* the miracles of Christ, but set them down to the influence of *evil spirits*.* The different parties ascribed the work
either

* This at least is a testimony to the *reality* of the miracles, when the bitterest adversaries had no other resource than 'to set them down to the influence of evil spirits.' Even this evasion was afterwards felt by many of the Pharisees to be untenable, for Professor Powell misrepresents the sacred narrative when he speaks as if they agreed in ascribing *all* the miracles of Christ to Beelzebub. When our Lord restored the sight of the man who was born blind, we are told that there was a *division* among the Pharisees, and that while some of them said, 'This man is not of God,' *others* said, 'How can a man that is a sinner do such miracles?' (John ix. 16.) And again 'Others said, These are not the works of him that hath a devil. Can a devil open the eyes of the blind?' (John x. 21). Whence, too, does it appear that the Pharisees ever ascribed the resurrection of Lazarus or of Jesus himself to evil spirits? A sceptical Jew might persuade himself

either to God or to Beelzebub, according to their predisposing impressions or foregone conclusions' (p. 435). The inference intended to be drawn is, that as prejudices of one kind led the Pharisees to contest the divine character of our Lord, so prejudices of another kind must have led his followers to affirm it. As miracles did not prevent the disbelief of one party, so neither did they produce the belief of the other. 'Foregone conclusions—quite other considerations' prevailed in both instances, irrespective of 'the wonders and signs.' This fallacy we have already exposed. If this kind of logic is valid—if the fact related by the sacred writers that some of the Jews ascribed some of the miracles to the influence of evil spirits, disproves the circumstance related by the same writers, that the miracles themselves, and not 'quite other considerations,' convinced many that they were wrought by the power of God—then nobody arrives at any conclusion upon rational grounds. There is no subject upon which some men will not resist the clearest evidence when, it leads to conclusions to which they are averse; therefore, those who accept the conclusions did not adopt them because of the evidence, but because of 'predisposing impressions.' Thus the law of gravitation, which is still occasionally impugned by ignorant persons, is not accepted by philosophers in consequence of the demonstrations of Newton, but from 'a predisposing impression' which is independent of all demonstration whatever. This is the wonderful argument by which Professor Powell would induce us to set aside the statements of the inspired writers that the miracles *did* produce conviction, and accept instead his assurance that they did *not*. Undoubtedly there was a preliminary difference in the Jew who continued unbelieving and the Jew who was brought to believe. The unbelieving Jew was too bigoted to allow the miracles to have their proper operation upon his mind. 'If the mighty works which were done in you had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented long ago in sackcloth and ashes' (Matt. xi. 21). The believing Jew was more candid, and gave to the miracles the weight which belonged to them. Was this 'to be convinced on quite other considerations'? We are afraid that 'foregone conclusions and predisposing impressions' have too much influence not on Pharisees only, but on philosophers also.

himself that the *Prince of Devils* had power over the *inferior* devils, and might yet shrink from maintaining that a devil had power over universal nature, and could give life to the dead. It was doubtless this distinction which made many of the Pharisees themselves repudiate the notion that a 'man not of God' could do such a miracle as that of restoring sight to the blind, and may serve to show Professor Powell that there were many kinds of miracles which overcame even 'foregone conclusions and predisposing impressions.'

Anti-

Anti-Christian writers have usually been conspicuous for the effrontery of their assertions; but we can hardly recall a more signal specimen of hardihood than this denial by Professor Powell both that our Lord and His Apostles principally appealed to miracles, and that many converts were made by them. His daring is the more surprising that he has shown by his former publications that no one knows better that the fundamental position put forward, and proved again and again, by the advocates of Christianity, is the same which he now is satisfied to dismiss with a summary contradiction, without any attempt, beyond what we have instanced, to grapple with the evidence. Such easy, such improbable assurance in a clergyman of the Church of England and a Professor in the University of Oxford, writing for the eye of his learned and enlightened brethren, might well impose upon many who have never investigated the subject for themselves; and it is for this reason we bestow upon his allegations an amount of attention which they do not intrinsically deserve.

Not only are the passages we have adduced from the New Testament ample to show that Jesus and His Apostles did appeal to miracles as evidences of His divine mission, but they equally prove that the narratives of the writers were intended to be taken as statements of facts, and not as parables and figures of speech. Professor Powell expresses himself with such extreme 'vagueness, like a man afraid to state boldly his opinions, that it is often difficult to get at them. He frequently, as we have seen, refers to the New Testament history as if he accepted it in its usual sense, but from numerous other passages it is evident that he must in reality adopt some mode of interpretation by which he endeavours to evade the plain meaning of the inspired writers. It is mere trifling with such a subject to allege that there are confessedly figurative expressions and parables, and loose popular language in Scripture; that the words, 'This is My body,' are taken in a figurative sense, because the literal would involve absurdities; that we hold the motion of the earth round the sun, though the Scriptural language seems formed on a contrary notion, &c. &c. This is the sort of talk that forms the staple of Spinoza's '*Philosophia Scripturæ Interpres*,' and which, if any simple reader should take it as seriously meant, would lead to the conclusion that hardly any book could have any fixed and determinate meaning as stating facts, since there is hardly any book that does not contain some figurative expressions or popular language. In short, the prototype of this style of exegesis was that of my Lord Peter, in the '*Tale of a Tub*,' in the interpretation of his father's will.

Protestants

Protestants do not reject the literal sense of the words, 'This is My body,' merely because now, after the latter triumphs of the Inductive Principle, that sense appears to *them* monstrous, but because it *was*, *when the words were spoken*, so manifestly monstrous, that the *disciples* would not have naturally understood the words in that sense, any more than they would have taken their Master for a literal tree, when He said that He was the true Vine. We contend that, in such cases, the *literal* is *not* the obvious or natural sense of the words. When Protestants deny that 'sunset' and 'sunrise' necessarily imply the *real* motion of the sun round the earth, they are defending not the language of Scripture alone, but the common speech of all men in all ages, who wish to speak intelligibly.* When they interpret any narrative as an allegory or a parable, it is not simply because they do not *like* to take it otherwise, but because the circumstances of the case make it probable that it *was* so intended to be understood by the author. On precisely the same principle they refuse to put a figurative interpretation upon narratives which were palpably designed to be construed literally. 'Some persons,' says Archbishop Whately, 'have, very rashly, applied the title of *Parable* to portions of Scripture which were understood, and evidently meant to be understood, as neither more nor less than literally true narratives of real events, but which these persons will not so believe. But this is an unwarrantable use of language. Any tale which is *not true* in the sense in which it is known to be understood, is what we should call by a name very different from *Parable*.'† Those who interpret Scripture in this fashion do in fact impugn the veracity of the sacred writers—a supposition which no infidel has been able to maintain for an hour against Christian apologists. But objections such as these are (as Warburton said of the arguments of one of his opponents) 'like black lead, which any one can rub out, if he does not mind fouling his fingers.'

Having contended that the believers of the Gospel age did not believe in consequence of the miracles, but upon 'quite other considerations,' Professor Powell next maintains that it is the same at present with far the larger part of professing Christians.

* 'If man were not allowed to be an egotist, and talk of the phenomena of nature as they affect his own senses, even the most scientific terms would be proofs of ignorance. The sun's *disk*, the *axis* of the earth, the right *ascension* and *declination* of heavenly bodies, &c., are all terms of this kind. *Longitude* and *latitude* are names which arose either from a mistaken opinion of the earth's shape, or from an imperfect acquaintance with the state of the world. The ancients, in the time of Ptolemy, A.D. 140, knew more of the earth from east to west than from north to south; hence they called the first its length, the other its breadth. *Eclipse* comes from a false notion that the sun *left* its place in the heavens, *ἐκλείπειν την ἔθραν* (Herod.).' Bishop Copleston, *Remains*, p. 107.

† Lectures on some of the Scripture Parables, p. 2.

‘Miracles are admitted as a *part* of the Gospel, not as the *antecedent* or preliminary *proof* of it. The vast majority of ordinary believers, when they hear any objection started against the miracles of the New Testament, will, with one consent, regard it not as a critical difficulty *weakening the evidences*, but as a *profanation* in questioning what is asserted by inspired authority, that is, they believe the miracles *in consequence* of the assumed inspiration, not as the proofs of it’ (p. 436). This is a common sophism, and we take leave to add a somewhat shallow one. The case stands really thus. The majority of believers suppose that they have the word of Christ and His apostles for the inspiration of the New Testament; and the trustworthiness of that word they hold to be proved by indubitable miracles. There are, however, other miracles recorded in Scripture which they accept as miracles principally because they find them there. If they met such statements elsewhere they would not attach the same credit to them. But the miracles which attest the Divine authority of the narrative attest the truth of whatever that narrative contains—as, for instance, the incarnation of Christ, ‘which,’ says Bishop Butler, ‘being secret, cannot be alleged as a proof of a Divine mission, but requires itself to be proved by visible miracles.’ Is there anything unreasonable in this? When, in private conversation, Professor Powell has started objections to particular miracles in detail, his company, perceiving him to be a clergyman, have naturally assumed him to be a Christian, and have therefore felt themselves justified in taking for granted with him the general authority of Revelation, and the prime facts of a miraculous character on which it is based. When he shall repeat the same experiment hereafter, he will probably experience a different result.

In the same paragraph Professor Powell thus endeavours to convict certain Christian apologists of reasoning in a circle: ‘Some argue for belief in miracles, that creation is a miracle. But creation is solely the doctrine of Revelation; the argument, therefore, is simply one of faith’ (p. 437). This has no force unless the persons alleging the argument conceded the minor premiss. As, however, they generally do not, and as Professor Powell knows that they do not, we cannot see the coherence of the reasoning.

A little further on he sums up the whole matter by asserting that ‘the belief in miracles, whether in ancient or in modern times, has ALWAYS been a point *not of evidence* addressed to the intellect, but of religious faith impressed on the *spirit*’ (p. 439). Every modern believer in miracles can answer for himself and say whether he accepts this account of the nature of his belief.

Professor

Professor Powell indeed has spared us the trouble of exposing the monstrous assertion by flatly contradicting it himself. 'It has often been maintained, and has perhaps been the most commonly received view, that such *external* interposition is necessary for attesting the disclosure of divine communications' (p. 282). After this and other examples which we have exhibited of Professor Powell's consistency, no one will be surprised to be told that he has an Appendix on Documentary Evidence that falls very far below the average of papers in Mr. Holyoake's 'Reasoner.' Take a sample. 'The *text* of the received books has been open to "recensions" even from early times. Various amendments have been from time to time made, as manuscript authority has been more accurately searched into,' &c. &c. The 'spirit of the age' must be easily satisfied, if such paltry talk as this comes up to its requirements. Such cavils we supposed had died with the country squire, of whom Dean Swift relates that, being told there were 30,000 various readings of the Greek Testament, exclaimed in triumph, 'Why then push round the punch-bowl, and a fig for the parson!' Professor Powell should read Bentley's Letters of *Phileleutherus Lipsiensis*, and he will learn the value of such objections as these.* They do little credit to a man who has been educated and holds a professorship in the learned University of Oxford.

It is not, however, Christianity alone that must be given up on Professor Powell's principles. Natural religion is felt to be an outwork that must be destroyed before the fortress itself can be dealt with successfully. If this wonderful 'COSMOS' of the universe be merely the operation of a real LORD GOD ALMIGHTY, working all after the counsel of His own *Will*, there will be too strong a foundation laid for the Gospel miracles for the opponents of them to contemplate with complacency. This, therefore, must first be removed. 'It is a mistake,' accordingly we are told, 'to confound with the deductions of science those more sublime conceptions and elevated spiritual views of a Deity—a personal God—an Omnipotent Creator—a moral Governor—a Being of infinite perfections—holding relations with the spirit of man—the object of worship,

* Letter 1, § 32. There is no exaggeration in the description which Bishop Hare gives in *The Clergyman's Thanks to Phileleutherus*, of the unanswerable arguments of Bentley: 'You have, in the small compass of seven leaves, done the work of large volumes, and have set the whole question of *various* *lections* in so clear and full a light, that nothing more need be said in defence of the text on this account, nothing can be said against it. You have pulled up this panic by the very roots; and a man must be afraid of his own shadow who can hereafter be in pain about a various reading, or think the number of them any prejudice to the *integrity* or *authority* of the sacred books.'

trust,

trust, fear, and love; all which conceptions *can originate only from some other source than physical philosophy*' (pp. 248, 249). 'In any conception of the nature or attributes of God or man's relation to Him, we can only look to other sources of information and conviction of quite a different order from those which science can furnish. Those higher aspirations which so many and elevated minds own, can only be satisfied by disclosures belonging not to the province of natural philosophy, or any deductions from it . . . but to something beyond and properly belonging to the jurisdiction of moral or spiritual convictions' (pp. 249, 250). 'To attempt to reason from law to volition, from order to active power, from universal reason to distinct personality, from design to self-existence, from intelligence to infinite perfection, is, in reality, to adopt grounds of argument and speculation entirely beyond those of strict philosophical inference, and it would be more consistent openly to avow the insufficiency of scientific views . . . and, owning the inadequacy of reason, to recur to faith' (p. 244). 'Such metaphysical and moral systems, to whatever extent they may be *supposed* established, refer to an order of truths almost wholly *internal, ideal, and subjective*' (p. 245). The source, therefore, of all religious knowledge is that SPIRITUAL FAITH which is so manifestly only another name for Taste and Imagination, that Professor Powell himself can, at times, hardly keep his countenance when declaring his respect for it and magnifying its powers. What remains then is a God or Mind, *so called*, but 'synonymous with the great principle of physical order' (p. 242), 'whose REALITY exists in the immutably connected order of objects examined' (p. 240), in whom thought and reason are 'as thought and reason are in a book, irrespectively of any question of its AUTHOR OR ORIGIN' (p. 238). These are the greater mysteries of a REVEREND Hierophant, who comes forward ostentatiously in the character of a Christian Priest, impressed on him with this commission—'Be thou a faithful dispenser of the Word of God and of His Sacraments.'

And now we desire to dismiss from our minds for a while the painful recollection of the sacred character in which Professor Powell chooses to appear, and think of him *merely* as an assailant of the rational evidences of religion. In this character, what has he to bring before the public with which they are not already quite familiar? As far as we can see, nothing.

I. His grand and palmary argument against miracles, which meets us at every turn, and returns again and again, as if it could acquire force by constant repetition, is the plea that modern discoveries in science, by showing everywhere the pervading influence of physical laws, prove the idea of a suspension of
physical

physical laws to be unphilosophical. We cannot, indeed, find any place in the book in which this plea is exhibited with anything like a logical coherence of premises and conclusion: still the author manifestly takes it for an argument, and for a strong argument, and we have no doubt that it exercises a potent influence upon his own mind and upon the minds of many others. But that influence, we humbly conceive, is rather a strong *distaste* to miracles than any *reasonable objection* to them. A distaste of that kind against the recognition of any phenomena inconsistent with the ordinary track of our thoughts and experiences is very common, and is one of those natural propensities which a truly philosophical mind will watch against with peculiar vigilance. When men have, as they imagine, reduced a certain domain of thought to exact order, they are impatient of the springing up of contrary appearances that, like the goblins in 'Faust,' will not 'dance in time' to the measure which regulates the rest. It will surprise many philosophers to be told (and yet it is certainly true) that the prejudice which prevents them from attending to the miraculous claims of Revelation is closely akin to that which made the orthodox Florentines refuse to look through Galileo's telescope, and led Voltaire to maintain that the shells upon the Apennines were thrown there by pilgrims on their way to Rome.

What the discoveries of modern science have really done for us is, to ascertain more clearly than ever what is the regular ordinary course of nature; and this is so far from being inconsistent with a reasonable belief of miracles that it is, on the contrary, most useful for confirming that belief. If there were no fixed ordinary course of nature, there would be no standard for determining a miracle, which is, in the very notion of it, a deviation from that ordinary course. And Mr. Locke has remarked, with his usual good sense, that 'though the common experience and the ordinary course of things have justly a mighty influence on the minds of men, to make them give or refuse credit to anything proposed to their belief, yet there is one case wherein the strangeness of the fact lessens not the assent to a fair testimony given it. For, where such supernatural events are suitable to ends aimed at by Him who has the power to change the course of nature, there, under such circumstances, they may be the fitter to produce belief, *by how much the more they are beyond or contrary to ordinary observation*. This is the proper case of miracles, which, well attested, do not only find credit themselves, but give it also to other truths which need such confirmation.' (*Essay*, B. iv. c. 16, § 13.) In proportion as we can be sure that we are acquainted

- with the ordinary course of nature, in that same proportion we can

can be sure that what varies from it is, if a fact at all, a miraculous fact. And to deny—as some unbelievers thoughtlessly at times deny—that we can in any case confidently discriminate between miraculous and ordinary events, is really to deny that we can, in any case, know what the ordinary course of nature is.

When, however, Christian apologists speak of the violations of the course of nature, it would perhaps have been more clear to say, 'The now-existing course of nature,' or 'The ordinary course of nature as now observed by us:' for if by 'the course of nature' be understood that which is conformable to the Divine appointment, then, to speak of anything occurring that is *preter-natural*, would be a contradiction. Some persons who admit the possible and the actual occurrence of miracles are accustomed to speak as if they thought (though perhaps that is not really their meaning) that the 'course of nature' is something that *goes on of itself*; but that God has the power, which He sometimes exercises, of interrupting it; even as a man who has constructed some such engine as a mill, for instance, which he has the power of stopping when he sees cause, though he leaves it usually to *work of itself*; for they forget that there is an external agency which keeps it in motion, and of which the millwright has availed himself. But any one who believes in a *universal* divine government and divine foreknowledge, must believe that whatever has at any time happened must be in accordance with a pre-arranged system, though it may be a portion of that system that differs widely from those other portions which come under our habitual daily experience. It will then be a departure from *the ordinary* course of nature; and there may have been such an arrangement originally made, that such an extraordinary event shall, when it occurs, serve as a *sign*, in attestation of the Divine will on some point. This may be easily illustrated even in works of human agency. Suppose, for instance, a clock so constructed as to strike only at the hour of noon. A child might suppose, from an observation of several hours, that it was the *nature* of the clock to move silently; and when he heard it strike, he might account this a *departure from its nature*, though it would be in fact as much a part of the maker's original design as any of the movements, his object having been to announce the hour of noon and no other. But a similar misapprehension of the nature of the machine would be much more likely to prevail if a clock could be so constructed as to strike only at the end of a year, or at the end of a century,—supposing the maker to have kept his design from being generally known. If, at the end of the year, he despatched with a message from himself certain messengers whom he had acquainted with the construction of the machine, and whom he had authorized to

announce

announce the striking, as an attestation of their coming from him, this would be a decisive proof of the genuineness of their message. Now this, we conceive, is an illustration of the view which an intelligent believer may fairly take of miraculous evidence, namely, that the Christian miracles are not, strictly speaking, 'violations of the laws of nature,' but departures from the now-existing *ordinary* course of nature, in conformity with an arrangement originally contrived so as to cause these to be *signs* evidencing a divine mission. And to pronounce that no such occurrence ever did or can take place, on the ground that it has not come under our own experience, and that the strongest evidence for it is to be at once rejected unheard, is manifestly a most rash and unphilosophical procedure. If we could suppose a butterfly, which is born in the spring and lives but three or four months, to be endowed with a certain portion of rationality, he might lay it down as a law of nature that the trees should be green and the fields enamelled with flowers. And if some animal of a superior order assured him that formerly the trees were bare of foliage and the fields covered with snow, he might deride this as against all experience and all analogy, and a physical impossibility. And in this he would not be more unphilosophical than some who are called philosophers.

Analogy, of which Professor Powell talks so much, is a guide to us in proportion as the circumstances of the cases supposed are similar. If the miracles of our religion had been said to have been wrought (as the legendary miracles are represented to have been) primarily for the sake of particular persons, to give them help in pressure of difficulty or danger, or testimony to their personal innocence or sanctity, there would arise a really strong argument from analogy against them. Because conjunctures which seem to demand such interpositions are continually occurring every day; wherein, nevertheless, we see the ordinary providence of God hold on its regular course without swerving to save the innocent or punish the guilty. Such pretended miracles, therefore, admit of comparison with innumerable known parallel cases; and on comparison are seen to vary from what analogy leads us to expect as *likely* in such cases. But the Scripture miracles were not wrought *principally* for such purposes. They were wrought to meet a conjuncture to which known analogies furnish no parallel, namely, to confirm a revelation rendered necessary by the fall of mankind into an unnatural state. Now, as Bishop Butler has justly remarked, nothing short of the history of a *world* placed in similar circumstances to our own, can afford basis for an *argument* from analogy against miracles so *circumstanced*.

II. But

II. But then we are told that, in all such reasoning, we *assume* the existence of an *omnipotent* Being able to change the ordinary course of nature, and that such an assumption is not warranted by the phenomena of nature, since these will only justify the assumption of a cause precisely adequate to the effects. Put thus, as thus it generally is urged, there is something very ludicrous in this objection, which seems to grant the existence of a God possessed of intelligence and power capable of *producing* and *maintaining* the physical universe, and yet to express a doubt whether He has skill and energy enough to *change* the position of the meanest part of it! In reality, however, it must be regarded as a more decent form of denial that the phenomena of nature prove the existence of a Deity at all. Let us take the argument on that ground, and Professor Powell would still gain no standing-point for his view of miracles. Whatever the phenomena of nature do or do not prove, at least they do not *disprove* the existence of Deity. The heavens do not declare that there is no God, nor does the firmament *deny* that it is His handywork. To exclude, therefore, in such a state of things, the possibility of miracles is, while granting that, for aught we know, the Author of nature *can* work them, to decline to entertain any evidence that He *has* worked them; to refuse Him the opportunity of clearing up the doubts of His creatures and manifesting His own existence; to decide, in fact, the great question practically on the side of atheism. Nothing but a strict demonstration on the side of atheism can justify us in the summary rejection *a priori* of miracles as unworthy of a philosopher's belief. The question whether there is or is not in existence a Cause adequate to their production is a question of fact, and to exclude summarily the evidence which proves the existence of such a Cause by proving the effect, must be considered by all really impartial judges a proceeding in the last degree irrational and unphilosophical, so long as the existence of such a Cause is allowed to be possible in the nature of things.

III. But this view of religion, as a matter of fact to be proved by the proper evidence of matters of fact, seems a thought so remote from Professor Powell's present tastes and studies that it has nearly slipped out of his mind. Natural religion he habitually regards as a *pretended* deduction from 'physical science,' and he objects to the 'hypothesis' of a Deity as gratuitous, and involving at least as many difficulties as it is brought to solve.

It is not necessary here to recapitulate the evidence from the things made which prove the existence of the Maker; but when Professor Powell opposes to this evidence the assertion that the 'hypothesis' leaves many speculative difficulties unsolved, he

betrays a total misconception of the whole question, which is not one of mere speculative curiosity, but of practice. It is a question of moral relations and duties, such as those which meet us in ordinary life. We might as well talk of the 'hypothesis' of parents, and friends, and governors, and teachers around us, as of the 'hypothesis' of a Deity. The supposition that we are surrounded by intelligent Beings like ourselves in the visible forms of parents, children, and friends—that there are real judges and juries, magistrates, and sovereigns—these, if regarded as mere hypotheses, certainly do not solve more speculative difficulties than they raise; and the same may be said of every fact with which we become acquainted. But no one in his senses refuses on that account to accept the proper evidence of facts. No one says, 'To suppose that this variously-coloured *species*, which you call my father, is the indication of the presence of a Being like myself, is only to multiply the many difficulties which beset me when I reflect upon my own nature. That supposition will involve others of which I do not clearly see the end, or of which, to speak more correctly, I can plainly see that there is no end. I will, therefore, stop short at once, and trouble myself with none of your hypotheses.' Yet such a course would be to the full as rational as much of the reasoning of Philo, in Hume's 'Dialogues on Natural Religion' which have latterly found such favour in Professor Powell's eyes.

Religion is a practical thing, designed to regulate our conduct, not to enlarge our scientific knowledge. The orderly 'Cosmos' of the visible universe is, as Berkeley truly expresses it, a language in which the God of the universe is continually conversing with us by signs which He has made us capable of understanding; and in that language He is telling us of pleasures and pains, benefits and evils, which we may obtain or shun by our own behaviour, so as to place us practically in an awful state of discipline and trial. It is not a mere speculative question whether, in the phenomena by which we are surrounded, we shall recognise a Parent, Friend, and Governor, or merely the mechanism of a surd and un-intelligent frame, sempiternal and uncaused; but it is a question of the deepest moral importance, in which our best interests are visibly at stake; since it is manifest that if the universe be really an indication of God, He is a Being whose very nature demands from moral and intelligent creatures like men the inward service of love and reverence, submission and adoring awe. As for the mere mist of language by which God is concealed under such words as 'LAWS of Nature,' &c., we are almost ashamed to have to notice it. Law, as Paley long ago remarked, does nothing, and is nothing, without an agent. 'The
Law

Law of the material universe' is only a figurative way of denoting the general expression of a number of observed and anticipated phenomena; the regularity of their sequences being, *as if* the material things which exhibit such phenomena *understood* the general expression, and *chose* to conform to it.* And, as for Hume's proof, which Mr. Powell admires so much, that the human mind has no idea of *efficiency*, we would remind the reader that it is merely a proof that, *if all our ideas are only copies of what Hume calls impressions*, we can have no idea of efficiency; and is, so far as it is valid, rather a demonstration that our ideas are not, all of them, mere copies of impressions. How the notion of efficient causation came to be connected with material sequences (a connexion, the unreasonableness of which it was not reserved for Hume to point out) is well shown by Stewart.† He justly adds, 'that if we allow with Hume that there is no proof of any link between physical events, and that if at the same time we admit the authority of that principle of the mind which leads us to refer every change to an efficient cause, his doctrine seems to be more favourable to theism than even the common notions upon the subject, as it keeps the Deity always in view, not only as the first, but as the *constantly operating* efficient cause in nature, and as the great connecting principle among all the various phenomena which we observe.' Thus, such of the arguments of the infidel himself as bear the test of examination, pay tribute to the Being of the Creator of the universe.

IV. Those who reject the miracles recorded in Scripture must find some means of accounting for the spread and triumph of the Gospel. Professor Powell has made the attempt. 'It was the argument,' he says, 'of Origen, and has since been often repeated under various forms, that to suppose the success of Christianity in the world effected by such simple means and humble instruments as its history describes, *without the aid of miracles*, would be to admit a *greater miracle* than any of those called in question. But it seems to be overlooked, that the alternative is merely one between *physical* miracles, and the *moral* miracle of the conversion of the world without them. And it would clearly be open to us to accept the latter: to admit an interposition of *moral* and *spiritual* influence to any extent, rather than one of *physical* interruption' (p. 282). It is strange that it should not have occurred to Professor Powell that a moral miracle is as much a departure from the ordinary course of nature as a physical miracle, and

* See the article *Law* in the Appendix to Whately's 'Elements of Logic.'

† Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind, vol. i. c. i. section ii.

that all the objections he imagines to apply to the latter, apply equally to the former. But, in truth, the alternative is not between moral and physical miracles. The real alternative is between physical miracles and the abandonment of Christianity as a revelation from God. If this principle of moral to the exclusion of physical miracles is adopted, it must follow that the sacred writers have filled their histories with descriptions of marvels which were never wrought, and have ascribed the belief in our Lord to an agency which had no existence. Preachers of a most holy faith and morality, and willingly suffering all things for the sake of the doctrines and precepts they espoused, they deliberately put on record a number of extravagant fictions, and no less wantonly than wickedly assigned the success of the Gospel to a pretended cause. Though their followers must have known the narrative to be a tissue of falsehoods, they accepted the fabricated account, and neither friends nor enemies attempted to expose it; or if they did, the attempt was vain. Nay, the Apostle Paul, in his Epistles to sundry churches, besides asserting that he was himself endued with a power of working miracles, 'speaks of a great variety of miraculous gifts as *then subsisting* in those churches, in the manner any one would speak to another of a thing which was as familiar to them both as anything in the world,'* and yet this confident, matter-of-course reference to the notorious experience of his readers, made in the face of many among them who were his personal opposers, had no foundation whatsoever in the facts. All the sacred writers were agreed in telling the lie, and all the Christians of different nations, to say nothing of Jews and Pagans, were agreed in allowing it to pass current. So general was this shameless contempt of truth in the devoted and self-denying disciples of a church whose precepts were without a flaw, that it is the fabulous narrative of the greatest revolution which was ever effected in the annals of mankind that has been alone preserved, and not one contemporary allusion to the real origin of Christianity remains. This is the alternative we must admit, if, as Professor Powell affirms, 'it is clearly open to us to accept the *moral* miracle of the conversion of the world,' to the exclusion of the *physical* miracles recorded in the Bible. Upon this supposition there must have been a moral miracle wrought of another nature than that con-

* Butler's 'Analogy,' Part 2, chap. vii. The passages in St. Paul's Epistles which he enumerates are Rom. xv. 19; 1 Cor. xii. 8, 9, 10-28, &c., and chap. xiii. 1, 2, 8, and the whole xivth ch.; 2 Cor. xii. 12, 13; Gal. iii. 2, 5. The incidental way in which St. Paul alludes to the existence of miraculous powers among those to whom he is writing, as to a common truth, 'is surely,' says Bishop Butler, 'a very considerable thing.'

templated by Professor Powell, 'a miracle,' to use the language of Bishop Fitzgerald, 'wrought *by* nothing at all, and *for* nothing at all'—a miracle which 'supposes that all the best established laws of the human mind were violated, and that men, in this one case, acted differently from the way in which they act in every other'—a miracle of which the characteristic was deceit and dishonesty, and which contravened the injunctions of the very Gospel it attested. Well may we say with Bishop Fitzgerald that, 'credulous as Christians may be thought, they are too sceptical to believe this,' and to such absurdities are even philosophers reduced, when they endeavour to invent some device by which to elude the force of rational evidence.

Whatever influence is produced by books like that of Professor Powell is due, not to the weight of the reasoning, but to the ignorance of readers. Bold assertions and partial criticisms readily impose upon persons who have never considered the subject. Archbishop Whately has dwelt upon the significant fact that infidels deal only in objections *against* Christianity, and never attempt to reply to the arguments *for* it. 'A barrister,' he remarks, 'would have an easy task if he were allowed to bring forward all that could be said against the party he was opposed to, and to pass over in silence all that could be urged on the other side as not worth answering.' This is the 'easy task' which the sceptic assumes, and while, generation after generation, the advocates of Christianity have joined issue with their antagonists, and driven them out of court, the advocates of infidelity have never dared to grapple with the case put forward by believers. 'No infidel,' says Archbishop Whately, 'so far as I know, has even *professed* to write an answer to works such as Leslie's "Short Method," Paley's "Evidences" and "Horæ Paulinæ," Lardner's "Credibility and Testimonies," and the "Introductory Lessons on Christian Evidence."' Nothing could show more conclusively the rottenness of the infidel cause. Unfortunately many who come upon the shallow scepticism of the day have done as little in reading the works of the Christian apologists as the infidel has in replying to them. Surprised by objections, which, like any other *ex parte* statement, may be of weight when taken separately, these thoughtless persons imagine that a blow has been struck at the Divine edifice which threatens to overthrow it. They are not aware that the case of the adversary, in spite of the validity of some of his allegations, completely breaks down

* 'Cautions for the Times,' p. 510. The whole of this masterly volume should be read by every one who can be brought to pay the least attention to the arguments for Christianity, and to the various errors affecting it, which have prevailed in our day.

when opposed by the overwhelming evidence upon the other side. The easy antidote alike to novel extravagances, and the repetition of old and hackneyed difficulties, is for those who are of opinion that the most momentous question in the world deserves serious investigation, to examine the subject as a whole, and master writings which remain to this hour not only unrefuted, but, in their general scope and reasoning, unassailed. Nor is this a resource which is open to the upper and middle classes alone. In a factory, where religion was a common topic of conversation, a disciple of Mr. Holyoake pressed his fellow-workmen with arguments drawn from the 'Reasoner.' One of the mechanics, who came forward as the champion of Christianity, finding himself constantly worsted in the conflict, bought and studied Paley's 'Evidences.' The infidel was no longer permitted to confine himself to the objections against Christianity. He was called upon to answer the facts which proved that it must have come from God, and could not have come from man. He was quickly silenced, and unable to bear the mortification of his discomfiture, he threw up his employment, and left the shop. Yet there are many religious people who are strangely indifferent to the study of Christian evidence, and who even seem to regard it with dislike. They forget that those who are kept in ignorance of the case for Christianity are apt to fall an easy prey to the first lame and impotent disputant *against* it. But upon this point there is such an admirable argument in a lecture which Archbishop Whately has lately published upon Paley's works—a lecture distinguished by his usual depth and exactness of thought, and force and clearness of illustration—that long as is the passage we cannot resist the temptation to quote it:—

'There are some persons who, from various causes, deprecate this study altogether, or, at least, would confine it to an exceedingly small number of learned men, whose inclinations and opportunities have led them to devote their lives to it. I have heard even men of good sense in other points remark that, to investigate *all* the reasons for and against the reception of Christianity, would be more than the labour of a whole life; and that, therefore, all, except, perhaps, some five or six out of every million, had better not trouble themselves at all about the matter. It is very strange that it should fail to occur to any man of good sense, that it may be possible and easy, and, in many cases, highly desirable, to have *sufficient* reasons for believing what we do believe: though these reasons may not be the twentieth part of what *might* be adduced if there were any need for it. * * * In every case, except, perhaps, the one case of religion, every one would perceive the absurdity of refusing to attend to any reasons at all, because there might be a multitude of other reasons also, which we had not the power or the leisure to investigate. And since, therefore, it has pleased the All-wise to create man a rational

tional animal, and there is always *some* cause, though often a very absurd one, for any one's believing or disbelieving as he does, and since on all subjects men are often led to reject valuable truths, and to assent to mischievous falsehoods, it is surely an important part of education that men should be trained, in some degree, to weigh evidence, and to distinguish good reasons from sophistry, in any department of life, and, not least, in what concerns religion.

'But when the mass of the unlearned people (it has been said) do believe in a true religion, no matter on what grounds, it is better to let them alone in their uninquiring faith, than to agitate and unsettle their minds by telling them about evidences. They should be kept in ignorance, we are told, that the truth of Christianity was ever doubted by any one; that is, they must be kept in ignorance not only of the world around them, but of all books of history, including the Bible. It has even been publicly maintained in a work which was the organ of a powerful and numerous party in our Church, that an ignorant rustic, who, believing Christianity to be true, merely because he has been told so by those he looks up to as his superiors, has a far *better* ground for his belief than Paley or Grotius, or any other such writer. Now this is the ground on which the ancient and the modern Pagans and the Mahometans rest their absurd faith, and reject the Gospel. The evidence, therefore, which has proved satisfactory to the most enlightened Christians is, it seems, absolutely inferior to that which is manifestly and notoriously good for nothing!

'Others, not belonging to the party just alluded to, have publicly and very strongly proclaimed their conviction that any inquiry into the evidences of our religion is most likely to lead to infidelity. "Many thanks!" an infidel might reply, "for that admission! I want nothing more. That all inquiry, while it will establish a belief in what is true, will overthrow belief in Christianity or any other imposture, is just what I think. But nothing coming from *me* could have near the force of such an admission from *you*." One is loth to attribute to writers who are professed advocates of Christianity an insincere profession and a disguised hostility. And yet, supposing them sincere, the absurdity of their procedure seems almost incredible. Let one of these writers imagine himself tried in a court of justice, and his counsel pleading for him in a similar manner:—"Gentlemen of the jury, my client is an innocent and a worthy man, take my word for it; but I entreat you not to examine any witnesses, or listen to any pleadings; for the more you inquire into the case, the more likely you will be to find him guilty." Every one would say that this advocate was either a madman, or else wilfully betraying his client.

:- 'One other class of persons I shall briefly notice, in conclusion, who take a different view, but I cannot think a right one, of the study of Christian evidences. They acknowledge its use and necessity, but they dislike and deplore that necessity. They view the matter somewhat as any person of humane disposition does the arming and training of soldiers; acknowledging, yet lamenting, the necessity of thus guarding against insurrections at home, or attacks from foreign nations; and though,

though, when forced into a war, he rejoices in meeting with victory rather than defeat, he would much prefer peaceful tranquillity. Even so, these persons admit that evidences are necessary in order to repel unbelief; but all attention to the subject is connected in their minds with the idea of *doubt*; which they feel to be painful, and dread as something sinful. Far different, however, are men's feelings in reference to any person or thing that they really do greatly value and admire, when they have a full and firm conviction. No one in ordinary life considers it disagreeable to mark and dwell on the constantly recurring proofs of the excellent and admirable qualities of some highly-valued friend; to observe how his character stands in strong contrast to that of ordinary men; and that while experience is constantly stripping off the fair outside from vain pretenders, and detecting the wrong motives which adulterate the seeming virtue of others, his sterling excellence is made more and more striking and conspicuous every day: on the contrary, we feel that this is a delightful exercise of the mind, and the more delightful the more we are disposed to love and honour him. Yet all these are *proofs*,—or what might be used as proofs if needed,—of his really being of such a character. But is the contemplation of such proofs connected in our own mind with the idea of harassing doubt, and anxious contest? Should it not, then, be also delightful to a sincere Christian to mark, in like manner, the proofs which, if he look for them, he will continually find recurring, that the religion he professes came not from man, but from God,—that the Great Master whom he adores was, indeed, the “Way, the Truth, and the Life,” that “never man spake like this man,” and that the sacred writers who record His teaching were not mad enthusiasts or crafty deceivers, but men who spoke in sincerity the words of truth and soberness which they learned from Him? Should he not feel the liveliest pleasure in comparing his religion with those false creeds which have sprung from human fraud and folly, and observing how striking is the difference? And so also in what is called natural theology—the proofs of the wisdom, goodness, and power of God;—how delightful to a pious mind is the contemplation of the evidence which it presents! What pleasure to trace, as far as we can, the countless instances of wise contrivance which surround us in the objects of nature,—the great and the small; from the fibres of an insect's wing, to the structure of the most gigantic animals; from the minutest seed that vegetates, to the loftiest trees of the forest,—and to mark everywhere the work of that same Creator's hand, who has filled the universe with the monuments of His wisdom, so that we thus (as Paley has expressed it) make the universe to become one vast temple! It is not for the refutation of objectors merely, and for the conviction of doubters, that it is worth while to study in this manner, with the aid of such a guide as Paley, the two volumes—that of Nature and that of Revelation—which Providence has opened before us, but because it is both profitable and gratifying to a well-constituted mind to trace in each of them the evident handwriting of Him—the Divine Author of both.'

The beautiful and eloquent concluding paragraph must convince

vince the most reverent that the investigation of evidences is no less an exercise of piety than a safeguard of our faith. The more we inquire into the external testimony to the sacred narratives the more apparent it must become that they could not have been allowed to go unchallenged by powerful and angry opponents, or been universally received by the widely-scattered converts to Christianity, unless they had been the honest record of indisputable facts. The more minutely we examine the books themselves the more we shall discover that they have characteristics of truth and genuineness which never yet existed in the most 'cunningly devised fables.' The more we contemplate the subject-matter of our religion, and contrast it with every other religion that has prevailed, the more vividly we must perceive that it bears the impress of a Divine author, and that the splendour of its light eclipses the brightest emanations from man. The more we consider the mode and circumstances of its propagation, the more strongly we must feel that it made its way by a heavenly and not by an earthly power. In every false creed there are natural causes which explain its success. Christianity prevailed *against* the sword, and not, like Mahometanism, *by* the sword. The convert to Mahometanism was called upon to believe or to suffer. The convert to Christianity, on the contrary, was invited to brave suffering for the sake of his belief. With every thing against it—power, antipathies, pains and penalties—it had only a Galilean peasant for its hero, and a few poor fishermen for its champions. 'It arose in an enlightened and sceptical age, but amongst a despised and narrow-minded people. It earned hatred and persecution at home by its liberal genius and opposition to the national prejudices; it earned contempt abroad by its connexion with the country where it was born, but which sought to strangle it in its birth. Emerging from Judæa, it made its way outward through the most polished regions of the world—Asia Minor, Egypt, Greece, Rome; and in all it attracted notice and provoked hostility. Successive massacres and attempts at extermination, prosecuted for ages by the whole force of the Roman empire, it bore without resistance, and seemed to draw fresh vigour from the axe; but assaults in the way of argument, from whatever quarter, it was never ashamed or unable to repel, and, whether attacked or not, it was resolutely aggressive. In four centuries it had pervaded the civilized world: it had mounted the throne of the Cæsars; it had spread beyond the limits of their sway, and had made inroads upon barbarian nations whom their eagles had never visited; it had gathered all genius and all learning into itself, and made the literature of the world its own; it survived the inundation of the barbarian tribes, and conquered the

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the world once more, by converting its conquerors to the faith ; it survived an age of barbarism ; it survived the restoration of letters ; it survived an age of free inquiry and scepticism, and has long stood its ground in the field of argument, and commanded the intelligent assent of the greatest minds that ever were ; it has been the parent of civilization and the nurse of learning ; and if light, and humanity, and freedom be the boast of modern Europe, it is to Christianity that she owes them. Exhibiting in the life of Jesus a picture, varied and minute, of the perfect human united with the Divine, in which the mind of man has not been able to find a deficiency or detect a blemish—a picture copied from no model and rivalled by no copy—it has satisfied the moral wants of mankind ; it has accommodated itself to every period and every clime ; and it has retained, through every change, a salient spring of life, which enables it to throw off corruption and repair decay, and renew its youth, amidst outward hostility and inward divisions.*

ART. V.—1. *Tennyson's Poems*. In Two Volumes. London, 1842.

2. *The Princess: a Medley*. London, 1847.

3. *In Memoriam*. London, 1850.

4. *Maud, and other Poems*. London, 1855.

5. *Idylls of the King*. London, 1859.

MR. TENNYSON published his first volume, under the title of 'Poems chiefly Lyrical,' in 1830, and his second, with the name simply of 'Poems,' in 1833. In 1842 he reappeared before the world in two volumes, partly made up from the *débris* of his earlier pieces ; and from this time forward he came into the enjoyment of a popularity at once great, growing, and select. With a manly resolution, which gave promise of the rare excellence he was progressively to attain, he had at this time amputated altogether from the collection about one-half of the contents of his earliest work, with some considerable portion of the second ; he had almost rewritten or carefully corrected other important pieces, and had added a volume of new compositions.

The later handiwork showed a great advance upon the earlier ;

* This passage, which, for the condensation of its wide historic survey, and its vigorous and glowing eloquence, is one of the finest in the whole range of literature, is extracted from No. 29 of the *Cautions for the Times*, and is known to be from the pen of Dr. Fitzgerald, the present Bishop of Cork. Our Church has never wanted able defenders of her faith, but she has never had a more sound divine, a more acute reasoner, or a more powerful writer, than she happily possesses at present in this distinguished prelate.

as, indeed, 1833 had shown upon 1830. From the very first, however, he had been noteworthy in performance as well as in promise, and it was plain that, whatever else might happen, at least neglect was not to be his lot. But in the natural heat of youth he had at the outset certainly mixed up some trivial with a greater number of worthy productions, and had shown an impatience of criticism by which, however excusable, he was sure to be himself the chief sufferer. His higher gifts, too, were of that quality which, by the changeless law of nature, cannot ripen fast; and there was, accordingly, some portion both of obscurity and of crudity in the results of his youthful labours. Men of slighter materials would have come more quickly to their maturity, and might have given less occasion not only for cavil but for animadversion. It was yet more creditable to him, than it could be even to the just among his critics, that he should, and while yet young, have applied himself with so resolute a hand to the work of castigation. He thus gave a remarkable proof alike of his reverence for his art, of his insight into its powers, of the superiority he had acquired to all the more commonplace illusions of self-love, and perhaps of his presaging consciousness that the great, if they mean to fulfil the measure of their greatness, should always be fastidious against themselves.

It would be superfluous to enter upon any general criticism of this collection, which was examined when still recent in this Review, and a large portion of which is established in the familiar recollection and favour of the public. We may, however, say that what may be termed at large the classical idea (though it is not that of Troas nor of the Homeric period) has, perhaps, never been grasped with greater force and justice than in 'Cenone,' nor exhibited in a form of more consummate polish. 'Ulysses' is likewise a highly finished poem; but it is open to the remark that it exhibits (so to speak) a corner-view of a character which was in itself a *cosmos*. Never has political philosophy been wedded to the poetic form more happily than in the three short pieces on England and her institutions, unhappily without title, and only to be cited, like writs of law and papal bulls, by their first words. Even among the rejected pieces there are specimens of a deep metaphysical insight; and this power reappears with an increasing growth of ethical and social wisdom in 'Locksley Hall' and elsewhere. The Wordsworthian poem of 'Dora' is admirable in its kind. From the firmness of its drawing, and the depth and singular purity of its colour, 'Godiva' stood, if we judge aright, as at once a great performance and a great pledge. But, above all, the fragmentary piece on the Death of Arthur was a fit prelude to that lordly music which is now sounding in our
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ears. If we pass onward from these volumes, it is only because space forbids a further enumeration.

The 'Princess' was published in 1847. The author has termed it 'a medley:' why, we know not. It approaches more nearly to the character of a regular drama, with the stage directions written into verse, than any other of his works, and it is composed consecutively throughout on the basis of one idea. It exhibits an effort to amalgamate the place and function of woman with that of man, and the failure of that effort, which duly winds up with the surrender and marriage of the fairest and chief enthusiast. It may be doubted whether the idea is one well suited to exhibition in a quasi-dramatic form. Certainly the mode of embodying it, so far as it is dramatic, is not 'successful'; for here again the persons are little better than mere *personæ*. They are *media*, and weak *media*, for the conveyance of the ideas. The poem is, nevertheless, one of high interest, on account of the force, purity, and nobleness of the main streams of thought, which are clothed in language full of all Mr. Tennyson's excellences; and also because it marks the earliest effort of his mind in the direction of his latest and greatest achievements.

It will not be difficult to establish the first proposition by citations. Who can read the following speech of 'Lady Psyche' without a conversion for the moment, despite the slight interferences it involves with the fundamental laws of creation, to the whole scheme of feminine and social transformation?—

' At last

She rose upon a wind of prophecy,
Dilating on the future: "Everywhere
Two heads in council, two beside the hearth,
Two in the tangled business of the world,
Two in the liberal offices of life,
Two plummets dropt, for one, to sound the abyss
Of science, and the secrets of the mind:
Musician, painter, sculptor, critic, more:
And everywhere the broad and bounteous earth
Should bear a double crop of those rare souls,
Poets, whose thoughts enrich the blood of the world."—p. 38.

After exhibiting the bane in a form so winning, we must at once present the antidote. Upon the catastrophe of the enterprise—in the manner of which Mr. Tennyson does not go to work like an ingenious playwright—then forthwith—

' Love in the sacred halls

Held carnival at will, and flying struck
With showers of random sweet on maid and man.'—p. 161.

And

And at last we are duly brought to the true philosophy of the case :—

“ For woman is not undeveloped man,
But diverse ; could we make her as the man,
Sweet Love were slain : his dearest bond is this,
Not like to like, but like in difference.
Yet in the long years liker must they grow ;
The man be more of woman, she of man ;
He gain in sweetness and in moral height,
Nor lose the wrestling thews that throw the world ;
She, mental breadth ; nor fail in childward care,
Nor lose the childlike in the larger mind ;
Till at the last she set herself to man,
Like perfect music unto noble words ;
And so these twain, upon the skirts of Time,
Sit side by side, full-summed in all their powers,
Dispensing harvest, sowing the To-be,
Self-reverent each, and reverencing each,
Distinct in individualities,
But like each other ev'n as those who love.
Then comes the statelier Eden back to men ;
Then reign the world's great bridals, chaste and calm ;
Then springs the crowning race of humankind.
May these things be ! ”

Sighing she spoke, “ I fear
They will not.”

“ Dear, but let us type them now
In our own lives, and this proud watchword rest
Of equal ; seeing either sex alone
Is half itself, and in true marriage lies
Nor equal nor unequal : each fulfils
Defect in each : and always thought in thought,
Purpose in purpose, will in will they grow,
The single pure and perfect animal,
The two-celled heart, beating with one full stroke
Life.”—p. 172.

The word ‘ animal ’ jars at first hearing ; but, without doubt, Mr. Tennyson uses it, as Dante does in ‘ *O animal grazioso e benigno*, ’ to convey simply the idea of life, and as capable of reaching upwards to the highest created life.

With passages like these still upon the mind and ear, and likewise having in view many others in the ‘ Princess ’ and elsewhere, we may confidently assert it as one of Mr. Tennyson's brightest distinctions that he is now what from the very first he strove to be, and what when he wrote ‘ Godiva ’ he gave ample promise of becoming—the poet of woman. We do not mean, nor do we know, that his hold over women as his readers is greater than his command or influence over men ; but that he

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has studied, sounded, painted woman in form, in motion, in character, in office, in capability, with rare devotion, power, and skill; and the poet who best achieves this end does also most and best for man.

In 1850 Mr. Tennyson gave to the world, under the title of '*In Memoriam*,' perhaps the richest oblation ever offered by the affection of friendship at the tomb of the departed. The memory of Arthur Henry Hallam, who died suddenly in 1833, at the age of twenty-two, will doubtless live chiefly in connection with this volume; but he is well known to have been one who, if the term of his days had been prolonged, would have needed no aid from a friendly hand, would have built for himself an enduring monument, and would have bequeathed to his country a name in all likelihood greater than that of his very distinguished father. There was no one among those who were blessed with his friendship, nay, as we see, not even Mr. Tennyson,* who did not feel at once bound closely to him by commanding affection, and left far behind by the rapid, full, and rich development of his ever-searching mind; by his

'All comprehensive tenderness,
All subtilising intellect.'

It would be easy to show what, in the varied forms of human excellence, he might, had life been granted him, have accomplished; much more difficult to point the finger and to say, 'This he never could have done.' Enough remains from among his early efforts to accredit whatever mournful witness may now be borne of him. But what can be a nobler tribute than this, that for seventeen years after his death a poet, fast rising towards the lofty summits of his art, found that young fading image the richest source of his inspiration, and of thoughts that gave him buoyancy for a flight such as he had not hitherto attained?

It would be very difficult to convey a just idea of this volume either by narrative or by quotation. In the series of monodies or meditations which compose it, and which follow in long series without weariness or sameness, the poet never moves away a step from the grave of his friend, but, while circling round it, has always a new point of view. Strength of love, depth of grief, aching sense of loss, have driven him forth as it were on a quest of consolation, and he asks it of nature, thought, religion, in a hundred forms which a rich and varied imagination continually suggests, but all of them connected by one central point, the recollection of the dead. This work he prosecutes, not in vain effeminate complaint, but in manly recognition of the fruit and profit even of baffled love, in noble suggestions of the future, in heart-

* See '*In Memoriam*,' pp. 64, 84.

soothing and heart-chastening thoughts of what the dead was and of what he is, and of what one who has been, and therefore still is, in near contact with him is bound to be. The whole movement of the poem is between the mourner and the mourned: it may be called one long soliloquy; but it has this mark of greatness, that, though the singer is himself a large part of the subject, it never degenerates into egotism—for he speaks typically on behalf of humanity at large, and in his own name, like Dante on his mystic journey, teaches deep lessons of life and conscience to us all.

We subjoin one or two specimens, which have many rivals, but are among those most directly ministering to the purpose of the volume (Cvii.):—

‘Heart affluence in discursive talk
From household fountains never dry;
The critic clearness of an eye
That saw through all the Muses’ walk;
Seraphic intellect and force
To seize and throw the doubts of man;
Impassioned logic, which outran
The hearer in its fiery course;
High nature amorous of the good,
But touched with no ascetic gloom;
And passion pure in snowy bloom
Through all the years of April blood;
A love of freedom rarely felt,
Of freedom in her regal seat
Of England; not the schoolboy heat,
The blind hysterics of the Celt;
And manhood fused with female grace
In such a sort the child would twine
A trustful hand, unasked, in thine,
And find his comfort in thy face;—
All these have been; and these mine eyes
Have looked on: if they looked in vain,
My shame is greater who remain,
Nor let thy wisdom make me wise.’

ain, No. CXXVIII. :—

‘Thy voice is on the rolling air;
I hear thee when the waters run;
Thou standest in the rising sun,
And in the setting thou art fair.
What art thou then? I cannot guess;
But though I seem in star and flower
To feel thee, some diffusive power,
I do not therefore love thee less.

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My love involves the love before ;
 My love is vaster passion now ;
 Though mixed with God and Nature thou,
 I seem to love thee more and more.
 Far off thou art, but ever nigh ;
 I have thee still, and I rejoice ;
 I prosper, circled with thy voice :
 I shall not lose thee, though I die.'

The high colour of the portrait in the first of these pieces, and the absorbing and pervading power assigned to the friendship in the second, may seem strained to such as have to take the subject of them upon trust. But we believe that the surviving friends would with one voice assert that Mr. Tennyson is fully warranted in the rare elevation of his strain by the extraordinary endowments of his original.

By the time '*In Memoriam*' had sunk into the public mind, Mr. Tennyson had taken his rank as our first then living poet. Over the fresh hearts and understandings of the young, notwithstanding his obscurities, his metaphysics, his contempt of gewgaws, he had established an extraordinary sway. We ourselves, with some thousands of other spectators, saw him receive in that noble structure of Wren, the theatre of Oxford, the decoration of D.C.L., which we perceive he always wears on his title-page. Among his colleagues in the honour were Sir De Lacy Evans and Sir John Burgoyne, fresh from the stirring exploits of the Crimea ; but even patriotism, at the fever heat of war, could not command a more fervent enthusiasm for the old and gallant warriors than was evoked by the presence of Mr. Tennyson.

In the year 1855 Mr. Tennyson proceeded to publish his '*Maud*,' the least popular, and probably the least worthy of popularity, among his more considerable works. A somewhat heavy dreaminess, and a great deal of obscurity, hang about this poem ; and the effort required to dispel the darkness of the general scheme is not repaid when we discover what it hides. The main thread of '*Maud*' seems to be this:—A love once accepted, then disappointed, leads to bloodshedding, and onward to madness with lucid alternations. The insanity expresses itself in the ravings of the homicide lover, who even imagines himself among the dead, in a clamour and confusion closely resembling an ill-regulated Bedlam, but which, if the description be a faithful one, would for ever deprive the grave of its title to the epithet of silent. It may be good frenzy, but we doubt its being as good poetry. Of all this there may, we admit, be an esoteric view : but we speak of the work as it offers itself to the common eye. Both *Maud* and the lover are too nebulous by far ; and they remind us of the boneless and pulpy personages

personages by whom, as Dr. Whewell assures us, the planet Jupiter is inhabited, if inhabited at all. But the most doubtful part of the poem is its climax. A vision of the beloved image (p. 97) 'spoke of a hope for the world in the coming wars,' righteous wars of course, and the madman begins to receive light and comfort; but, strangely enough, it seems to be the wars, and not the image, in which the source of consolation lies (p. 98).

'No more shall Commerce be all in all, and Peace
Pipe on her pastoral hillock a languid note,
And watch her harvest ripen, her herd increase.
. a peace that was full of wrongs and shames,
Horrible, hateful, monstrous, not to be told . . .
For the long long canker of peace is over and done:
And now by the side of the Black and the Baltic deep,
And deathful grinning mouths of the fortress, flames
The blood-red blossom of war with a heart of fire!'

What interpretation are we meant to give to all this sound and fury? We would fain have put it down as intended to be the finishing-stroke in the picture of a mania which has reached its zenith. We might call in aid of this construction more happy and refreshing passages from other poems, as when Mr. Tennyson is

'Certain, if knowledge brings the sword,
'That knowledge takes the sword away.'*

And again in 'The Golden Dream,'—

'When shall all men's good
Be each man's rule, and universal peace
Lie like a shaft of light across the land?'

And yet once more in a noble piece of 'In Memoriam,'—

'Ring out old shapes of foul disease,
Ring out the narrowing lust of gold;
Ring out the thousand wars of old,
Ring in the thousand years of peace.'

But on the other hand we must recollect that very long ago, when the apparition of invasion from across the Channel had as yet spoiled no man's slumbers, Mr. Tennyson's blood was already up:†—

'For the French, the Pope may shrive them
And the merry devil drive them
Through the water and the fire.'

And unhappily in the beginning of 'Maud,' when still in the best use of such wits as he possesses, its hero deals largely in kindred extravagances (p. 7):—

* 'Poems,' p. 182, ed. 1853. See also 'Locksley Hall,' p. 278.

† 'Poems chiefly Lyrical,' 1830, p. 142.

'When a Mammonite mother kills her babe for a burial fee,
And Timour-Mammon grins on a pile of children's bones,
Is it peace or war? better war! loud war by land and by sea,
War with a thousand battles, and shaking a hundred thrones.'

He then anticipates that, upon an enemy's attacking this country, 'the smooth-faced, snub-nosed rogue,' who typifies the bulk of the British people, 'the nation of shopkeepers,' as it has been emasculated and corrupted by excess of peace, will leap from his counter and till to charge the enemy; and thus it is to be reasonably hoped that we shall attain to the effectual renovation of society.

We frankly own that our divining rod does not enable us to say whether the poet intends to be in any and what degree sponsor to these sentiments, or whether he has put them forth in the exercise of his undoubted right to make vivid and suggestive representations of even the partial and narrow aspects of some endangered truth. This is at best, indeed, a perilous business, for out of such fervid partial representations nearly all grave human error springs; and it should only be pursued with caution and in season. But we do not recollect that 1855 was a season of serious danger from a mania for peace and its pursuits; and even if it had been so, we fear that the passages we have quoted far overpass all the bounds of moderation and good sense. It is, indeed, true that peace has its moral perils and temptations for degenerate man, as has every other blessing, without exception, that he can receive from the hand of God. It is moreover not less true that, amidst the clash of arms, the noblest forms of character may be reared, and the highest acts of duty done; that these great and precious results may be due to war as their cause; and that one high form of sentiment in particular, the love of country, receives a powerful and general stimulus from the bloody strife. But this is as the furious cruelty of Pharaoh made place for the benign virtue of his daughter; as the butchering sentence of Herod raised without doubt many a mother's love into heroic sublimity; as plague, as famine, as fire, as flood, as every curse and every scourge that is wielded by an angry Providence for the chastisement of man, is an appointed instrument for tempering human souls in the seven-times heated furnace of affliction, up to the standard of angelic and archangelic virtue. War, indeed, has the property of exciting much generous and noble feeling on a large scale; but with this special recommendation it has, in its modern forms especially, peculiar and unequalled evils. As it has a wider sweep of desolating power than the rest, so it has the peculiar quality that it is more susceptible of being decked in gaudy trappings, and of fascinating the imagination of those whose passions it inflames. But it is

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on this very account a perilous delusion to teach that war is a cure for moral evil in any other sense than as the sister tribulations are. The eulogies of the frantic hero in 'Maud,' however, deviate into grosser folly. It is natural that such vagaries should overlook the fixed laws of Providence; and under these laws the mass of mankind is composed of men, women, and children who can but just ward off hunger, cold, and nakedness; whose whole ideas of Mammon-worship are comprised in the search for their daily food, clothing, shelter, fuel; whom any casualty reduces to positive want; and whose already low estate is yet further lowered and ground down when 'the blood-red blossom of war flames with its heart of fire.' But what is a little strange is, that war should be recommended as a specific for the particular evil of Mammon-worship. Such it never was, even in the days when the Greek heroes longed for the booty of Troy, and anticipated lying by the wives of its princes and its citizens. Still it had, in times now gone by, ennobling elements and tendencies of the less sordid kind. But one inevitable characteristic of modern war is, that it is associated throughout, in all its particulars, with a vast and most irregular formation of commercial enterprise. There is no incentive to Mammon-worship so remarkable as that which it affords. The political economy of war is now one of its most commanding aspects. Every farthing, with the smallest exceptions conceivable, of the scores or hundreds of millions which a war may cost, goes directly to stimulate production, though it is intended ultimately for waste or for destruction. Apart from the fact that war destroys every rule of public thrift, and saps honesty itself in the use of the public treasure for which it makes such unbounded calls, it therefore is the greatest feeder of that lust of gold which we are told is the essence of commerce, though we had hoped it was only its occasional besetting sin. It is, however, more than this; for the regular commerce of peace is tameness itself compared with the gambling spirit which war, through the rapid shiftings and high prices which it brings, always introduces into trade. In its moral operation it more resembles, perhaps, the finding of a new gold-field, than anything else. Meantime, as the most wicked mothers do not kill their offspring from a taste for the practice in the abstract, but under the pressure of want, and as war always brings home want to a larger circle of the people than feel it in peace, we ask the hero of 'Maud' to let us know whether war is more likely to reduce or to multiply the horrors which he denounces? Will more babies be poisoned amidst comparative ease and plenty, or when, as before the fall of Napoleon, provisions were twice as dear as they now are, and wages not much more than half as high? Romans and Carthaginians were pretty much given to war: but no

nations were more sedulous in the cult of Mammon. Again, the Scriptures are pretty strong against Mammon-worship, but they do not recommend this original and peculiar cure. Nay, once more: what sad errors must have crept into the text of the prophet Isaiah when he is made to desire that our swords shall be converted into ploughshares, and our spears into pruning-hooks! But we have this solid consolation after all, that Mr. Tennyson's war poetry is not comparable to his poetry of peace. Indeed he is not here successful at all: the work, of a lower order than his, demands the abrupt force and the lyric fire which do not seem to be among his varied and brilliant gifts. We say more. Mr. Tennyson is too intimately and essentially the poet of the nineteenth century to separate himself from its leading characteristics, the progress of physical science and a vast commercial, mechanical, and industrial development. Whatever he may say or do in an occasional fit, he cannot long either cross or lose its sympathies; for while he elevates as well as adorns it, he is flesh of its flesh and bone of its bone. We fondly believe it is his business to do much towards the solution of that problem, so fearful from its magnitude, how to harmonise this new draught of external power and activity with the old and more mellow wine of faith, self-devotion, loyalty, reverence, and discipline. And all that we have said is aimed, not at Mr. Tennyson, but at a lay-figure which he has set up, and into the mouth of which he has put words that cannot be his words.

We return to our proper task. 'Maud,' if an unintelligible or even, for Mr. Tennyson, an inferior work, is still a work which no inferior man could have produced; nor would it be difficult to extract abundance of lines, and even passages, obviously worthy of their author. And if this poem would have made while alone a volume too light for his fame, the defect is supplied by the minor pieces, some of which are admirable. 'The Brook,' with its charming interstitial soliloquy, and the 'Letters' will, we are persuaded, always rank among Mr. Tennyson's happy efforts; while the 'Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington,' written from the heart and sealed by the conscience of the poet, is worthy of that great and genuine piece of manhood, its immortal subject.

We must touch for a moment upon what has already been mentioned as a separate subject of interest in the 'Princess.' We venture to describe it as in substance a drama, with a plot imperfectly worked and with characters insufficiently chiselled and relieved. Its author began by presenting, and for many years continued to present, personal as well as natural pictures of individual attitude or movement; and, as in 'Ænone' and 'Godiva,'
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he carried them to a very high pitch of perfection. But he scarcely attempted, unless in his more homely narrations, anything like grouping or combination. It now appears that for this higher effort he has been gradually accumulating and preparing his resources. In the sections of the prolonged soliloquy of 'Maud' we see a crude attempt at representing combined interests and characters with heroic elevation, under the special difficulty of appearing, like Mathews, in one person only; in the 'Princess' we had a happier effort, though one that still left more to be desired. Each, however, in its own stage was a preparation for an enterprise at once bolder and more mature.

We now come to the recent work of the poet—the '*Idylls of the King*.' The field, which Mr. Tennyson has chosen for this his recent and far greatest exploit, is one of so deep and wide-reaching an interest as to demand some previous notice of a special kind.

Lofty example in comprehensive forms is, without doubt, one of the great standing needs of our race. To this want it has been from the first one main purpose of the highest poetry to answer. The quest of Beauty leads all those who engage in it to the ideal or normal man as the summit of attainable excellence. By no arbitrary choice, but in obedience to unchanging laws, the painter and the sculptor must found their art upon the study of the human form, and must reckon its successful reproduction as their noblest and most consummate exploit. The concern of Poetry with corporal beauty is, though important, yet secondary: this art uses form as an auxiliary, as a subordinate though proper part in the delineation of mind and character, of which it is appointed to be a visible organ. But with mind and character themselves lies the highest occupation of the Muse. Homer, the patriarch of poets, has founded his two immortal works upon two of these ideal developments in Achilles and Ulysses; and has adorned them with others, such as Penelope and Helen, Hector and Diomed, every one an immortal product, though as compared with the others either less consummate or less conspicuous. Though deformed by the mire of after-tradition, all the great characters of Homer have become models and standards, each in its own kind, for what was, or was supposed to be, its distinguishing gift.

At length, after many generations and great revolutions of mind and of events, another age arrived, like, if not equal, in creative power to that of Homer. The Gospel had given to the whole life of man a real resurrection, and its second birth was followed by its second youth. This rejuvenescence was allotted to those wonderful centuries which popular ignorance confounds with the dark ages properly

properly so called—an identification about as rational as if we were to compare the life within the womb to the life of intelligent though early childhood. Awakened to aspirations at once fresh and ancient, the mind of man took hold of the venerable ideals bequeathed to us by the Greeks as a precious part of its inheritance, and gave them again to the light, appropriated but also renewed. The old materials came forth, but not alone; for the types which human genius had formerly conceived were now submitted to the transfiguring action of a law from on high. Nature herself prompted the effort to bring the old patterns of worldly excellence and greatness—or rather the copies of those patterns still legible, though depraved, and still rich with living suggestion—into harmony with that higher Pattern, once seen by the eyes and handled by the hands of men, and faithfully delineated in the Gospels for the profit of all generations. The life of our Saviour, in its external aspect, was that of a teacher. It was in principle a model for all, but it left space and scope for adaptations to the lay life of Christians in general, such as those by whom the every-day business of the world is to be carried on. It remained for man to make his best endeavour to exhibit the great model on its terrestrial side, in its contact with the world. Here is the true source of that new and noble cycle which the middle ages have handed down to us in duality of form, but with a nearly identical substance, under the royal sceptres of Arthur in England and of Charlemagne in France.

Of the two great systems of Romance, one has Lancelot, the other has Orlando for its culminating point; these heroes being exhibited as the respective specimens in whose characters the fullest development of man, such as he was then conceived, was to be recognised. The one put forward Arthur for the visible head of Christendom, signifying and asserting its social unity; the other had Charlemagne. Each arrays about the Sovereign a fellowship of knights. In them Valour is the servant of Honour; in an age of which violence is the besetting danger, the protection of the weak is elevated into a first principle of action; and they betoken an order of things in which Force should be only known as allied with Virtue, while they historically foreshadow the magnificent aristocracy of mediæval Europe. The one had Guinevere for the rarest gem of beauty, the other had Angelica. Each of them contained figures of approximation to the knightly model, and in each these figures, though on the whole secondary, yet in certain aspects surpassed it: such were Sir Tristram, Sir Galahad, Sir Lamoracke, Sir Gawain, Sir Geraint, in the Arthurian cycle; Rinaldo and Ruggiero, with others, in the Carlovingian. They were not twin systems, but they were rather twin investitures of

of the same scheme of ideas and feelings. Their consanguinity to the primitive Homeric types is proved by a multitude of analogies of character and by the commanding place which they assign to Hector as the flower of human excellence. Without doubt, this preference was founded on his supposed moral superiority to all his fellows in Homer; and the secondary prizes of strength, valour, and the like, were naturally allowed to group themselves around what, under the Christian scheme, had become the primary ornament of man. The near relation of the two cycles to one another may be sufficiently seen in the leading references we have made, and it runs into a multitude of details both great and small, of which we can only note a few. In both the chief hero passes through a prolonged term of madness. Judas, in the College of Apostles, is represented under Charlemagne in Gano di Maganza and his house, who appear, without any development in action, in the Arthurian romance as 'the traitours of Magouns,' and who are likewise reflected in Sir Modred, Sir Agravain, and others; while the Mahometan element, which has a natural place ready made in a history that acknowledges Charlemagne and France for its centres, finds its way sympathetically into one which is bounded for the most part by the shores of Albion. Both schemes cling to the tradition of the unity of the Empire as well as of Christendom; and accordingly, what was historical in Charlemagne is represented in the case of Arthur by an imaginary conquest reaching as far as Rome, the capital of the West: even the sword *Durindana* has its counterpart in the sword *Excalibur*.

The moral systems of the two cycles are essentially allied: and perhaps the differences between them may be due in greater or in less part to the fact that they come to us through different *media*. We of the nineteenth century read the Carolingian romance in the pages of Ariosto and Bojardo, who gave to their materials the colour of their times, and of a civilization rank in some respects, while still unripe in some others. The genius of poetry was not at the same period applying its transmuting force to the Romance of the Round Table. The date of Sir Thomas Malory, who lived under Edward IV., is something earlier than that of the great Italian romances; he appears, too, to have been on the whole content with the humble offices of a compiler and a chronicler, and we may conceive that his spirit and diction are still older than his date. The consequence is, that we are brought into more immediate and fresher contact with the original forms of this romance. So that, as they present themselves to us, the Carolingian cycle is the child of the latest middle age, while the Arthurian represents the earlier. Much might be said on the differences which have thus arisen, and on those which may be due

due to a more northern and a more southern extraction respectively. Suffice it to say that the Romance of the Round Table, far less vivid and brilliant, far ruder as a work of skill and art, has more of the innocence, the emotion, the transparency, the inconsistency of childhood. Its political action is less specifically Christian than that of the rival scheme, its individual more so. It is more directly and seriously aimed at the perfection of man. It is more free from gloss and varnish; it tells its own tale with more entire simplicity. The ascetic element is more strongly, and at the same time more quaintly, developed. It has a higher conception of the nature of woman; and like the Homeric poems, appears to eschew exhibiting her perfections in alliance with warlike force and exploits. So also love, while largely infused into the story, is more subordinate to the exhibition of other qualities. Again, the Romance of the Round Table bears witness to a more distinct and keener sense of sin: and on the whole, a deeper, broader, and more manly view of human character, life, and duty. It is in effect more like what the Carlovingian cycle might have been had Dante moulded it. It hardly needs to be added that it is more mythical, inasmuch as Arthur of the Round Table is a personage, we fear, wholly doubtful, though not impossible; while the broad back of the historic Charlemagne, like another Atlas, may well sustain a world of mythical accretions. This slight comparison, be it remarked, refers exclusively to what may be termed the latest 'redactions' of the two cycles of romance. Their early forms, in the lays of troubadours, and in the pages of the oldest chroniclers, offer a subject of profound interest, and one still unexhausted, although it has been examined by Mr. Panizzi and M. Fauriel,* but one which is quite beyond the scope of our present subject.

It is to this rich repository that Mr. Tennyson has resorted for his material. He has shown, as we think, rare judgment in the choice. The Arthurian Romance has every recommendation that should win its way to the homage of a great poet. It is national: it is Christian. It is also human in the largest and deepest sense; and, therefore, though highly national, it is universal; for it rests upon those depths and breadths of our nature to which all its truly great developments in all nations are alike essentially and closely related. The distance is enough for atmosphere, not too much for detail; enough for romance, not too much for sympathy. A poet of the nineteenth century, the Laureate has adopted characters, incidents, and even language in the main,

* *Essay on the Romantic Narrative Poetry of the Italians*: London, 1830. *Histoire de la Poésie Française*: Paris, 1846.

instead

instead of attempting to project them on a basis of his own in the region of illimitable fancy. But he has done much more than this. Evidently by reading and by deep meditation, as well as by sheer force of genius, he has penetrated himself down to the very core of his being, with all that is deepest and best in the spirit of the time, or the representation, with which he deals; and as others, using old materials, have been free to alter them in the sense of vulgarity or licence, so he has claimed and used the right to sever and recombine, to enlarge, retrench, and modify, for the purposes at once of a more powerful and elaborate art than his original presents, and of a yet more elevated, or at least of a far more sustained, ethical and Christian strain.

We are rather disposed to quarrel with the title of *Idylls*: for no diminutive (*εἰδύλλιον*) can be adequate to the breadth, vigour, and majesty which belong to the subjects, as well as to the execution, of the volume. The poet used the name once before; but he then applied it to pieces generally small in the scale of their delineations, whereas these, even if broken away one from the other, are yet like the disjoined figures from the pediment of the Parthenon in their dignity and force. One indeed among Mr. Tennyson's merits is, that he does not think it necessary to keep himself aloft by artificial effort, but undulates with his matter, and flies high or low as it requires. But even in the humblest parts of these poems—as where the little Novice describes the miniature sorrows and discipline of childhood—the whole receives its tone from an atmosphere which is heroic, and which, even in its extremest simplicity, by no means parts company with grandeur, or ceases to shine in the reflected light of the surrounding objects. Following the example which the poet has set us in a former volume, we would fain have been permitted, at least provisionally, to call these *Idylls* by the name of *Books*. Term them what we may, there are four of them—arranged, as we think, in an ascending scale.

The simplicity and grace of the principal character in *Enid*, with which the volume opens, touches, but does not too strongly agitate, the deeper springs of feeling. She is the beautiful daughter of Earl Yniol, who, by his refusal of a turbulent neighbour as a suitor, has drawn down upon himself the ruin of his fortunes, and is visited in his depressed condition by (p. 1)—

‘The brave Geraint, a knight of Arthur’s court,
A tributary prince of Devon, one
Of that great order of the Table Round.’

We cannot do better than cite the passage which describes the mother’s coming, on the evening of this visit, to the chamber of the maiden (p. 28):—

‘She,

‘She,
 With frequent smile and nod departing, found,
 Half disarrayed as to her rest, the girl ;
 Whom first she kissed on either cheek, and then
 On either shining shoulder laid a hand,
 And kept her off and gazed upon her face,
 And told her all their converse in the hall,
 Proving her heart : but never light and shade
 Coursed one another more on open ground
 Beneath a troubled heaven, than red and pale
 Across the face of Enid hearing her ;
 While slowly falling, as a scale that falls,
 When weight is added only grain by grain,
 Sank her sweet head upon her gentle breast ;
 Nor did she lift an eye, nor speak a word,
 Rapt in the fear and in the wonder of it :
 So, moving without answer to her rest,
 She found no rest, and ever failed to draw
 The quiet night into her blood, but lay
 Contemplating her own unworthiness ;
 And when the pale and bloodless East began
 To quicken to the sun, arose, and raised
 Her mother too, and hand in hand they moved
 Down to the meadow where the jousts were held,
 And waited there for Yniol and Geraint.’

Geraint wins her against the detested cousin. They wed, and she becomes the purest gem of the court of Guinevere, her place in which is described in the beautiful exordium of the poem. An accident, slight perhaps for the weight it is made to carry, arouses his jealousy, and he tries her severely by isolation and rude offices on one of his tours ; but her gentleness, purity, and patience are proof against all, and we part from the pair in a full and happy reconciliation, which is described in lines of a beauty that leaves nothing to be desired.

The treatment of Enid by her husband has appeared to some of Mr. Tennyson's readers to be unnatural. It is no doubt both in itself repulsive, and foreign to our age and country. But the brutal element in man, which now only invades the conjugal relation in cases where it is highly concentrated, was then far more widely diffused, and not yet dissociated from alternations and even habits of attachment. Something of what we now call Eastern manners at one time marked the treatment even of the women of the West. Unnatural means contrary to nature, irrespectively of time or place ; but time and place explain and warrant the treatment of Enid by Geraint.

Vivien, which follows Enid, is perhaps the least popular of the four Books. No pleasure, we grant, can be felt from the character

racter either of the wily woman, between elf and fiend, or of the aged magician, whose love is allowed to travel whither none of his esteem or regard can follow it: and in reading this poem we miss the pleasure of those profound moral harmonies, with which the rest are charged. But we must not on these grounds proceed to the conclusion that the poet has in this case been untrue to his aims. For he has neither failed in power, nor has he led our sympathies astray; and if we ask why he should introduce us to those we cannot love, there is something in the reply that Poetry, the mirror of the world, cannot deal with its attractions only, but must present some of its repulsions also, and avail herself of the powerful assistance of its contrasts. The example of Homer, who allows Thersites to thrust himself upon the scene in the debate of heroes, gives a sanction to what reason and all experience teach, namely, the actual force of negatives in heightening effect; and the gentle and noble characters and beautiful combinations, which largely predominate in the other poems, stand in far clearer and bolder relief when we perceive the dark and baleful shadow of Vivien lowering from between them.

Vivien exhibits a well-sustained conflict between the wizard and, in another sense, the witch; on one side is the wit of woman, on the other are the endowments of the prophet and magician, at once more and less than those of nature. She has heard from him of a charm, a charm 'of woven paces, and of waving hands,' which paralyses its victim for ever and without deliverance, and her object is to extract from him the knowledge of it as a proof of some return for the fervid and boundless love that she pretends. We cannot but estimate very highly the skill with which Mr. Tennyson has secured to what seemed the weaker vessel the ultimate mastery in the fight. Out of the eater comes forth meat. When she seems to lose ground with him by her slander against the Round Table which he loved, she recovers it by making him believe that she saw all other men, 'the knights, the Court, the King, dark in his light:' and when in answer to her imprecation on herself a fearful thunderbolt descends and storm rages, then, nestling in his bosom, part in fear but more in craft, she overcomes the last remnant of his resolution, wins the secret she has so indefatigably wooed, and that instant uses it to close in gloom the famous career of the over-mastered sage.

In force and richness of fancy, as well as in the skill of handling, this poem is indeed remarkable even among the four; and, to bring our assertion to a test, we quote from it the description of Vivien's witchery when she makes her first approaches (p. 105):—

' And

' And lissome Vivien, holding by his heel,
 Writhed toward him, slid up his knee, and sat ;
 Behind his ankle twined her hollow feet
 Together, curved an arm about his neck,
 Clung like a snake : and letting her left hand
 Droop from his mighty shoulder, as a leaf,
 Made with her right a comb of pearl, to part
 The lists of such a beard as youth gone out
 Had left in ashes * * * * *
 * * * * * then adding all at once
 " And lo ! I clothe myself with wisdom," drew
 The vast and shaggy mantle of his beard
 Across her neck and bosom to her knee,
 And called herself a gilded summer-fly
 Caught in a great old tyrant spider's web,
 Who meant to eat her up in that wild wood
 Without one word. So Vivien called herself,
 But rather seemed a lovely baleful star
 Veiled in gray vapour.'

Nowhere could we more opportunely than at this point call attention to Mr. Tennyson's extraordinary felicity and force in the use of metaphor and simile. This gift appears to have grown with his years, alike in abundance, truth, and grace. As the showers descend from heaven to return to it in vapour, so Mr. Tennyson's loving observation of Nature, and his Muse, seem to have had a compact of reciprocity well kept on both sides. When he was young, and when 'Cenone' was first published, he almost boasted of putting a particular kind of grasshopper into Troas, which, as he told us in a note, was probably not to be found there. It is a small but yet an interesting and significant indication that, when some years after he re-touched the poem, he omitted the note, and generalised the grasshopper. Whether we are right or not in taking this for a sign of the movement of his mind, there can be no doubt that his present use of figures is both the sign and the result of a reverence for Nature alike active, intelligent, and refined. Sometimes applying the metaphors of Art to Nature, he more frequently draws the materials of his analogies from her unexhausted book, and, however often he may call for some new and beautiful vehicle of illustration, she seems never to withhold an answer. With regard to this particular and very critical gift, it seems to us that he may challenge comparison with almost any poet either of ancient or modern times. We have always been accustomed to look upon Ariosto as one of the greatest among the masters of the art of metaphor and simile ; and it would be easy to quote from him instances which in tenderness, grace, force, or all combined,

bined, can never be surpassed. But we have rarely seen the power subjected to a greater trial than in the passages just quoted from Mr. Tennyson, where metaphor lies by metaphor as thick as shells upon their bed; yet each individually with its outline as well drawn, its separateness as clear, its form as true to nature, and with the most full and harmonious contribution to the general effect.

The 'Maid of Astolat' is the next figure in the great procession: and this poem has deservedly won very general favour. The framework of it is adopted with less of variation than in any other case from the old romance: indeed it was hardly possible to add to the simplicity and pathos of the tale as it stands in the pages of Sir Thomas Mallory. The most important alteration which the poet has made is in the form of the request which the maiden proffers to Sir Lancelot, when she learns that she cannot be his wife: and he has made it with excellent taste and sense. But while he has preserved its general form, he has broadened and deepened its features, and lengthened those avenues which it opens into the destinies and heart of man.

The opening of the narrative is described in the heading of one of Sir Thomas Mallory's chapters:—'How Sir Lancelot rode to Astolat, and received a sleeve to bear upon his helm at the request of a maid.' He rides on to the tournament with a borrowed shield, and leaves the maid behind him, smitten with an absorbing fondness for the great warrior. We extract the scene in which her heart receives the seal indelible (p. 160):—

'He spoke and ceased: the lily maid Elaine,
Won by the mellow voice before she looked,
Lifted her eyes, and read his lineaments.
The great and guilty love he bare the Queen,
In battle with the love he bare his lord,
Had marred his face, and marked it ere his time.
Another, sinning on such heights with one,
The flower of all the west and all the world,
Had been the sleeper for it: but in him
His mood was often like a fiend, and rose
And drove him into wastes and solitudes
For agony, who was yet a living soul.
Marred as he was, he seemed the goodliest man
That ever among ladies ate in hall,
And noblest, when she lifted up her eyes.
However marred, of more than twice her years,
Seamed with an ancient sword-cut on the cheek,
And bruised and bronzed, she lifted up her eyes
And loved him, with that love which was her doom.'

She keeps his shield, a precious token, and by it 'lives in fantasy' on the recollection of him. He wins the prize of valour as is his wont, but is wounded, and is 'brought unto an hermit

hermit for to be healed of his wound.' The maid repairs to him, and by her tender and constant nursing he is cured. Her love ever grows in intensity, and she prays to be his wife, or, when she finds that may not be, yet to remain with him, and to wait constantly upon him. This refused, she pines and dies; and her body, by her own prayer, is floated in a barge with only a steerer old and dumb, and bearing in her hand the written announcement of her fate, to King Arthur's palace. Lancelot had (p. 192) been grateful to her,—

' And loved her with all love, except the love
Of man and woman when they love their best,
Closest, and sweetest, and had died the death
In any knightly fashion for her sake;'

but the image of Guinevere abides alone, and guiltily supreme, in his great heart:—

' His honour rooted in dishonour stood,
And faith unfaithful kept him falsely true.'

The character of Lancelot was so lofty and tender, so just, brave, and true, so generous and humble, that it would indeed have been more than human, had it been unstained. It is charged with power almost to a surfeit, but all that power is effectually chastened by an extraordinary refinement, and immersed in a profound tenderness of feeling. Such a knight, who had love, compassion, and generosity enough and to spare for every living creature, could not but be deeply moved by the untimely doom encountered by the maiden for his sake; and he complies in deep sadness with her last request, conveyed by the letter in her dead hand, that he will bury her and pray for her. And so we have (p. 217)

' The maiden buried, not as one unknown,
Nor meanly, but with gorgeous obsequies,
And mass and rolling music, like a queen.'

Besides being a new 'Maid's Tragedy,' this Book is also a solemn prelude to that which is to follow, and which we are inclined to consider as marking the highest point which the poetry of our age has reached. The sleeve which Lancelot bears in his disguise arouses the jealousy of Queen Guinevere; and the play of his passion, before it is mournfully extinguished by the catastrophe of the maiden, affords us many glimpses of the interior of her deeply impassioned and powerful nature; while the dark shadows of their coming repentance begin to cross between him and his idol.

In 'Guinevere,' as in all the others, Mr. Tennyson gives us liberally of his power in the opening passage; like one who knows that he has ample strength in reserve, and need not guard against disappointments from subsequent decline:—

' Queen

'Queen Guinevere had fled the court ; and sate
There in the holy house at Amesbury,
Weeping ; none with her save a little maid,
A novice : one low light betwixt them burned,
Blurred by the creeping mist ; for all abroad,
Beneath a moon unseen albeit at full,
The white mist, like a face-cloth to the face,
Clung to the dead earth, and the land was still.'

Sir Modred, keen to sow discord in the hope to rise by it to the throne, and the deadly enemy of Lancelot, had long laboured to detect the unlawful loves of that prince of knights and Guinevere. An instinct of apprehension, which poisoned her life after an indication of his purpose, taught the Queen he would succeed. A last meeting is appointed, that they may take a long farewell. That night betrays them ; and she, repelling Lancelot's proposal (one hardly in keeping, we think, with what the romance records of his feelings) to carry her to his dominions, takes sanctuary at Amesbury without making known her name.

The childlike simplicity of the novice draws her out ; and we have a prolonged conversation between them sustained with masterly skill and of the deepest interest, the maiden always artlessly and unconsciously but surely touching on the tenderest place in a sore memory and heart. The solemn and fateful strain of the poem is for a moment relieved by a passage where, with vigorous play of fancy and a just use of the preternatural, the merry life of the court and realm of Arthur, before guilt had come to taint it, is described. It purports to be a description by the novice of her own father's journey to attend the inauguration of the Table. We give its closing stage, which describes the banquet (p. 238) :—

'And when at last he came to Camelot,
A wreath of airy dancers hand in hand
Swung round the lighted lantern of the hall ;
And in the hall itself was such a feast
As never man had dreamed : for every knight
Had whatsoever meat he longed for, served
By hands unseen ; and even, as he said,
Down in the cellars merry bloated things
Shouldered the spigot, straddling on the butts
While the wine ran : so glad were spirits and men
Before the coming of the sinful Queen.'

These allusions at length reach their climax in a burst of passion from the Queen, which subsides into a reverie of matchless beauty :—

'But help me, Heaven ! for surely I repent.
For what is true repentance, but in thought,

Not

Not even in inmost thought, to think again
The sins that made the past so pleasant to us?
And I have sworn never to see him more,
To see him more.

And even in saying this
Her memory, from old habit of the mind,
Went slipping back upon the golden days
In which she saw him first, when Lancelot came
Reputed the best knight and goodliest man,
Ambassador, to lead her to her lord
Arthur, and led her forth, and far ahead
Of his and her retinue moving, they,
Rapt in sweet talk or lively, all on love
And sports and tilts and pleasure (for the time
Was Maytime, and as yet no sin was dreamed),
Rode under groves that looked a paradise
Of blossom, over sheets of hyacinth
That seemed the heavens upbreking through the earth.*

And more, little less worthy, until the ending of her journey :—

‘ But when the Queen, immersed in such a trance,
And moving through the past unconsciously.
Came to that point when first she saw the King
Ride toward her from the city, sighed to find
Her journey done, glanced at him, thought him cold,
High, self-contained, and passionless, “ not like him,
Not like my Lancelot :” while she brooded thus,
And grew half-guilty in her thoughts again,
There rode an armed warrior to the doors.’

It is the King : he draws near :—

‘ Prone from off her seat she fell,
And grovelled with her face against the floor :
There with her milk-white arms and shadowy hair
She made her face a darkness from the King ;
And in the darkness * heard his armed feet
Pause by her ; then came silence, then a voice
Monotonous and hollow, like a ghost’s,
Denouncing judgment, but, though changed, the King’s.’

Then follow two most noble speeches of the King. They are indeed hard to describe. They are of a lofty, almost an awful severity ; and yet a severity justified by the transcendent elevation which the poet has given to the character of Arthur. Of the old romances,

* We would not interrupt the perusal of such passages with minute criticism ; but just as with the occasional insertion of weak and expletive words, we do not understand the principle or aim of certain repetitions of which we seem to have here a double instance in the word *face* and in the word *darkness* ; more observable in the latter case, because while the term is repeated the sense seems to be changed. We would distinguish as broadly as possible between repetitions like these, and others which we have noticed farther on, and which may be called repetitions of emphasis.

Lancelot, as a sun with spots, is the hero and the favourite: and Arthur, though good, just, and wise, if he has not the precise descents of Lancelot's character, does not attain either to its elevation or to its breadth of scope. Mr. Tennyson has departed from this order. He has encouraged if not enjoined us to conceive of Arthur as a warrior no less irresistible than Lancelot, as even perfect in purity, and as in all other respects more comprehensive, solid, and profound. But we must not quarrel with an exercise of the prerogative of genius which has altered the relative stations of the two in the main by raising the one much more than by lowering the other, and which has presented us with so invaluable a result. We know not where to look in history or in letters for a nobler and more overpowering conception of man as he might be than in the Arthur of this volume. Wherever he appears, it is as the great pillar of the moral order, and the resplendent top of human excellence: but even he only reaches to his climax in these two wonderful speeches. They will not bear mutilation: they must be read, and pondered, to be known; but we will extract the conclusion:—

“ My love through flesh hath wrought into my life
So far, that my doom is, I love thee still.
Let no man dream but that I love thee still.
Perchance, and so thou purify thy soul,
And so thou lean on our fair father Christ,
Hereafter, in that world where all are pure,
We too may meet before high God, and thou
Wilt spring to me, and claim me thine, and know
I am thine husband—not a smaller soul,
Not Lancelot, nor another. Leave me that,
I charge thee, my last hope. Now must I hence.
Through the thick night I hear the trumpet blow:
They summon me, their king, to lead mine hosts
Far down to that great battle in the west,
Where I must strike against my sister's son,
Leagued with the Lord of the White Horse, and knights
Once mine, and strike him dead, and meet myself
Death, or I know not what mysterious doom.
And thou, remaining here, wilt learn the event;
But hither shall I never come again,
Never lie by thy side, see thee no more.
Farewell!”

And while she grovelled at his feet
She felt the King's breath wander o'er her neck,
And, in the darkness, o'er her fallen head,
Perceived the waving of his hands, that blest."

He departs. She watches him from the window as he mounts,
his dragon-crest gleaming in the mist; and with a face ' which
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then was as an angel's,' enjoins the nuns 'to guard and foster her for evermore.' When he had himself

' become as mist

Before her, moving ghost-like to his doom,'

then she bursts out in a passionate apostrophe of that profound penitence, from which the air of nobleness will not depart, and of recalled and revived affection. As the nuns gather round, her strain rises higher still. But we must digress for a moment.

Mr. Tennyson practises largely, and with an extraordinary skill and power, the art of designed and limited repetitions. They bear a considerable resemblance to those Homeric *formulæ* which have been so usefully remarked by Colonel Mure—not the formulæ of constant recurrence, which tell us who spoke and who answered, but those which are connected with pointing moral effects, and with ulterior purpose. These repetitions tend at once to give more definite impressions of character, and to make firmer and closer the whole tissue of the poem. Thus, in the last speech of Guinevere, she echoes back, with other ideas and expressions, the sentiment of Arthur's affection, which becomes in her mouth sublime:—

' I must not scorn myself: he loves me still :

Let no one dream but that he loves me still.'

She prays admission among the nuns, that she may follow the pious and peaceful tenor of their life (p. 260):—

' And so wear out in almsdeed and in prayer

The sombre close of that voluptuous day

Which wrought the ruin of my lord the King.'

And it is but a debt of justice to the Guinevere of the romancers to observe, that she loses considerably by the marked transposition which Mr. Tennyson has effected in the order of greatness between Lancelot and Arthur. With him there is an original error in her estimate, independently of the breach of a positive and sacred obligation. She prefers the inferior man; and this preference implies a rooted ethical defect in her nature. In the romance of Sir T. Mallory the preference she gives to Lancelot would have been signally just, had she been free to choose. For Lancelot is of an indescribable grandeur; but the limit of Arthur's character is thus shown in certain words that he uses, and that Lancelot never could have spoken. 'Much more I am sorrier for my good knight's loss than for the loss of my queen; for queens might I have enough, but such a fellowship of good knights shall never be together in no company.'

We began with the exordium of this great work: we must not withhold the conclusion. We left her praying admission to the convent:—

' She

'She said. They took her to themselves; and she,
Still hoping, fearing, "is it yet too late?"
Dwelt with them, till in time their Abbess died.
Then she, for her good deeds and her pure life,
And for the power of ministration in her,
And likewise for the high rank she had borne,
Was chosen Abbess: there, an Abbess, lived
For three brief years; and there, an Abbess, pass'd
To where beyond these voices there is peace.'

No one, we are persuaded, can read this poem without feeling, when it ends, what may be termed the pangs of vacancy—of that void in heart and mind for want of its continuance of which we are conscious when some noble strain of music ceases, when some great work of Raphael passes from the view, when we lose sight of some spot connected with high associations, or when some transcendent character upon the page of history disappears, and the withdrawal of it is like the withdrawal of the vital air. We have followed the *Guinevere* of Mr. Tennyson through its detail, and have extracted largely from its pages, and yet have not a hope of having conveyed an idea of what it really is; still we have thought that in this way we should do it the least injustice, and we are also convinced that even what we have shown will tend to rouse an appetite, and that any of our readers, who may not yet have been also Mr. Tennyson's, will become more eager to learn and admire it at first hand.

We have no doubt that Mr. Tennyson has carefully considered how far his subject is capable of fulfilling the conditions of an epic structure. The history of Arthur is not an epic as it stands, but neither was the *Cyclic song*, of which the greatest of all epics, the *Iliad*, handles a part. The poem of Ariosto is scarcely an epic, nor is that of Bojardo; but is not this because each is too promiscuous and crowded in its brilliant phantasmagoria to conform to the severe laws of that lofty and inexorable class of poem? Though the Arthurian romance be no epic, it does not follow that no epic can be made from out of it. It is grounded in certain leading characters, men and women, conceived upon models of extraordinary grandeur; and as the Laureate has evidently grasped the genuine law which makes man and not the acts of man the base of epic song, we should not be surprised were he hereafter to realise the great achievement towards which he seems to be feeling his way. There is a moral unity and a living relationship between the four poems before us, and the first effort of 1842 as a fifth, which, though some considerable part of their contents would necessarily rank as episode, establishes the first and most essential condition of their cohesion. The achievement of Vivien bears directly on the state of Arthur by

withdrawing his chief councillor—the brain, as Lancelot was the right arm, of his court; the love of Elaine is directly associated with the final catastrophe of the passion of Lancelot for Guinevere. Enid lies somewhat further off the path, nor is it for profane feet to intrude into the sanctuary, for reviewers to advise poets in these high matters; but while we presume nothing, we do not despair of seeing Mr. Tennyson achieve on the basis he has chosen the structure of a full-formed epic.

In any case we have a cheerful hope that, if he continues to advance upon himself as he has advanced heretofore, nay, if he can keep the level he has gained, such a work will be the greatest, and by far the greatest poetical creation, that, whether in our own or in foreign poetry, the nineteenth century has produced. In the face of all critics, the Laureate of England has now reached a position which at once imposes and instils respect. They are self-constituted; but he has won his way through the long dedication of his manful energies, accepted and crowned by deliberate, and, we rejoice to think, by continually growing, public favour. He has after all, and it is not the least nor lowest item in his praise, been the severest of his own critics, and has not been too proud either to learn or to unlearn in the work of maturing his genius and building up his fame.

From his very first appearance he has had the form and fashion of a true poet: the insight into beauty, the perception of harmony, the faculty of suggestion, the eye both in the physical and moral world for motion, light, and colour, the sympathetic and close observation of nature, the dominance of the constructive faculty, and that rare gift the thorough mastery and loving use of his native tongue. Many of us, the common crowd, made of the common clay, may be lovers of Nature, some as sincere or even as ardent as Mr. Tennyson; but it does not follow that even these favoured few possess the privilege that he enjoys. To them she speaks through vague and indeterminate impressions: for him she has a voice of the most delicate articulation; all her images to him are clear and definite, and he translates them for us into that language of suggestion, emphasis, and refined analogy which links the manifold to the simple and the infinite to the finite. He accomplishes for us what we should in vain attempt for ourselves, enables the puny hand to lay hold on what is vast, and brings even coarseness of grasp into a real contact with what is subtle and ethereal. His turn for metaphysical analysis is closely associated with a deep ethical insight: and many of his verses form sayings of so high a class that we trust they are destined to form a permanent part of the household-words of England.

Considering the quantity of power that Mr. Tennyson can make available, it is a great proof of self-discipline that he is not given
to

to a wanton or tyrannous use of it. An extraordinary master of diction, he has confined himself to its severe and simple forms. In establishing this rule of practice his natural gift has evidently been aided by the fine English of the old romances, and we might count upon the fingers the cases in which he has lately deviated into the employment of any stilted phrase, or given sanction to a word not of the best fabric. Profuse in the power of graphic * representation, he has chastened some of his earlier groups of imagery, which were occasionally overloaded with particulars; and in his later works, as has been well remarked, he has shown himself thoroughly aware that in poetry half is greater than the whole. That the chastity of style he has attained is not from exhaustion of power may easily be shown. No poet has evinced a more despotic mastery over intractable materials, or has been more successful in clothing what is common with the dignity of his art. The Downs are not the best subjects in the world for verse; but they will be remembered with and by his descriptive line in the 'Idylls'—

'Far o'er the long backs of the bushless downs.'

How becoming is the appearance of what we familiarly term the 'clod' in the 'Princess'! (p. 37)—

'Nor those horn-handed breakers of the glebe.'

Of all imaginable subjects, mathematics might seem the most hopeless to make mention of in verse; but they are with him

'The hard-grained Muses of the cube and square.'

Thus at a single stroke he gives us an image alike simple, true, and poetical to boot, because suited to its place and object in his verse, like the heavy Caryatides well placed in architecture. After this, we may less esteem the feat by which in 'Godiva' he describes the clock striking mid-day:—

'All at once,

With twelve great shocks of sound, the shameless noon
Was clashed and hammered from a hundred towers.'

But even the contents of a pigeon-pie are not beneath his notice, nor yet beyond his powers of embellishment, in 'Audley Court':—

'A pasty, costly made,

Where quail and pigeon, lark and leveret lay
Like fossils of the rock, with golden yolks
Imbedded and injellied.'

What excites more surprise is that he can, without any offence

* We use the word in what we conceive to be its only legitimate meaning; namely, after the manner and with the effect of painting. It signifies the *quid*, not the *quale*.

against good taste, venture to deal with these contents even after they have entered the mouth of the eater ('*Enid*,' p. 79):—

'The brawny spearman let his cheek
Bulge with the unswallowed piece, and turning, stared.'

The delicate insight of fine taste appears to show him with wonderful precision up to what point his art can control and compel his materials, and from what point the materials are in hopeless rebellion and must be let alone. So in the '*Princess*' (p. 89) we are introduced to—

'Eight daughters of the plough, stronger than men,
Huge women *blowzed* with health, and wind, and rain,
And labour.'

It was absolutely necessary for him to heighten, nay, to coarsen, the description of these masses of animated beef, who formed the standing army of the woman-commonwealth. Few would have obeyed this law without violating another; but Mr. Tennyson saw that the verb was admissible, while the adjective would have been intolerable.

In 1842 his purging process made it evident that he did not mean to allow his faults or weaknesses to stint the growth and mar the exhibition of his genius. When he published '*In Memoriam*' in 1850, all readers were conscious of the progressive widening and strengthening, but, above all, deepening of his mind. We cannot hesitate to mark the present volume as exhibiting another forward and upward stride, and that by perhaps the greatest of all, in his career. If we are required to show cause for this opinion under any special head, we would at once point to that which is, after all, the first among the poet's gifts—the gift of conceiving and representing human character.

Mr. Tennyson's Arthurian essays continually suggest to us comparisons not so much with any one poet as a whole, but rather with many or most of the highest poets. The music and the just and pure modulation of his verse carry us back not only to the fine ear of Shelley, but to Milton and to Shakespeare: and his powers of fancy and of expression have produced passages which, if they are excelled by that one transcendent and ethereal poet of our nation whom we have last named, yet could have been produced by no other English minstrel. Our author has a right to regard his own blank verse as highly characteristic and original: but yet Milton has contributed to its formation, and occasionally there is a striking resemblance in turn and diction, while Mr. Tennyson is the more idiomatic of the two. The chastity and moral elevation of this volume, its essential and profound though not didactic Christianity, are such as perhaps
cannot

cannot be matched throughout the circle of English literature in conjunction with an equal power: and such as to recall a pattern which we know not whether Mr. Tennyson has studied, the celestial strain of Dante.* This is the more remarkable, because he has had to tread upon ground which must have been slippery for any foot but his. We are far from knowing that either Lancelot or Guinevere would have been safe even for mature readers, were it not for the instinctive purity of his mind and the high skill of his management. We do know that in other times they have had their noble victims, whose names have become immortal as their own.

‘Noi leggevamo un giorno per diletto
Di Lancilotto, e come amor lo strinse.

* * * * *
Galeotto fu il libro, e chi lo scrisse.’ †

How difficult it is to sustain the elevation of such a subject, may be seen in the well-meant and long popular ‘Jane Shore’ of Rowe. How easily this very theme may be vulgarised, is shown in the ‘*Chevaliers de la Table Ronde*’ of M. Creuzé de Lesser, who nevertheless has aimed at a peculiar delicacy of treatment.

But the grand poetical quality in which this volume gives to its author a new rank and standing is the dramatic power: the power of drawing character and of representing action. These faculties have not been precocious in Mr. Tennyson: but what is more material, they have come out in great force. He has always been fond of personal delineations, from Claribel and Lilian down to his Ida, his Psyche, and his Maud; but they have been of shadowy quality, doubtful as to flesh and blood, and with eyes having little or no speculation in them. But he is far greater and far better when he has, as he now has, a good raw material ready to his hand, than when he draws only on the airy or chaotic regions of what Carlyle calls unconditioned possibility. He is made not so much to convert the moor into the field, as the field into the rich and gorgeous garden. The imperfect *nisus* which might be remarked in some former works has at length reached the fulness of dramatic energy: in the Idylls we have nothing vague or dreamy to complain of: everything lives and moves, in the royal strength of nature: the fire of Prometheus has fairly caught the clay: each figure stands clear, broad, and sharp before us, as if it had sky for its background: and this of small as well

* It is no reproach to say that neither Dante nor Homer could have been studied by Mr. Tennyson at the time—a very early period of his life—when he wrote the lines which are allotted to them respectively in ‘The Palace of Art.’

† Inferno, c. V., v. 127.

as great, for even the 'little novice' is projected on the canvas with the utmost truth and vigour, and with that admirable effect in heightening the great figure of Guinevere, which Patroclus produces for the character of Achilles, and (as some will have it) the modest structure of Saint Margaret's for the giant proportions of Westminster Abbey. And this, we repeat, is the crowning gift of the poet: the power of conceiving and representing man.

We do not believe that a Milton—or, in other words, the writer of a 'Paradise Lost'—could ever be so great as a Shakespeare or a Homer, because (setting aside all other questions) his chief characters are neither human, nor can they be legitimately founded upon humanity; and, moreover, what he has to represent of man is, by the very law of its being, limited in scale and development. Here at least the saying is a true one: *Antiquitas sæculi, juvenus mundi*; rendered by our poet in 'The Day-dream,'

'For we are ancients of the earth,
And in the morning of the times.'

The Adam and Eve of Paradise exhibit to us the first inception of our race; and neither then, nor after their first sad lesson, could they furnish those materials for representation, which their descendants have accumulated in the school of their incessant and many-coloured, but on the whole too gloomy, experience. To the long chapters of that experience every generation of man makes its own addition. Again we ask the aid of Mr. Tennyson in 'Locksley Hall':—

'Yet I doubt not through the ages one increasing purpose runs,
And the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns.'

The substitution of law for force has indeed altered the relations of the strong and the weak; the hardening or cooling down of political institutions and social traditions, the fixed and legal track instead of the open pathless field, have removed or neutralised many of those occasions and passages of life, which were formerly the schools of individual character. The genius of mechanism has vied, in the arts both of peace and war, with the strong hand, and has well-nigh robbed it of its place. But let us not be deceived by that smoothness of superficies, which the social prospect offers to the distant eye. Nearness dispels the illusion; life is still as full of deep, of harrowing interests as it ever was. The heart of man still beats and bounds, exults and suffers, from causes which are only less salient and conspicuous because they are more mixed and diversified. It still undergoes every phase of emotion, and even, as seems probable, with a susceptibility which has increased and is increasing, and which has its index and outer form in the growing delicacy and complexities

of

of the nervous system. Does any one believe that ever at any time there was a greater number of deaths referable to that comprehensive cause a broken heart? Let none fear that this age, or any coming one, will extinguish the material of poetry. The more reasonable apprehension might be lest it should sap the vital force necessary to handle that material, and mould it into appropriate forms. To those especially, who cherish any such apprehension, we recommend the perusal of this volume. Of it we will say without fear, what we would not dare to say of any other recent work; that of itself it raises the character and the hopes of the age and the country which have produced it, and that its author, by his own single strength, has made a sensible addition to the permanent wealth of mankind.

- ART. VI.—1. *An Inquiry into the Origin, Progress, and Results of the Strike of the Operative Cotton-Spinners of Preston, from October, 1836, to February, 1837.* Read before the Statistical Section of the British Association at Liverpool in September, 1837. By Henry Ashworth. Manchester, 1838.
2. *The Preston Strike; an Inquiry into its Causes and Consequences.* Read before the Statistical Section of the British Association at Liverpool, September, 1854. By Henry Ashworth, Esq., F.S.S. Manchester, 1854.
3. *Combinations and Strikes, their Cost and Results; comprising a Sketch of the History and Present State of the Law respecting them; with a few Suggestions for remedying the Evils arising therefrom.* By George Price. London, 1854.

NO labourer is better worthy of his hire than the English one. It is not merely that he works harder than the labourer of any other country, but he generally produces a better quality of workmanship. He possesses a power of throwing himself bodily into his occupation, which has always been a marvel to foreigners. When the first gangs of English navvies went over to France to construct the works of the Rouen Railway, the peasantry used to assemble round them, and gaze with wonder at their energy and dexterity in handling the spade and mattock, and at the immense barrow-loads of earth which they wheeled out. ‘Voilà! voilà ces Anglais! comme ils travaillent!’ was the common exclamation.

But it is not merely where muscular strength, bone, and sinew are needed, that the continuous power of the English labourer displays itself. Even in cotton manufacturing, where little

little exertion is required, the English workman by his patient application contrives to do as much in six hours as the Frenchman does in ten. A witness before a Parliamentary Committee, who had been employed in superintending eight men in one of the best manufactories in Alsace, was asked, 'Supposing you had eight English corders under you, how much more work could you have done?' His answer was, 'With one Englishman I could have done more work than I did with those eight Frenchmen. It cannot be called *work* they do, it is only looking at it, and wishing it done.'*

The English workman, besides his energy and steadfastness in working, is extremely dexterous in the use of tools. Mechanism is the genius of England, and the source of an enormous portion of her wealth and power as a nation. What has been achieved by means of improvements in tools and in machines—which are but organized tools—has been accomplished almost entirely by the ingenuity of our skilled workmen. 'Deduct all,' says Mr. Helps, 'that men of the humbler classes have done for England in the way of inventions only, and see where she would have been but for them.' By the contrivances which they have from time to time produced, labour has been relieved from its most irksome forms of drudgery, and the heaviest burdens of toil have been laid upon wind and water, upon iron and steam, and various other agencies of the inanimate world. These are now the only real slaves in England, the veritable hewers of wood and drawers of water. There is, indeed, scarcely a department of productive industry—especially where the articles produced are in great demand, and are indispensable to the subsistence or comfort of the masses—into which machinery does not largely enter. It fashions wood and iron into the most exact proportions; weaves all manner of textile fabrics with extraordinary accuracy and speed; prints books and newspapers; and carries on the greater part of the locomotion of the civilized world. Even in agriculture, hoeing, sowing, reaping, thrashing, and grinding are done to a vast extent by machinery, which every day extends its supremacy more and more over the materials for food, for clothing, for housing, for locomotion, for defence, and for instruction.

Looking at the extraordinary consequences produced by the inventions of England during the last century—the result of so much patient plodding and persevering ingenuity on the part of

* Evidence of Adam Young before the Committee on the Employment of Artisans and Machinery, in 1824. It ought, however, to be added, in justice to the artisans of Alsace, that they have made considerable progress as skilled workmen during the last thirty years.

our mechanics—it will be obvious how immense is the debt which the nation owes to this admirable class of persons. They have enormously increased the resources of the kingdom, and created remunerative employment for immense masses of people congregated in all the great seats of industry, such as Manchester, Glasgow, and Birmingham, which may even be said to have been called into existence by the various inventions of our skilled mechanics. Mr. Bazley has stated that the useful productions of the six counties of Lancaster, York, Chester, Stafford, Nottingham, and Leicester alone, aided by art, science, and mechanical skill, greatly exceed what could have been effected by the entire human family by means of physical labour alone.

Such being the diligence, the dexterity, and the ingenuity of English workmen, it is meet that they should be liberally remunerated. None will deny them their right to a fair day's wages for a fair day's work; nor do we think that they fail to obtain it. At no previous period has so large a number of skilled workmen received higher wages, and in no country are they able to live more comfortably upon the proceeds of their toil, if we except only those new colonies in which land is unusually abundant. There never was a time when skill and diligence received more general encouragement, or in which there was a greater disposition to do honour to the lot of labour. The road to success is as free and open to the mechanic as to any other member of the community. It is notorious that many of our most successful employers, and some of our largest capitalists, have sprung directly from the working class, and, to use the ordinary phrase, been 'the architects of their own fortunes;' whilst many more have risen from the rank scarcely a degree above them. It was the prudent thrift and careful accumulations of working men that laid the foundations of the vast capital of the middle class; and it is this capital, combined with the skilled and energetic industry of all ranks, which renders England, in the quantity and quality of her work, superior to any other nation in the world.

The working-classes, again, are the principal purchasers of those domestic and foreign commodities which enter most largely into the general consumption. By far the greater part of the agricultural produce of the country is raised for them; they are the chief buyers of sugar, tea, and other similar articles; and they are the best customers of the manufacturers themselves. Thus for the sake of the prosperity of the entire community it is most desirable that they should be abundantly supplied with the necessaries of life, be enabled to rent comfortable dwellings, clothe themselves decently, and educate their children creditably.

For

For this purpose their earnings must be sufficient; and the great question arises, how is this to be secured? Under the free competitive system which prevails, the master's interest is to get his work done for as little as possible, compared with other employers, in order that his profit may be the larger; whilst it is the workman's interest to obtain as high wages as possible, in order that his command may be the greater over the commodities of life. How are these conflicting interests to be reconciled?

The ordinary modes which have heretofore been adopted for the purpose of regulating wages have been by law and by combination. The omnipotence of law has been invoked alike by employers and employed in various stages of our history. In the infancy of skilled industry, great care was taken to foster the growth of particular trades, with the object of securing a ready supply of the necessities of life, increasing the national wealth, and providing remunerative employment for the population. For this purpose franchises were bestowed, and guilds and corporations founded, by the early English kings. The guilds were fraternities of workpeople, the only free labourers of their time, who enjoyed a monopoly of producing the articles in their respective trades in the towns in which they were established. They were legalised combinations of men and masters—trades' unions in their earliest form. It was only the freemen in the trade—those born in it, or who had been 'bound' and served a long apprenticeship to it, thereby acquiring their 'freedom'—that were entitled to its privileges. The great body of the population at that time were serfs, and derived no advantage whatever from the combinations, being rigidly excluded from their benefits. But these early trades' unions, instead of promoting industry, were found to shackle it; and hence, as early as the reign of Edward III., we find a law passed annulling the franchises of the guilds as 'prejudicial to the King, prelates, and great men, and oppressive to the commons.' In the same reign, however, a law was passed fixing the wages to be paid for labour, decreeing that apprenticeship was to be the indispensable qualification for enabling any person to follow a particular trade, and that when the trade was once chosen no change of it could be allowed. Licence was afforded to all persons to make cloths; and the prices of the cloths were not only fixed by law, but the particular kind of clothing to be worn by mechanics and rustics respectively, and the particular kind of shrouds they were to be buried in, were also specified. During the Wars of the Roses, the English monarchs, desirous of encouraging the increase of the town population by way of counterpoise

counterpoise to the influence of the great baronial families, restored the privileges of the guilds in most of the corporate towns and cities; and in Henry VIII.'s reign the sole monopoly of labour was confirmed to them in some districts. Bacon denounces their selfish policy in opposing the admission of apprentices, and calls them 'fraternities in evil.'

In the legislation of these early times the greatest pains was taken to prevent the poor rustic from turning mechanic. The rustic was as yet a serf; and the law (12 Richard II.) decreed that those employed in husbandry until twelve years of age were not afterwards to leave their employment. Woollen-weavers were precluded from taking apprentices, excepting they were the sons of freeholders of 3*l.* per annum; so that the whole advantage derived from these legalised combinations of the guilds was confined to the comparatively limited class of artisans in the towns, who were then, as now, the aristocratic order amongst working men. The constant resort to legislation, however, tended to impress on the minds of the community that the wages of labour, as well as the prices of commodities, were things that could be determined by law; and those who conceived themselves to be insufficiently remunerated for their work, or who paid what they thought exorbitant prices for the necessities of life, were too ready to arrive at the conclusion that Government was the sole source of the evil. Hence distress among the working people, whether arising from deficient crops, decaying industry, or other causes, almost invariably assumed the form of political discontent. The 'reformation' vowed by Jack Cade in the insurrection of peasants in Henry VI.'s time, as described by Shakspeare, was probably the true expression of this rooted feeling in the minds of the population: 'There shall be seven halfpenny loaves sold for a penny; the three-hooped pot shall have ten hoops; and I will make it felony to drink small beer; all the realm shall be in common. . . . There shall be no money; all shall eat and drink on my score, and I will apparel them all in one livery, that they may agree like brothers, and worship me their lord.' This is nothing more than a caricature of the legislation actually in force at the time, decreeing how much working-people were to be paid for their work, and in what they were to dress and to be buried. The same idea has even been revived in our own day in a neighbouring country, under the high-sounding phrase, 'the organization of labour;' and it has there been attempted to regulate wages, the hours of labour, and the mode of performing labour, with what results we all know.

Sometimes the English artisans appealed to legislation to help them in combating imaginary evils, as in the case of the
Shrewsbury

Shrewsbury cloth-frizers, in the reign of Elizabeth, who complained that persons neither belonging to their company, nor brought up to their trade, 'have of late with great disorder, upon a mere covetous desire and mind, intromitted with and occupied the same trade, having no knowledge, skill, or experience of the same, to the impeachment and hindrance of six hundred people of the art or science of sheermen, or frizers, within the said town.' The Legislature listened to the appeal made to them to protect the united sheermen, and the consequence was that the non-union artisans were expelled the town. Not more than six years later, however, we find the same town of Shrewsbury again before Parliament, imploring the repeal of the Act passed for the benefit of the sheermen, on the ground that it threatened to prove the ruin of the industry of the place. The Act was repealed accordingly, with the following significant avowal: 'And where sithence the making of the said Act experience hath plainly taught in the said town that the said Act hath not only not brought the good effect that was hoped and surmised, but also hath been, and is now likely to be, the very greatest cause of the impoverishing and undoing of the poor artificers and others, at whose suit the said Act was procured, for that there be now, sithence the passing of the said Act, much fewer persons to set them to work than before,' &c.

The Legislature nevertheless long continued to regulate the operations of commerce, the prices of commodities, and the wages of labourers. It was for this last purpose that the Statute of Apprentices' Act was devised in the reign of Elizabeth, and continued in force for two centuries and a half. By this law all men, except gentlemen born, were compellable to work either at trade or husbandry; their wages were to be assessed by the justices; and it was declared unlawful 'for any person to exercise any art, mystery, or manual occupation now used in England and Wales, unless he shall have been seven years apprenticed to the same.' This Act, however arbitrary its provisions may now appear, unquestionably exercised an important influence on English industry. It stigmatised and punished the idle and the vagabond, directed the mass of the people to manual occupation as affording the best means of independent subsistence, and being acted on steadily from generation to generation, it gradually educated a nation of skilled artisans. The chartered guilds and corporations were in some degree placed beyond the reach of this law; and it is a remarkable circumstance that in almost every case their privileges proved their ruin. Industry fled from the protection of the united trades and guilds of the corporate towns, and took refuge in the unprivileged and then obscure hamlets of Manchester
Birmingham'

Birmingham, Leeds, Sheffield, and numerous other towns, which soon left the ancient cities and boroughs far behind.

As manufactures extended, and especially when machinery began to interfere, not only with the power, but also with the dexterity, which, more than any statute, protected the highly-paid artisan, the upper class of operatives, besides redoubling their exertions, were led to seek protection in combinations for the purpose of maintaining the rate of wages. These combinations had long been customary; the men had been taught them by the guilds and corporations, and as early as Edward VI.'s reign, when 'ye workemen dyd rebelle ther worke and refuse their places,' we find an Act passed (2 and 3 Edw. VI. c. 15) forbidding confederacies to enhance wages, under severe penalties. The combinations of those early days, as appears from one of the sections of this Act, seem principally to have occurred among those employed in building, such as free-masons, rough masons, carpenters, and bricklayers. The same subject occupied the attention of successive English parliaments, and as many as thirty separate statutes were enacted, directed against trades' combinations. These Acts continued in existence as late as the year 1824, when they were all repealed. Legislation was abandoned, because its total failure had been conclusively proved. It was found that combinations were not prevented by repression, but, on the contrary, they multiplied in all directions though in secrecy, and were an increasing source of crime and outrage of the most detestable character. Vitriol-throwing, arson, and assassination were practised upon such masters and workmen as made themselves obnoxious to the trades' unions; the operations of trade and capital were seriously interfered with; and it was felt that, not only was it impossible to stop combinations, but, by confounding right and wrong, and treating unionists as felons, men were led to regard things really vicious with less aversion than formerly.

The laws by which it had been repeatedly attempted to regulate the rate of wages were at the same time abandoned. The impolicy of dealing with this subject by statute was fully proved by the results of the legislation in the case of the Spitalfields silkweavers. In 1766, when the silk trade was very depressed, work became scarce; and some weavers, rather than remain idle, were induced to accept wages below the ordinary rate. Their brethren of the craft raised an outcry, and serious riots occurred, which so alarmed the Government, that an Act was passed (13 Geo. III. c. 8) empowering the magistrates to fix the weavers' wages from time to time, agreeable to the demands of the workmen or their masters. The disastrous effects of this law soon
made

made themselves felt. In times when trade was brisk, it was easy enough for the workmen to get their wages raised by an appeal to the magistrates; but when any stagnation occurred, the masters found the greatest difficulty in getting them lowered again to a rate which would yield them a fair profit on their goods. The consequence was that the masters, rather than continue to manufacture at a loss, gave up by degrees particular branches of their business, and the trade in ribbons was transferred from Spitalfields to Coventry and Leek, and that of gauze to Paisley, Reading, and other places, where the rate of wages was such as would enable the manufacturers to produce those articles at a profit. Hence increased distress in Spitalfields, total loss of work to thousands of families, and an eventual lowering of wages arising from the superabundance of hands. In forty years the number of persons employed in the district in silk manufactures was reduced from 50,000 to about 20,000, and the trade of Spitalfields received a blow, which it has never recovered, through the Bill which the weavers had themselves invoked with a view to their own especial advantage.

The repeal of the Combination Laws in 1824 left the workmen free to enter into legal combinations for the purpose of advancing or fixing the rate of wages, altering the hours of working, determining the quantity of work to be done, and inducing others to quit or return to their work, &c., provided no violence was used. The object of the legislature was to prevent any interference with the freedom alike of masters and of men in the employment of their capital or their labour. Yet while the workman was left at liberty to unite with his fellows in endeavouring to secure an advance or to prevent a reduction in his wages, it is clear that the spirit of the new legislation indicated that he must not violate that freedom of industry in others which is the foundation of his own attempts to improve his condition. Since 1825 unions have especially prevailed in the manufacturing towns, where the concentration of numbers has given them a formidable power, and during the last thirty years we have witnessed their action in many forms, more especially in a series of extensive Turn-outs or Strikes, which have unquestionably produced great confusion and excitement, and in most cases a sad amount of poverty and distress. There can be no doubt that the working classes are impressed with the conviction that these strikes are in some way effectual in keeping up the rate of wages, otherwise it is impossible that they should have been so tenaciously persevered in notwithstanding the detriment to those who have been concerned in them.

It

It is perfectly natural, and perfectly justifiable, if men do not receive the wages they are entitled to, that they should fall back upon their savings for a time, and wait the issue. Professional men will not work for insufficient remuneration if they can do better, and all conditions of men are fully entitled to adopt the same course. As a working man observed at a late meeting of the combined trades in the metropolis, 'He thought the building trades were right *if they could get what they demanded*; but he had a perfect horror of strikes, for he knew how his own trade had suffered from one.' It is, indeed, very probable that the united influence of confederated bodies of artisans has in many cases tended to keep up the rate of wages, and that the fear of a strike on the part of the men has induced the masters to advance wages in brisk times, or to abstain from reducing them in dull times. Nevertheless it is certain that all the united power of the trades' unions must fail in setting aside the inexorable law of supply and demand, or in permanently maintaining the rate of wages when there are more workmen seeking employment than are required for the performance of the work to be done. And even admitting the power of combinations to raise wages to their maximum, and consequently to reduce profits to their minimum, it is clear that the inevitable tendency of the operation is to check production and drive capital out of that particular trade, as happened in the case of the Spitalfields silk manufactures. Thus the system leads eventually to a reduction, instead of an increase, of wages.

The real cause of the higher remuneration paid for skilled labour in England than in any foreign country, consists in our greater powers of production, in the efficiency of our tools and machinery, and the superior energy of our artisans. When the quantity and quality of the work done are taken into consideration, the wages in England are found to bear a less proportion to the total cost of production than in any other country in the world. This is the source of our wealth, the secret of our vast foreign trade, and the real cause of the superior pay of our artisans. But it is clear that there is a point beyond which the rise of wages cannot be carried, for so soon as we cease to produce more cheaply than the foreigner, we must inevitably lose our footing in the foreign market, and then away will go capital, profits, and wages together.

Combinations to keep up wages are urged as necessary to meet combinations among the masters to lower them. There are always difficulties, however, which operate as a check upon the masters. Those in the same trade are jealous of each other, their interests are usually distinct, and they are competitors

with each other for contracts. Provided they can secure an average rate of profit on the money embarked in trade, a rise or a fall in the rate of wages, if it be general, is comparatively immaterial to them; and where their profits are above the average, they are speedily brought to their level again by the action of competition, or by the flow of capital into their particular line of business. A lowering of wages is usually begun by some needy employer, who seeks to eke out his profits by hiring labour at less than the market rate; and the cases are numerous in which the other masters have taken part with the operatives and stimulated them to resist the attempted reduction. Thus on one occasion at Paisley, it was found that a master was paying less wages than his brethren, who, conceiving themselves to be injured, encouraged his workmen to turn out; and the result was, that he was compelled to raise his rate to the usual standard.

But the masters, though comparatively powerless in combinations to reduce wages, are strong in their resistance to combinations of workmen either to reduce the hours of labour or to raise the rate of wages. They are a small and compact body, and when driven to act in concert by a common danger, they are strong in defence. But the sacrifices they must necessarily make during such contests—with their capital locked up in buildings, machinery, and materials, yielding no profit—must at all times necessarily render them most averse to the *dernier ressort* of a lock-out. To avoid this contingency, self-interest induces them to yield to the demands of the men where a rise in the rate of remuneration can with prudence be conceded; and numerous advances have in this way been made in wages of late years,—advances which have been justified by the increased demand for labour, and which would most probably have taken place independently of the operation of the trades' unions. In many cases, however, the employers did not feel justified in yielding, and they have preferred incurring the temporary loss arising from the sacrifice of profits upon their capital, rather than agree to a proposition which might have been ruinous to themselves, and at best only of short-lived advantage to their workpeople. The frequent result has been a Strike; and we believe it will be found that the more extensively organized and wide spread such strikes have been, the more disastrous they have invariably proved to the workmen.

The most extensive strikes have been those which have occurred in the cotton manufacturing districts, where the concentration of the workpeople in vast numbers, and the facilities which exist for agitation, have enabled the Committees of the Trades' Unions to bring their full power to bear upon what they consider

consider to be the 'tyranny' of the masters. These strikes have usually been led by the spinners, the best paid class of workmen in cotton-mills; and though constituting only about one-tenth of those employed, their secession has necessarily had the effect of throwing the remaining nine-tenths out of employment. One of the most extensive strikes of this class occurred in 1816, when the spinners in all the districts round Manchester turned out for the purpose of getting their wages raised to the Manchester rate. Manchester, being the centre of the cotton manufacture, possesses considerable advantages over the surrounding localities. There are peculiar facilities both for obtaining raw cotton and for the sale of the goods when manufactured; whereas spinners at a distance are subject to expenses of carriage, as well as other drawbacks, in the production and disposal of their wares. Hence, unless they can obtain cheaper labour, they cannot realize the average profit on their capital, and must either cease manufacturing, or transfer their operations to Manchester itself. Moreover house-rent and the expense of living are higher in Manchester than in the surrounding towns, and render the higher wages paid to the operatives in that place rather nominal than real. At that time the country manufacturers paid 4*d.* for spinning a pound of cotton (No. 40), while 4½*d.* was paid in Manchester; and the spinners determined to strike for an advance of the ½*d.* per lb. Their proceedings were conducted by a congress of operatives sitting at Manchester; and by their direction a strike of the spinners in all the mills of Stockport, Macclesfield, Staleybridge, Ashton, Hyde, Oldham, and Bolton, and as far north as Preston, took place simultaneously. Thirty thousand persons were thrown out of work, and continued idle for a period of four months. During the turn-out, the men on strike were vigorously supported by those who were still in work in Manchester and the immediate neighbourhood, and for some time as much as 1500*l.* was contributed by them weekly, which was divided among the spinners only. The nine-tenths of the workpeople who were not spinners got nothing, and were consigned to utter destitution. But the contributions raised for the support of the spinners rapidly fell off, and they, too, were left without resources. The usual consequences of a general strike soon displayed themselves—starved children wandering about in search of food, men and women with keen, hungry eyes, standing idle in the streets, soldiers and police called out to guard property against attacks made in the desperation of want;—such sights, in short, as recalled to mind the picture of a beleaguered and famished town. And what was the result as respected the object for which all this suffering had been encountered? After incurring a loss in wages of upwards of

300,000*l.*, the men returned to their work without in any case obtaining an advance, and some of them were even glad to accept 2*d.* per pound of cotton spun, instead of 4*d.*,—or a reduction of fifty per cent. on those wages, to raise which everything but existence had been staked.

A long interval passed before the spinners again ventured on a strike so formidable as this; but the organization of the Union revived, and after about twenty years, when a new generation had grown up, we find strikes among the spinners increasing in frequency. In 1824 the Hyde spinners struck work by direction of the Union, though much against their own wishes. The reason alleged for the proceeding was, that the Hyde men were working for wages below the regular rate. They were receiving one shilling less per 1000 hanks, spun by highly-improved machinery supplied by the capital of their masters, than other spinners were receiving in mills where much inferior machinery was employed. But though the Hyde men were actually earning considerably more money per week than the same class of operatives elsewhere, the Union ordered them to strike, and they obeyed. They remained out of work for several months, they endured great hardships, cost the Union about 4000*l.*, and then went back to their employment at the same wages which they had turned out to raise.

Notwithstanding these failures, turnouts went on increasing. In 1829 the strikes were accompanied in several places by riot and outrage, by machine-breaking, and even murder. The masters were assailed with violence, and one of the most respected of them, Mr. T. Ashton, of Manchester, was shot one night through the heart. His assassin was never discovered. This Manchester strike was, as usual, led by the fine spinners, who were earning at the time from thirty shillings to thirty-five shillings per week. Their secession threw out of employment ten thousand persons, who remained idle for six months; and a large number of families were reduced to utter destitution, from which they never entirely recovered. The total loss to the operatives in wages was estimated at not less than 250,000*l.* This strike also proved a total failure, for the men eventually returned to work at a considerable reduction on the wages which they had before been receiving.

Similar strikes took place at Stockport, Ashton, and other places, in 1829 and 1830, with the same results. At Ashton and Staleybridge, 30,000 persons engaged in the spinning of coarse yarns were idle for ten weeks, during which they sacrificed about 250,000*l.* in wages. The 3000 coarse spinners who led the movement were receiving from 28*s.* to 31*s.* a week. These strikes

strikes failed in every instance, the men going back to work on the masters' terms. The tendency to turn out seemed to partake of the character of a mania. The dressers and dyers in one place struck, not about price, but about the time allowed for dinner. The master proposed to take half an hour from the labour at the close of the day, and add it to the middle, with the view of saving candles when the days began to shorten. The men, rather than comply, withdrew, and deprived themselves of several months' wages. After this severe lesson they went back in a more accommodating temper. At the same time the colliers nearly all over South Lancashire struck work. In the first place they succeeded; but pushing their success too far, and growing extravagant in their demands, the masters resisted, and the issue was, that large numbers of new hands were introduced to the pits, and many of the Unionists had to go in search of employment elsewhere.

Preston is one of the Lancashire towns which has unhappily acquired a notoriety for its strikes, and those of 1836 and 1854 will long be remembered for the sufferings which they caused. In the former year the cotton manufacture was very brisk and employment abundant, when the operative spinners seized the opportunity to demand an advance of wages from 22s. 6d. a week to the Bolton rate of 26s. 6d. The rate then paid at Bolton was however exceptional. The masters there had been accustomed to give higher wages when trade was brisk, but to lower them considerably when trade was dull. At Preston employment was more regular and the rate of wages more uniform. The cost of living at Preston was also less than at Bolton. The Preston people, however, were encouraged by delegates from the Trades' Unions of the neighbouring towns, who summoned meetings of the operatives at which the 'tyranny of the masters' was strongly denounced. The spinners became members of the Union, and when a Committee had been formed, they proceeded to demand of the masters a rise of wages to the Bolton rate. The masters consented to grant an increase of 3s. 4d. a week to their spinners, on condition that the men should detach themselves from the Union. The offer was in many cases accepted by individuals, but the Council of the Union rejected the offer, and renewed their demand for a rise to the Bolton list of prices, unaccompanied by any condition. These terms were refused. The Council then ordered a strike, and the mills were closed about the beginning of November. The number of spinners who struck was only 660, but in consequence of their cessation from work, 7840 other operatives, of various kinds, were at once thrown out of employment. In the course of a few weeks the
streets

streets were crowded with beggars, the offices of the overseers for the poor were besieged with applicants for relief, and the workhouse became crowded with inmates. The Union supported the spinners and the piecers—paying the former 5s. a week and the latter from 2s. to 3s.; but by far the larger part of the operatives had to depend for subsistence upon begging, the poor-rates, and the charity of the masters. By the end of December the distress had become universal and intense, and the masters determined to open their mills to give those who desired it an opportunity of resuming work at the advanced wages of 10 per cent. There was a rush of the card-room hands to the mills, but, as the spinners still absented themselves, only a small number of persons could be employed. New hands were however attracted to the work, while other spinners resorted to Preston from neighbouring towns. The number of self-acting mules was increased; and the mills at length were all opened, and ran full time. The strike lasted thirteen weeks, after which the Union broke up, and about 200 of the spinners (or about one-third of the whole number), whose places had been taken by fresh recruits, either left the town or remained without employment. The injury to the refractory men was very great; 5000 persons suffered severely during the winter from hunger and cold; several died from starvation; wearing apparel, household furniture, and every article on which money could be raised, were pawned; rents were not paid; debts to grocers and others who would give trust were incurred; and many bad habits were contracted by the operatives and their families during the strike, from which they never after recovered. The injury to the town and trade of Preston was estimated by Mr. Ashworth at 107,196*l.*, of which the loss in wages by the operatives was 57,210*l.*

The Preston workmen did not learn wisdom by failure, for in 1854 a still more protracted and calamitous strike took place. It is particularly worthy of note, that the wages of the operatives generally had not suffered any decrease since the strike of 1836. On the contrary, they had been largely increased, without any action on the part of trades' unions, and by the simple operation of the law of supply and demand. Notwithstanding a reduction of about 12½ per cent. in the hours of labour, the spinners' wages had been raised in the interval about 20 per cent. In 1847 indeed a reduction of 10 per cent. had been made, with the assent of the hands, at a time when trade was bad. But subsequently, if allowance is made for the reduction in the hours of labour, the card-room hands had increased 22, of self-acting minders

minders 16, and of weavers 11½ per cent., being an aggregate advance of more than 14 per cent. on the wages of 1847. The strike which prevailed during the whole of 1852 and the first half of 1853 passed through the mining trades, the building trades, the branches of industry connected with Nottingham and Leicester, the ship-building trades of the Tyne and Wear, and even the agricultural districts. It extended to Lancashire; and in consequence of the briskness of trade and the demand for labour, there was an almost general advance of wages. About the same time a movement took place among the upper and wealthier orders for procuring public parks and pleasure-grounds, as well as free libraries, museums, and kindred institutions, for the working classes; and large funds were raised in many of the manufacturing towns for the purpose. On the whole a kindlier feeling seemed to be springing up between employers and employed, and there was a general disposition on the part of the masters to meet the reasonable claims of their work-people. The same spirit does not seem to have been wanting at Preston, for when the operative spinners, who had reorganised their union, waited upon the masters at the beginning of August, about a fortnight before the strike, and required that their wages should be advanced 10 per cent., out of more than thirty-five firms only four or five refused, and these alleged, as their justification, that they were already paying the highest wages for their respective qualities of work in Preston. But another point insisted on by the operatives was a standard list of prices, by which their wages were to be regulated in future, and which standard was to be enforced throughout the country. This demand the masters considered impossible to be complied with, from the many circumstances which concur to vary the rate of wages, such as the fineness or quality of the work done, the construction and speed of the machinery, the internal arrangements of the manufactory, and even the site of the mill itself. It was on this point that the strike virtually took place. The operatives' union now also sought to raise the *minimum* of all the wages in Preston to the current *maximum* rates, and from these maximum rates to force up the whole earnings 10 per cent. Of course English masters very much resemble English workmen in their dislike of dictation. Neither of them will submit to be bullied; the English pluck is roused, and resistance is inevitable. The operatives' council would probably have succeeded in their demands if they could have provided against the masters imitating the example of their men, and entering into a combination for defence. But the common danger by which the masters were threatened compelled them to associate. When the

the determination of the operatives' committee became known, the employers, who had not held any meeting on the subject of wages for seven years, were called together, and they resolved to resist the demands of their workpeople. The whole of the mills were closed by the end of October, and about 17,000 persons remained idle for thirty-six weeks. The strike commenced amidst eloquent speeches on the part of the field officers of the union—mostly strangers who had resorted to Preston from the adjoining towns to aid in this 'great struggle of labour against capital.' There was considerable vituperation, excitement, and passion in these addresses; but the conduct of the people was excellent—by far the greater number of them being 'more sinned against than sinning.' In many cases they displayed a truly noble spirit: patiently enduring their sufferings, and heroically bearing up under their privations, in the hope that they might secure some solid benefits for their order. They thought they were right, and they sadly suffered for their error. The union was well supported by the adjoining towns, the factory hands for some time sending contributions to Preston amounting to about 3000*l.* a week. The operatives of Blackburn alone sent 30,000*l.* during the strike, and the masters, in the statement which they subsequently issued, observed that, 'had the Blackburn masters chosen to interfere in the contest, the main source which fed the struggle would have dried up, and the first month of the experiment must have seen an end of the conspiracy.' This affords an illustration of the difficulty which must always exist of forming an extensive combination among masters. The strike at Preston was an opportunity for the Blackburn proprietors to take an advantage. That the Preston mills should stand idle was a benefit to them and all other manufacturers of similar commodities. The total funds contributed by operatives during the thirty-six weeks amounted to the extraordinary sum of 97,000*l.*—an indication of money-power on the part of the working people which, if exercised in right directions, could not fail to produce the most beneficial results. But, notwithstanding all this help, the great mass of the Preston operatives rapidly gravitated towards absolute destitution. Homes were broken up, furniture was sold to the very last stick, and women even disposed of their marriage-rings to buy food for their children. Then the union collapsed; the workpeople went back to their employment, but without the 10 per cent. All their sacrifices had been in vain, and the only results of their worse than fruitless heroism were broken hearts, ruined homes, and moral and physical desolation. The loss in wages by the operatives during the strike was a quarter of a million sterling, and

and the total amount of the loss to all parties involved in the struggle was upwards of half a million!

The Glasgow strikes have been accompanied with much greater violence than those of Preston, probably because of the greater infusion of the Irish element in the operative population there. Impulse and passion, which are the leading features in so many strikes, are congenial to the Irishman's nature; and it is certainly remarkable to observe the number of persons from the sister isle, if we may judge of their nation by their names, who appear among the leaders of strikes in all our large towns. The most formidable Glasgow strike which has occurred of late years was that of 1836, when, during an almost total cessation of trade, the masters, who had but recently raised the spinners' wages one-sixth, proposed to reduce them again to their former standard, in order that they might keep the mills running. The workmen refused to comply. They struck work, formed themselves into committees, and hired assassins and vitriol-throwers to deal with the 'nobs,' or new hands, taken on by the masters. More than one murder was committed; several mills were burnt, and many deeds of violence were done; but after the strike had lasted for seventeen weeks, the men finally went back to their work on the masters' terms. Shortly before this period, while trade was still brisk, the colliers of Lanarkshire had obtained a considerable advance of wages, and the proposal being made that they should return to the old rates during the commercial depression of the period, they likewise refused. They stood out for about four months, until the iron-masters introduced a number of the starved-out weavers of Glasgow into the collieries, who were only too glad to earn 5s. a day. Many of the old colliers found in consequence their occupation gone, and had to seek for employment elsewhere.

The invention of new machines for the purpose of cheapening the cost of production has always caused alarm amongst artisans, and proved a fertile source of strikes. The first to rebel against these contrivances of working men have been the working men themselves. Hargreaves, the inventor of the machine for spinning more threads than one at the same time, and Kay, the inventor of the fly-shuttle, were glad to escape from Lancashire with their lives, after their machines had been destroyed by mobs. When the fashion of wig-wearing ceased, and distress fell upon the wigmakers, Richard Arkwright occupied his spare hours in inventing his spinning-frame; but, like Kay and Hargreaves, he was forced to run from his native country, carrying the model of his machine with him. When at last his jenny was introduced, it was everywhere encountered by riots and machine-breaking

breaking mobs. The operatives then believed that every kind of work not executed by their own hands was so much loss to them, and resisted the employment alike of horses, water, and steam-power. Yet amidst all the obstructions which ignorance and violence could employ, machines were introduced, and steam-power steadily increased. With every extension of both there was a far larger amount of money disbursed as wages among the manufacturing population. Nevertheless, each fresh improvement caused serious riots among the operatives, who almost universally regarded new inventions as their enemy. The Luddites scoured many counties on their machine-breaking mission, and were everywhere regarded with terror; masters were accustomed occasionally to sleep in their mills, guarded by soldiers and yeomanry, and several lives were lost in their defence. Still the extension of machinery went on, and still, wherever the hand-worker was superseded, production was greatly augmented, employment increased, and capital multiplied. Partial evil and suffering were unquestionably caused by the displacement of the old hands, who were compelled to change their avocation; but a far more general good was gained by the increased demand for labour and the multiplication of useful commodities. We have but to look at Lancashire, Yorkshire, Lanarkshire, and the northern manufacturing counties, to see at a glance how mistaken the notion is, that improvements in machinery diminish employment. These districts are enabled to maintain their vast populations of well-paid artisans almost entirely by the perfection of their tools and the extraordinary power and amount of their machinery.

Even in the operations of agriculture, machinery is every day becoming more general, though not many years since its use was regarded with the greatest aversion by the rural labourers. In 1830 and 1844 strikes were frequent in the southern counties, and bands of labourers went about breaking drill-ploughs, winnowing, threshing, and other machines, down even to the common drills. Suppose agriculture reduced again to flails and dibbers—and even these are tools or machines of a sort—what would be the effect but to send us back a full century, and to rob the country of that large part of its means of subsistence which is the result of improved implements? It is the same in agriculture as in manufactures. In whatever counties machinery is the most perfect, there production is the greatest, and the remuneration paid for labour is the highest. A machine employed in any trade is but an organized tool: abolish tools and we are reduced at once to our teeth and nails; and such would be the consistent conclusion of those who oppose the employment of machinery

as an agent in human industry. The printing-press, the steam-engine, the locomotive, the threshing-machine, down to the common spade and hoe, are all tools devised for facilitating labour; and so long as men are civilized they will continue to go on improving their tools, as the most effective means of increasing production. Without the aid of machinery there would neither be the means of subsistence nor of clothing for a single year; and to pause in the invention of mechanism, unless all the world agree to pause also, would be equivalent to abandoning our position in the scale of nations.

It is singular enough that the last strike against machinery was that of the Amalgamated Engineers, a class of highly-paid workmen, who live by the manufacture of machinery. In 1853 the Engineers' Union commenced an agitation throughout the country to put an end to overtime and piecework, and to procure a reduction of the hours of labour, and the abandonment of machine-making machines. Among other things, the men required of the masters 'the unconditional discharge of all labourers, or such class of persons engaged in working planing-machines, or tools of a similar character, and the employment in their stead of mechanics, members of the union.' This proposal was similar to that of the Millwrights' Union in 1824, when they prohibited even a grindstone being turned save by a regular journeyman millwright, at two guineas a week. To the demands made by the Amalgamated Engineers, the masters replied by insisting on the mechanics and others in their employment signing a document repudiating any connexion with the union. A turn-out was the consequence. The masters saw before them the prospect of a heavy loss; but as both their capital and profits were at stake, and as it was necessary to determine whether they or their men were to govern in the engineers' shops, they fought the battle out. Steam was set to work to do its utmost, new labour-saving machines were invented, and many workmen not belonging to the union came in, some of them unskilled, who thus gained a footing in the trade. The result was, that after fifteen weeks' idleness, and a loss of some 43,000*l.*, the men consented to go back to work at the old wages, but under considerably more stringent conditions than before. This was all that the engineers gained by their strike.

Strikes arising out of the introduction of new machinery have, however, generally been of a much more partial character than those for advances of wages, and have usually affected merely the particular manufactory in which the novelties have been introduced. The workmen employed on the new machinery never willingly engage in strikes against it, and when they have
done

done so, it has been almost invariably owing to the threats or persuasions of others. The reason is, that more money can usually be earned with the improved than with the disbanded machine. It is also worthy of remark, that in strikes against machinery the workmen have often been supported and encouraged by the masters. The injury to the workman by the introduction of inventions is commonly either remote or partial; whereas all those masters whose machinery is inferior to that newly introduced suffer an immediate and often total loss. Unless they give up their old machinery, and expend their capital in purchasing fresh, they are thrown behind in the race, and before long are thrust out of the market. The quantity of labour apportioned to a particular trade may be gradually lessened as the improvement becomes generally adopted; but as production is thus cheapened, the demand is soon so much increased that the great body of the operatives are not losers but gainers. The hand-loom weavers form almost the only exception to this rule.

An unquestionable result of strikes has been the stimulus which they have given from time to time to the ingenuity of our mechanics. Employers have been content to jog on in the old paths, until, thwarted in the conduct of their business by the trades' unions, they have been forced to call the inventor to their aid for the purpose of helping them in their difficulty. It was a strike of the spinners at Preston about the year 1830 which gave rise to the invention of Roberts's self-acting mule. The spinners, being the best paid workmen, were always found the most difficult to deal with, and when they struck, though comparatively few in number, the whole operations of the factory were brought to a standstill. The masters accordingly applied in their dilemma to the firm of Sharpe, Roberts, and Co., of Manchester, for a machine which should enable them to conduct their operations chiefly by means of women; and the result was the self-acting mule, which rolls the spindle carriage out and in at the proper speed without a hand touching it, the only manual labour required being that which is necessary to join the broken threads. This machine was not, however, generally adopted for some time, even at Preston, and it was not until the formidable strike in 1836 that it was largely introduced into the mills of that town. The mule was also extensively adopted at Glasgow for the purpose of getting rid of the combinations among the spinners; although the necessary changes involved a very large and otherwise unnecessary outlay of capital.

The invention of the wool-combing machine was in like manner almost entirely attributable to the repeated strikes of the Bradford wool-combers, a most refractory class of workmen. The

The wool-combers' union had existed for a century, and several Acts of Parliament had been passed with the object of suppressing the power which they had exercised with the usual bad consequences. The operations of trade in Yorkshire were frequently entirely suspended through their strikes. In 1833, when the whole of the combers in a large factory turned out, the proprietors applied their capital and skill to the improvement of a wool-combing machine, and in a short time brought it to such perfection as completely to supersede the employment of wool-combers. It may be added that the trade of Bradford has never prospered so steadily, nor maintained so large a number of well-paid operatives, as since these strikes of the wool-combers have been stopped.

The wool-combers, like the hand-loom weavers, have been superseded, but the general standard of remuneration, paid to a much greater number of workpeople, has been increased. Where machines displace labour, they render it disposable for other work, and at the same time render disposable the food and wages which formerly maintained it; for machines, though they may work hard, do not eat. The general result is, that there are more products, and a larger amount of remuneration for division among the workmen. Steam-power and machinery create an immense demand for labour; and we consequently find their introduction followed by an addition to the number of miners, iron-workers, mechanics, and engineers,—classes of workmen who are paid the highest average rates of wages. Since, however, the sudden introduction of machinery has sometimes caused severe distress to particular classes of artisans, it would be desirable to establish a fund whereby the dispossessed operatives might be enabled to betake themselves to other occupations without passing through the severe suffering to which they have occasionally to submit.

The building trades, united in a powerful union, have made repeated attempts to keep up the rate of wages by strikes. For instance, in 1833, the building trades of Manchester served a requisition on the masters calling upon them to abandon the practice of erecting buildings on the system of sub-contracts. The masters complied, but the concession only led to fresh demands on the part of the workmen, who proceeded to issue a series of regulations requiring the masters to abide by certain rules respecting the equalization of wages, the machinery they were to employ, the number of apprentices they were to take, &c. &c. The masters again complied; but the workmen proceeded to even more dictatorial measures, such as levying fines upon their employers when they had violated any regulation of the Union,
ordering

ordering the masters to appear before them at their meetings, and commanding them to dismiss or to take back such and such workmen, and obey such and such rules. Non-compliance with these tyrannical decrees was, in several instances, followed by an immediate strike of all the hands in the shop. The employers at length formed themselves into an Association for mutual defence, being unable longer to endure restrictions which threatened to involve them in ultimate ruin. They accordingly determined to employ no workman unless he signed a declaration that he did not belong to a trades' union. A general turn-out was the consequence, and it lasted six months, during which the vast building operations carried on in Liverpool and Manchester were almost entirely suspended. No attempt whatever had been made by the masters to reduce the wages of their workmen, or to interfere with any one of their usual practices or privileges. The pay of the bricklayers had even been increased three shillings weekly a short time before the strike took place; for the building trade was brisk, and the masters desired to attract workmen into their employment. Good hands were enabled to earn as much as thirty-five shillings a week during the summer months. The men were well supported during their strike, their brethren in the building trades all over England forwarding liberal contributions. Not less than 18,000*l.* was received in this way. The sacrifice which the operatives made in wages during the six months they remained idle, was at least 72,000*l.*; and as there was no prospect of the masters acceding to their proposals, the combination was voted a nuisance, and the men went back, entreating to be employed upon the old terms. But many of the buildings formerly in progress had by this time been discontinued; a considerable number of fresh labourers had been brought from distant parts of the country, and machinery had been introduced to perform certain parts of labour to which it could be applied. Thus only a proportion of the former hands could be taken on; and many of them never recovered from the misery into which they had sunk, or from the habits of idleness and dissipation which they had acquired, during the period of the strike.

Colliers have also had their strikes, which, though sometimes temporarily successful, have ended in the usual calamitous results. One of the least disastrous strikes was that of the colliers of Lancashire, who, in 1830, obtained an advance of wages after a protracted struggle. The price of coal was raised forty per cent., large quantities from other districts were brought into Lancashire by sea and canal, stocks accumulated on the hands of the masters, the colliers were accordingly required to do less work,
and

and their earnings were in many cases reduced below what they had been before the strike. The men, however, had felt their power, and they proceeded to assist other combinations among neighbouring workmen. In one case the colliers required that their master should not supply coal to a customer who employed men unconnected with a trades' union; and the result was, that the master introduced an entirely new set of colliers from a distance, and had them protected against the violence of the unionists by a military force. In another colliery the men insisted that the master should discharge two workmen who were not members of a union. On the master refusing, the men struck, and again there was an entire change of hands, when a large number of the old gang were thrown out of employment. The pitmen of Durham and Northumberland have also had their share of strikes. The most recent have been those of 1839—the Chartists' 'sacred month'—which proved a total failure; and one, still more formidable, which took place in 1844. In this latter case 33,990 pitmen were involved. They struck for an advance, but required that no one should be paid more than three shillings a day, in order that labour and wages might be shared as equally as possible. There can be no doubt as to the generous feelings which prompted the movement; though it was an interference with production to which the masters, who were willing to concede several important points, could not agree. A general turn-out took place in May, on which the men were ejected from their cottages, and they encamped with their families in the open air. The funds of the Union amounted at the time to 40,000*l.*, and the colliers were more confident of the success of the strike than they had ever been before. They engaged Roberts, the Chartist solicitor, as their attorney-general, at a salary of 1000*l.* a year, with his costs; and he made many eloquent speeches, in which he of course advised no surrender. After about two months, as the men displayed no symptoms of giving way, the masters introduced 'foreigners' in considerable numbers, to whom the increased pay they could earn by colliery work was a great boon. The Marquis of Londonderry filled his pits with labourers brought from his estates in the north of Ireland. The colliers became extremely alarmed, especially as their money was all spent, their furniture sold, their homes broken up, and destitution staring them in the face. By the end of August, the strike was at an end, and those who could obtain employment returned to their work on the masters' terms.

Such have been the results of the most important strikes which have taken place in England down to the present day; and they afford an effectual answer to the question—Have strikes

strikes tended to raise the rate of wages? Indeed there is not an instance of any *extensive* strike, no matter how well organized and supported, having ended otherwise than in suffering and defeat to the workmen. The waste incurred has been frightful. The loss to the nation may be reckoned by millions; for property which might have been produced, but was not, is as much lost as though it had been first made and afterwards destroyed. These struggles of peace have proved as costly as many campaigns; and some strikes have presented horrors scarcely surpassed by those of physical warfare. If blood is not shed, life is sacrificed, as well as the energies on which life depends, spreading misery and breeding strife. In many cases the moral character of the workmen and their families has been completely broken down; and they have never again recovered from the ruin inflicted upon them.

It may be said that the *fear* of a strike acts as a powerful inducement on the part of the master to maintain the rate of wages, and to grant an increase when demanded by the united body of workmen. Doubtless this is an influence which has its effect, and it will always operate, independently of trades' unions, where there is an intelligent body of skilled artisans to be dealt with. The highest paid mechanics have no unions, nor do they need them. They have the power of declining to work for what they consider insufficient wages; and if it be the master's interest to keep them, he will not fail to offer the inducement of increased pay. Trades' unions did not create industry nor the demand for skilled labour, nor have they regulated wages, which will always necessarily depend upon the numbers seeking work. Hence the unemployed have even more to do than the employed with the determination of the rate of wages. There is a natural level of remuneration for every kind of labour which the power of all the trades' unions cannot alter. If there be a scarcity of workmen, the tendency will be to a rise of wages, perhaps above the ordinary standard; but even then the attraction of increased numbers into that particular trade will quickly restore the rate to its former average. If there be an excessive number of workmen in proportion to the work to be done, no power of combination will maintain the rate until the surplus hands have betaken themselves to other employments. And there is this advantage for skilled workmen in such a country as England, that the enterprise, the energy, and the capital of our middle class, if left free and untrammelled, are constantly opening up new fields.

Whilst trades' unions are eulogized by their orators as the 'protectors of labour against the tyranny of capital,' they are by no means so friendly to the general mass of the working classes

as they would have us believe. They, in fact, constitute an exclusive body, whose principal object is to keep as many as possible out of their particular trades, and especially to shut out the poor and unskilled from participating in their peculiar advantages. Some of the most important strikes have occurred because of the employment of labourers and mechanics not belonging to the trades' combinations. The unions do not for one moment take into consideration the interests of the people outside their associations; they are as monopolising, if we may judge by their rules, as any of the ancient guilds; and it is well known that any attempt on the part of non-unionists (who constitute the great body of the labouring classes) to obtain employment in their trades, is met by unceasing annoyance, and in many cases by actual persecution and violence. Indeed the main action of these associations—however it may be attempted to be disguised—is not so much directed against the tyranny of capital as against the unfettered industry of the working people themselves; and it might even be said that the average rate of wages is kept depressed in order that the wages of the unionists may be maintained. It is not the free disposal of labour that the trades' combinations seek, but its restriction and monopoly. They stand between the man who wishes to work and the man who is willing to employ him. They insist that the community shall pay the rate which they arbitrarily set upon their peculiar labour and skill, and not its fair market value. If the free labourer is willing to give us ten hours' work for ten hours' pay, and the unionist will give us only nine hours' work for the same, what is this but exacting money for an imperfect equivalent, and taking an hour's idleness at the general expense? For it is a mistake to suppose that it is the employer who suffers. The employer only looks for a reasonable profit on his investment of capital, skill, and industry; and whether the workman gives nine or ten hours' work, the result will be nearly equal to him. It is the public who are unjustly deprived of their money.

But this sort of doctrine is stigmatised by some as Political Economy; and a unionist is said to have boldly declared, in Hyde Park, 'If political economy is against us, then we are against political economy.' 'Where reason is against a man,' says Hobbes, 'he will be against reason.' To declare against the law of gravitation were indeed quite as futile as to declare against the law of supply and demand. Neither physical nor moral conditions will accommodate themselves to the restrictive regulations of trades' unions. Even they themselves have sometimes admitted the fact. The cotton-spinners of Glasgow and the

potters of Staffordshire not long since formed themselves into associations for the purpose of enabling the spare hands in their respective trades to emigrate, and thus relieve the market. The London builders, however, conceiving labour to be a fixed quantity, and that it might be so divided amongst them as to allow of an equal price being paid to each, no matter how large the number of workmen, struck to obtain a reduction in the hours of labour, in order, as they alleged, to provide for the employment of the surplus hands in their trade. But as they did not offer to give up the pay for the hour which they proposed to deduct, the question for the masters to consider was simply whether they were prepared to add ten per cent. to their workmen's wages? It has been alleged indeed, that the builders' hours of labour are too long; but the men have been accustomed to remedy this evil by taking out not less than one-tenth of the established working time in holidays. Only, for those holidays they have not heretofore been paid; whereas, by the new regulation proposed by the union, the idle days would really be paid for by the public.

The conduct of the master builders in adopting a general lock-out, upon a strike taking place in one particular workshop, has been severely censured. To lookers-on it had an appearance of hardship—punishing the innocent for the acts of the guilty, and depriving them of bread. The masters' reply was, that their shops are open to such as choose to work for them, provided they renounce all connexion with 'any society which directly or indirectly interferes with the arrangements of their establishments or the hours or terms of labour,' and 'recognise the right of employers and employed individually to make any trade engagements on which they may choose to agree.' But the masters have a further answer to give. They were aware of the intention of the unionists to take them one by one, and force them to adopt their terms in detail. The strike ordered in the Messrs. Trollope's shop was but a beginning; and if the other builders had consented to keep their works open, and to provide the men in their employment with the funds by means of which the seceders were to have been maintained, it is perfectly clear that, one by one, the masters must have succumbed. They felt that it was time for them to imitate the example of their workmen; and when masters are forced into union for self-defence, strikes have no longer a chance of success. They are as futile as the assault of an unarmed and unprovisioned multitude upon an impregnable and provisioned fortress. However harsh the step of the builders may have appeared, its policy

policy was afterwards clearly established by the statements of the unionists themselves ; for one of their number, Mr. Mark Noble, made, at the Surrey Gardens meeting, this valuable, though probably unconscious, admission :—‘ If the masters had not shut their shops and locked the men out, we should have had ample money to carry out the nine hours’ movement ; but, as the masters have locked out many thousands of men, how do you suppose that we can guarantee you anything like a tangible support ? ’ When the subject of strikes was discussed before the Society of Arts a few years ago, the question narrowed itself to this—Does a partial strike on the part of the workmen justify a general lock-out on the part of the masters ? In cases where the partial strike forms part of a combined scheme of operations, we think Mr. Mark Noble has effectually supplied an answer. And whenever it is known that the masters are prepared to resist the attempts of trades’ combinations to enforce their conditions upon them one by one, strikes will be rendered more and more difficult, if not altogether impossible. Nevertheless it might possibly have savoured less of an appearance of oppression, if, instead of adopting the severe measure of a general lock-out, the master builders had sent detachments of their men into the Messrs. Trollopes’ shop, on the strike taking place there, leaving with the men themselves the responsibility of refusing to remain on the terms on which employment was offered.

Hugh Miller, when working as a stonemason near Edinburgh in 1824, was drawn into one of the strikes which were so common in that city during the prevalence of the building mania. He found that the agitation was, as usual, got up and kept up by those who were better speech-makers than workers. Three-fourths of those who turned out had not the wherewithal to ‘ keep the wolf from the door ’ for a fortnight ; the builders were not desirous of pressing on their jobs during the winter, and the consequence was that the majority, after a good deal of talk about ‘ nailing their colours to the mast,’ and a week’s idleness, drinking, and oratory, went back to work on their masters’ terms. ‘ I saw enough at the time,’ Miller sensibly observes, ‘ to convince me that, though the *right* of combination, abstractedly considered, is just and proper, the strikes which would result from it as consequences would be productive of much evil and little good.’ Speaking to one of his associates, who acted as a clerk to the operative house-painters, he observed :—

“ There is a want of true leadership among our operatives in these combinations. It is the wilder spirits that dictate the conditions ; and pitching their demands high, they begin usually by enforcing acquies-

cence in them on the quieter and more moderate among their companions. They are tyrants to their fellows ere they come into collision with their masters, and have thus an enemy in the camp, not unwilling to take advantage of their seasons of weakness, and prepared to rejoice, though secretly mayhap, in their defeats and reverses; and further, their discomfiture will be always quite certain enough when seasons of depression come, from the circumstance that, fixing their terms in prosperous times, they will fix them with reference rather to their present power of enforcing them, than to that medium line of fair and equal adjustment on which a conscientious man could plant his foot and make a firm stand. Men such as you, able and ready to work in behalf of these combinations, will of course get the work to do, but you will have little or no power given you in their direction: the direction will be apparently in the hands of a few fluent *gabbers*; and yet even they will not be the actual directors—they will be but the exponents and voices of the general mediocre sentiment and inferior sense of the mass as a whole, and acceptable only so long as they give utterance to that, and so ultimately exceedingly little will be won in this way for working men. It is well that they should be allowed to combine, seeing that combination is permitted to those who employ them; but until the majority of our working men of the south become very different from what they now are—greatly wiser and greatly better—there will be more lost than gained by their combinations. According to the circumstances of the time and season, the current will be at one period running in their favour against the masters, and at another in favour of the masters against them; there will be a continual ebb and flow, like that of the sea, but no general advance, and the sooner that the like of you and I get out of the rough conflict and jostle of the tideway, and set ourselves to labour apart on our own internal resources, it will be all the better for us.” William, however, did not give up his clerkship, and I dare say the sort of treatment which I had received at the hands of my fellow-workmen made me express myself rather strongly on the subject; but the actual history of the numerous strikes and combinations which have taken place during the quarter of a century and more which has since intervened, is of a kind not in the least suited to modify my views. There is a want of judicious leadership among our working men, and such of the autobiographies of the class as are able and interesting enough to obtain a hearing for their authors, show, I am inclined to think, how this has taken place. Combination is first brought to bear among them against the men, their fellows, who have vigour enough of intellect to think and act for themselves; and such always is the character of the born leader: their true leaders are almost always forced into the opposition, and thus separating between themselves and the men fitted by nature to render them formidable, they fall under the direction of mere chattering and stump-orators, which is in reality no direction at all. The author of the “*Working Man’s Way in the World*”—evidently a very superior man—had, he tells us, to quit at one time his employment, overborne by the senseless ridicule of his brother-workmen. Somerville states in his autobiography

graphy that, both as a labouring man and a soldier, it was from the hands of his comrades that, save in one memorable instance, he had experienced all the tyranny and oppression of which he had been the victim. Nay, Benjamin Franklin himself was deemed a much more ordinary man in the printing-house in Bartholomew Close, where he was teased and laughed at as the *Water-American*, than in the House of Representatives, the Royal Society, or the Court of France. The great Printer, though recognised by accomplished politicians as a profound statesman, and by men of solid science as "the most rational of the philosophers," was regarded by his poor brother-compositors as merely an odd fellow, who did not conform to their drinking usages, and whom it was therefore fair to tease and annoy as a contemner of the sacrament of the chapel.'

The fallacy which seems to prevail amongst working men is, that, by diminishing production, the remuneration of the workman may be increased. With this view, bricklayers must not put the trowel out of their hand to do any other labour, and hodmen must carry only a certain weight defined by edict or by usage. Men are virtually forbidden to do their best, and the wages of the most skilled artificers are kept down to the level of the worst,—all that the superior hands gain being merely the earliest chance of obtaining employment. But it is a most dangerous thing for workmen to proclaim that the idle and unskilled shall be as well paid as the industrious and the skilled. This is to place the energetic and the indolent, the competent and the incompetent, on the same level, and remove the principal stimulus to the cultivation of individual excellence. A large engineering firm at Leeds had a serious struggle with their workmen in 1851-2 in consequence of the determination of the employers to pay their men according to their merit and the quality of their work. The first difference arose respecting the remuneration of a few persons employed in riveting boilers. Their number was only 8, out of about 600 workmen, and they received different wages according to their ability—some 27*s.* a week, some 25*s.* and 26*s.*, and one 24*s.* The other men insisted they should all be paid a uniform rate, although admitting that the labour of some was not equal in value to that of their fellows. The firm resisted, and the eight men struck. Fresh persons were employed in their place; on which all the factory turned out, many of them most unwillingly. The works were kept going, and other hands were employed, who were subjected to great annoyances for a time. The acting foreman in one department was even fired upon by some Unionist. Still the concern went on, though it was eighteen months before the firm became efficiently manned. It was now made a condition of employment that those taken on should

should not be members of trades' unions, and the consequence was that a more orderly and independent corps of workmen was got together, from which the firm eventually derived some equivalent for the loss which they had sustained during the strike. We may add, that many regulations exist in this establishment which would be difficult, if not impossible, under the interference of trades' unions. For instance, the employers have instituted a sick and funeral fund, to which each man contributes by an additional ten minutes' labour every day when necessary, the proceeds being under the control of a committee of workmen appointed by themselves, and administered to their general satisfaction.

We have shown that wages have not been raised by means of strikes; but numerous instances might be cited to show that in many cases they had a contrary effect. Even when followed by apparent success, they have inflicted eventual injury. An advance may have been conceded on occasions, in order to complete existing contracts, but no sooner have these been fulfilled than a reduction takes place, and wages fall back to their former standard, if not below it. In other cases, increased wages have induced new hands to enter the trade, until the competition of numbers speedily brought back wages to their natural level. Strikes, too, as we have seen, oblige the masters to introduce fresh workmen, so that the old hands have a difficulty in again finding employment. During the Ashton turn-out in 1825, some 300 new men were instructed in cotton-spinning, and the result was a reduction in the rate of wages after the strike had ceased, on account of the superabundance of operatives in the trade. The shipwrights at Liverpool struck for an advance, and after standing idle 21 weeks they turned in again at 5 per cent. reduction on their previous wages. The hatters of London struck for an advance of a shilling per dozen hats, but eventually went back to work at a shilling decrease, instead of the shilling additional which they had forfeited nearly a third of a year's earnings to gain. The journeymen tailors of London struck in 1834 for an advance of wages and a reduction in the hours of labour. Thirteen thousand men remained out of work for several months; they sacrificed about 100,000*l.* in wages alone, and, after enduring great privations and being reduced to utter destitution, went back to work at the masters' terms, and subscribed a declaration by which they renounced all further support of unions. During the strike many women had been introduced into the trade, and the system of wholesale slopwork was then adopted, which eventually led to a serious depreciation in tailors' wages.

Mr. Jackson, a Sheffield manufacturer, when examined before a Committee of the House of Commons, in 1833, gave the following

lowing reasons why strikes are never calculated to benefit the workmen employed in the cutlery trade. 'The workman,' said he, 'does not benefit, strictly speaking, by combination: though he gets high wages, he has sometimes to pay twenty per cent. out of his wages for keeping up the combination, besides an occasional levy of 1*l.*; and besides, to obtain this advantage, it often happens that the men are out of employment for several months; so that I have frequently said to the workmen, that I defy them to prove that any steady, industrious man ever benefited by it—that is to say, that the cost of obtaining the advance is greater than the advantage ultimately realised by it. My opinion is, that combinations have a tendency ultimately to reduce wages. Say an augmentation of wages has taken place: if trade has been remarkably brisk, and the demand made by the workmen has mostly been for an exorbitant price, this price has generally been maintained for a very short time—for a month, perhaps—to execute the orders on hand; but the price of goods was in consequence so far augmented as to stop the demand in our foreign markets; and a subsequent reaction taking place, it has been ascertained that after a turn-out of workmen, and a consequent augmentation in the price of goods, every third season, or every third half-year (as the American orders came usually twice a-year), the price has fallen much below the previous level; and when the workmen have attempted to gain exorbitant wages for their labour, it ended in the sequel by bringing the rate of the labour to a less standard than that from which they previously started.'

If strikes and combinations could elevate the condition of labour, Dublin must now have been the paradise of working men. The operatives there, with true Celtic vehemence, have thrown themselves heart and soul into the unions, and have fought their battles with a devotion worthy of a better cause. Moreover, they have been almost uniformly successful; but their victories have been even more disastrous than defeats. Dublin was formerly the seat of numerous extensive and highly prosperous manufactures and trades. One after another these various branches of industry were ruined by strikes. Flannel, silk, lace, gloves, almost ceased to be manufactured, and the best Irish workmen migrated to England and Scotland. The wretched and poverty-stricken 'Liberties' of Dublin—untroubled by machinery and capital, but infested with pauperism in its most revolting forms—still testify to the ruin inflicted on the trade of Ireland by the combinations of her operatives. O'Connell himself admitted that Trades' Unions had wrought more evil to Ireland than
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even absenteeism and Saxon mal-administration. The monopoly and restrictions enforced by the Dublin unionists were most rigid ; but as usual their heaviest pressure was upon the working people outside their combinations, who were sacrificed without mercy. Unskilled labour was paid as low as 6d. a-day in the very shops in which the unionists were striving to keep up their own wages at an unnatural rate. They prescribed a minimum rate of wages for themselves, so that the worst workman should receive the same as the best. They left little or no choice to the employers in the selection of their men ; and the master in want of an additional hand had to go to the trades' union and take the person who stood first on their register. Knobsticks, or non-unionists, were rigidly excluded ; and if any unprivileged man ventured to work at any union trade, it was at the peril of his life. Indeed several poor wretches were assassinated at the expense of the unions, and the murderers remained undiscovered. No organization could have been more perfect ; and its result was ruin. The shipwrights and sawyers carried every point with their masters ; and in the course of a few years there was not a single master shipwright in Dublin. If vessels frequenting the port required repairs, they were merely cobbled up so as to insure their safety across the channel to Belfast or Liverpool. The Dublin iron manufacture was destroyed in the same way. Mr. Robinson, an iron-master, was prohibited by his men from using a machine which he had invented to meet the competition of English-made nails ; and the trade in consequence left Dublin, never to return. Another manufacturer, anxious to execute some metal works in Dublin, in order that Irish industry might have the benefit, found to his dismay that he was precluded from competing with England, not by any local disadvantages, or want of coal or iron, but solely by the regulations enforced by his own workmen. It was thus that the iron-trade went down. O'Connell estimated that at least half a million a-year had been lost to the Irish capital in wages alone, through the combinations of the unions. Almost the only branch of trade in Dublin against which strikes failed has been that of coach-building ; and it has, accordingly, been preserved. The Messrs. Hutton held their ground with heroic perseverance. The unionists battered their carriages, cut the silks and laces, beat their foremen, and compelled the masters to ride home armed and guarded ; nevertheless, they persisted in carrying on their business in their own way, and by this means kept up their splendid coach manufacture, which would doubtless otherwise have been driven out of the island.

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The strike infatuation ruined the trade of other districts in Ireland. An Irish capitalist erected a costly manufactory at Bandon, and succeeded in obtaining a large contract. He bought machinery, the workmen worked till it had been erected, and then struck for increased pay. 'We know,' they said, 'that you have got a contract in Spain and Portugal, and you must, therefore, give us higher wages.' The proprietor gave the increase demanded, worked out his contract, and then abandoned the manufactory. The consequence was a loss to the Bandon work-people in wages of about 12,000*l.* a year. Dr. Doyle stated before the Irish Committee of 1830, that the almost total extinction of the blanket trade of Kilkenny was attributable to the combinations of the weavers. No sooner was it known that any manufacturer had taken a contract than the weavers immediately insisted on an advance. The consequence was, that manufacturers would not enter into contracts; they withdrew their capital, the blanket trade was ruined, the weavers became paupers, and had to be maintained at the public expense. Such are only a few illustrations of the triumphs of strikes in Ireland.

Capital flies turbulence and strife, and thrives only in security and freedom. Though senselessly denounced for the tyranny it exercises over labour, it is really its motive power. It is also the result of labour, and represents the self-denial, the providence, and the enterprise of the past. The most successful accumulators of capital have in all times risen from the ranks of labour itself; they are working men who have shot ahead of their fellows, and give employment instead of receiving it. These persons, who are not the less working men because they have ceased to be manual labourers, by creating and extending the sphere of productive industry, must be regarded as amongst the most effective benefactors of the lower orders, as they unquestionably are among the principal sources of our power and wealth as a nation. Without the capital accumulated by their thrift during many generations, the lot of the artisan would be most precarious. There is not a mechanic but has the use of the money of the master who employs him. When the unskilled labourer lays down his spade, he leaves idle a capital worth eighteen pence; but when a skilled artisan or mechanic leaves his mill or his workshop, he leaves idle a capital of from 80*l.* to 150*l.* per man. Nor does the skilled workman run any risk whatever as regards the sums invested, though he virtually shares the profits in the shape of the wages paid for his labour. The profit which remains is the master's return for his management and his risks. It is well known, however, that the risks are not always covered, as the Gazette in bad times abundantly demonstrates.

demonstrates. But the workman in good employment is not liable to losses by bad debts; he has no obsolete machinery from time to time left useless on his hands; and he has no anxiety about finding a market for his goods, nor fears respecting fluctuations in the price of the raw material. These are important advantages in his favour, which he does not usually take into account. It is true he suffers if trade is bad, but he earns high wages if it be good; and he can then save money if he pleases. He may be said to participate in the adversity or prosperity of his firm, but without incurring any of the liabilities of partnership.

It has been urged that great good would be derived from workmen becoming actual partners with their masters, or entering into partnerships amongst themselves, for the purpose of manufacturing and selling their own goods. It is, indeed, most desirable that every encouragement should be given to workpeople to save money and invest it in productive industry. Nor does any obstacle exist to enterprises of the kind. On the contrary, the Limited Liability Act has been framed mainly with the view of enabling partnerships to be formed on this principle, whether amongst working men or others. The history of the Rochdale Pioneers proves that such associations can be successfully conducted; and we are gratified to learn that the labouring classes of the same town have recently accumulated a sum of about 12,000*l.*, which is being invested in a mill and machinery, to be worked for the benefit of the members. The movement commenced in 1844 with a capital of 28*l.*, which in 1857 amounted to 15,142*l.*, whilst the annual profits divided among the members increased from 32*l.* in the former year to 5470*l.* in the latter. The institution appropriates a portion of its profits to educational purposes, and, better still, is training the members to habits of thrift, frugality, and economy, with the object of improving their social condition, and building up their individual independence.

We must not, however, expect too much from this proceeding. There will always remain a large number of persons dependent upon weekly wages; and whether these may be disposed to enter into co-operative associations or not, it is within their power, as it is their duty, to practise the virtue of individual economy. When it was proposed, during the Preston strike, to solve the difficult problem of the relation between capital and labour, by providing that workmen should be partners with their masters in the operations of trade, Mr. Ashworth took the trouble to ascertain what would be the dividend of each, and he found that it would amount to only sevenpence-halfpenny a week! Whether it would be worth the artisan's while to share the risk which
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the manufacturer runs in bad times for this trifling gain, is very doubtful ; but there can be no doubt whatever that each of the Preston operatives might, by the exercise of ordinary self-denial, lay by weekly in a savings-bank four times the estimated amount of the profit he would derive from being admitted as an actual partner in his master's business. Many of the householders engaged in the strike of 1853 had long been in the receipt, from the labour of themselves and their families, of not less than from 150*l.* to 200*l.* a-year. Let it not be said, therefore, that the working people cannot save money and become capitalists if they will. Have we not the fact that the operatives of Blackburn alone sent not less than 30,000*l.* out of their earnings to maintain the Preston operatives during their fruitless strike? And why should they not in ordinary times invest these surplus funds in savings-banks, or in co-operative associations, instead of spending it in public houses?

The labouring classes do not yet know the money-power which they possess. The annual wages of the working people of the country is estimated, on good authority, to amount to not less than one hundred and seventy millions sterling. But, notwithstanding the increased remuneration paid for labour during recent years, and the generally reduced cost of living, the savings of the working classes invested in savings-banks have remained almost stationary, and are under eight millions. Will it be believed that the annual earnings of many families engaged in the cotton manufacture amount to more than the average incomes of the clergy of England? and that there are few skilled operatives whose individual earnings do not exceed those of the great body of clerks and shopmen? When the builders lately struck they were earning 5*s.* 6*d.* a-day,* which is equal to the pay of the
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* A steady increase has taken place in the wages of workmen employed in the building trades in London during the last thirty years, as is shown in the following table compiled from authentic sources:—

Average Wages per Week.

Description of Workmen.	1839.	1839.	1849.	1859.	
	<i>s.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>s.</i>	
Masons	28	30	30	33	
Bricklayers	28	30	30	33	
Carpenters	27	29	29	32	
Joiners	29	30	30	33	
Plasterers	28	30	30	33	
Painters	27	28	30	32	
Plumbers	30	30	30	33	
Labourers	18	18	18	20	

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ensigns and lieutenants of our infantry regiments, without the cost of mess or uniform. Erectors and fitters in the shops of London engineers receive from 35*s.* to 37*s.* a-week, or perhaps a higher average rate of remuneration than is paid to the whole body of dissenting ministers. The operatives employed as iron-rollers earn in ordinary times from 12*s.* to 15*s.* a-day, or equal to the pay of captains and army surgeons after ten years' service. When trade is brisk, the ball-furnace men of Staffordshire, with their families, earn from 300*l.* to 400*l.* a-year, which is a larger income than falls to the lot of most professional men, and yet the houses of these favoured labourers are scenes of disgusting untidiness and squalor. If working people are powerless, it is too often because they are thoughtless and improvident. If they are driven into bad bargains with their masters, it is mainly because they have not taken care to provide a defence against destitution in their day of need, by a store of frugal savings in prosperous times. Those who spend their money as they earn it will always be at the mercy of others; and it is melancholy to reflect that when a time of adversity comes they are scarcely a week ahead of actual want.

If the labouring classes would gain a firmer footing in the world, they must exercise economy, self-denial, and forethought, the basis of all manly and truly independent character. What William Felkin, late Mayor of Nottingham, himself originally a factory operative, stated before the British Association, at Liverpool, in 1837, cannot be too deeply imprinted on every working man's mind: 'Inasmuch as I know what it is to labour with the hands long hours, and for small wages, as well as any workman to whom I address myself, and to practise self-denial withal, I am emboldened to declare from experience, that the gain of independence, or rather self-dependence, for which I plead, is worth infinitely more than the cost of its attainment; and, moreover, that to attain it is within the power of far the greater number of skilled workmen engaged in our manufactures. A provident

This increase in wages has taken place without strikes, and is attributable simply to the increased demand for labour, arising from various causes. It is, however, worthy of remark, that the increase in the money rate of wages does not represent the actual increase, which can only be duly estimated by taking into consideration the quantity of necessaries which the money earned will purchase. During the period referred to, the average price of Bread has been reduced from 9*d.* to 6*d.* the 4 lb. loaf; Sugar from 7½*d.* to 4½*d.* per lb.; Tea from 6*s.* to 3*s.* 6*d.*; Soap from 7*d.* to 4*d.*; and Coals from about 3*l.* to 1*l.* 5*s.* the ton. If, therefore, the increase in money wages, together with the reduction in the price of necessaries, be taken into account, it will be found that the men employed in the building trades of the metropolis have, within the last thirty years, secured an increased remuneration for their labour equivalent to from 30 to 40 per cent.

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and skilful workman is the last to be discharged in bad times, and the first to regain employment. Masters do not fail to recognise their own interest in consulting the interests and feelings of such workmen. Steady employment is itself a first-rate advantage to the prudent and clever mechanic; and were strikes for wages mainly dependent on the wishes of such, they would rarely or never happen. If the work-people were generally and permanently thrifty, they would seldom have to submit to reduced wages, and never would turn out of work. Their capital in labour and skill would receive the aid of their capital in money, and be a fair counterbalance to their employers in money, skill, and management. The richest, most powerful, and most natural fund on which the working man can rely, is that which he creates himself by his own savings. It enables him to command the price of his labour, not controlled by his necessities, but influenced by a prudent regard for his own welfare and that of his family. He who practises economy and foresight will ordinarily obtain for himself what neither Acts of Parliament nor any foreign aids can secure—a healthy body, an independent mind, domestic happiness, and general esteem. He will be an ornament to the class to which he belongs, and be serviceable in no small degree to the community at large.

At the same time, employers ought not to stand too strongly upon their rights, nor entrench themselves too exclusively within the circle of their own order. Frankness and cordiality will win working men's hearts, and a ready explanation will often remove misgivings and dissatisfaction. Were there more trust and greater sympathy between classes, there would be less disposition to turn out on the part of men and a more accommodating spirit on the part of masters. An incident which occurred during the strikes of 1842 shows how confidence on one side will beget confidence on the other. When the operatives throughout Yorkshire and Lancashire were endeavouring to induce the workmen in the other mines and factories of the district to rebel, they appealed to the Worsley Colliers, who promptly resisted the combination. In an address which they forwarded to their employer, the late Lord Ellesmere, they strongly expressed their attachment to him, and concluded in these words: 'With the voice of one man, we declare our design to defend your honour and all in connection with you.' Lord Ellesmere had simply been a good master, and had exerted himself to improve the moral and physical condition of those whom Providence had placed under his charge. The address of his workpeople was but the natural response of human hearts touched by kindness and

stroy it; because, if there were none, or very few, all fields would be clean, and no praise could light on superior modes of tillage. Some may say again, "So much the better!" But I say, *No*. Does any man think that our various soils would have been sufficiently pulverized and worked, had there been no enemies of this sort to challenge forth our labours? Sterility would have seized upon our turnip lands, which are only continued in a state to bear their rotations of crops by the necessary periodical renewals of their fertility. So might all our clays have gone to perpetual grass, for neglect of proper tillage would have rendered them unprofitable. The necessity of subsistence produces industrious hands for every department of labour, but the sluggish nature of man requires every stimulus to exertion. The weeds of the fields excite emulation among farmers, and foul fields are always a reproach to the occupier. Thus we are compelled by an unseen hand to better habits and more active industry.'—*Sinclair on Grasses*, pp. 324-5.

Yet we have seen weedless flower-gardens where the soil nevertheless was kept carefully pulverized, and kitchen-gardens so destitute of interlopers to interfere with the vegetables, that it was necessary to *cultivate* groundsel for the purpose of feeding a pet bullfinch. If, as Sir John Sinclair says, 'neglect of proper tillage would have rendered clays unprofitable,' what need is there of weeds as an incentive to exertion? The stimulus to toil and till exists independently of them, and by his own argument they are in this respect a superfluity. That, like everything else in creation, they answer many wise and necessary ends, no believer in Providence and no observer of nature can for an instant doubt. But man would plough, and sow, and reap, even though he could succeed in relieving his land of these robbers of the soil, and the illogical moralisings of Sir John Sinclair need not deter the most zealous improver from acting upon the maxim that 'prevention is better than cure.'

What is a weed? Everybody in England would pronounce the *dandelion*, commonly called *dandy lion*, an unmitigated pest. Yet we recollect reading in some Australian newspaper that a plant of it in full bloom attracted crowds of pleased spectators at a flower-show. How we should smile here at a dandelion in a pot, or at the publication by an eminent gardener of a treatise on its cultivation! The lexicographers have not been very successful in their definitions of a weed. Johnson calls it 'A herb noxious or useless.' The agriculturists in their definitions look only to practical results, and confound things which, both in popular and scientific language, are distinct. 'When,' says Stephens, in his 'Book of the Farm,' 'any plant is found growing where it should not be, it is a weed. For example, a stalk of wheat in a bed of tulips in a garden is a weed, and would be removed; and, in like manner, a tulip in a wheat-field is a weed, and should be eradicated.'

cated.' To the same purpose speaks the author of the article 'Weeds,' in Morton's 'Cyclopædia of Agriculture :—' *Every plant different from the crop, and growing with the crop to its hinderance, is a weed.* Regarded in this light, most of our wild, and even cultivated, plants may take the place of weeds; thus potatoes left in the soil may completely smother a succeeding crop, or the shed seeds of a former crop may germinate amid a new one, and, in both cases, their removal by weeding will be necessary to success.' This will serve for the farmer's view of the subject. These extraneous plants, which mingle with his crops, cost him large sums of money to keep them in check, and often through ignorance of their peculiarities he employs fancied methods of extirpation which are in truth rather modes of propagation.

Everybody is acquainted with the coltsfoot, the *Tussilago farfara* of the botanists, which the farmer considers the 'nastiest weed' he has to deal with. Who has not observed its golden stars as they dot the marly banks in the sunny days of March, each resting on a single stem and springing directly from the ground without a leaf to nestle in? Even while these stars are fully out, a closer look will show us some of the tribe in their infantile state, when they droop downwards so that the green flower-cup may act as a roof to protect the brood within. As the flower progresses the stalk elongates, and when the sun's rays are needed to expand it and mature its pollen, it becomes quite upright and fearlessly spreads its petals to catch the full stream of heat and light. No sooner has the flower performed its functions than the cup converges over the embryo seeds, and again the head assumes its primitive drooping condition. Thus it remains until the seeds are sufficiently advanced to require the sun to ripen them, when it once more stands erect and expands the flower-cup, and the cotton or down by which each individual seed is surmounted. This down acts as a tiny parachute to assist in wafting the ripened seed over the whole domain, furnishing at the same time an immense surplus for the neighbours, since each flower-head produces on an average 150 seeds. If this were all, we should still have a plant admirably endowed for its protection and propagation. But it has further resources. Where a seed once takes root, it sends out creeping underground stems which shoot up to the surface and form new branches, till in a few months a colony, measuring yards in circumference, will be established around the original point. This branching, however, does not take place until the flowering is past. Then it is that the leaves spring up, and with their broad surfaces completely take possession of the land. The farmer, who knows
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by sad experience the extent of the injury, yet waits till he sees the leaves in shape like the outline of a colt's foot, or rather we might say from the size the foot of a cart-horse, when the hoe is brought into play. The seeds have then become ripened, and either they fly away and sow themselves elsewhere, or the operation of hoeing buries them in the soil, which is nicely pulverized to assist their germination. In the mean while the parent plant has not been uprooted. Its shoots are merely cut off, and, multiplying at each excision like the hydra's head, it sends forth ten shoots for one. Weak as these may be, they are still sufficiently strong to form numerous distinct plants when the next ploughing cuts the whole up into sets, which the subsequent harrowings drag all over the field. This is the process we have seen repeated over and over again, notwithstanding the simple plan which a knowledge of the natural history of the coltsfoot points out for its destruction. Let the heads be cut off with the hoe the instant the flowers appear, and the seeding is prevented. The importance of this will be best understood from the following sum of the seed-producing powers of three roots of coltsfoot:—

One root, from near Cirencester, 12 flowers \times 150 seeds to each flower = 1800.

A root from an oolite soil, 20 flowers \times 150 seeds to each flower = 3000.

A root from lias marl, 150 flowers \times 150 seeds to each flower = 22,500.

There is another advantage in this early hoeing. It cripples the plant before the leaves—which are its lungs—have been developed; and if the thin and weak shoots it sends forth are again cut down, the pest will be well-nigh destroyed. Should any vitality still remain, the fork must be employed, and we must track the roots in their depth and length till we are sure that none are left to undergo subdivision and form fresh and ever-increasing centres. Whoever has been accustomed to follow the common method will soon find, if he adopts a more rational treatment, that coltsfoot is no longer the formidable enemy he has been wont to regard it.

As another instance of the utility of being acquainted with the habits of the wild plants which intermingle with our crops, we quote an article in the 'Agricultural Gazette,' from the pen of Professor Buckman:—

'The Crow Garlic (*Allium vineale*) is a liliaceous plant, the scape or flower-stem of which is as much as from two to three feet high, rising from a bulb which, especially in non-flowering examples, will be surrounded by from four to eight smaller bulbs or *bulblets*. The original

intention of the scape is to bear the flowers, after the manner of the garlic and onion of our garden; but it curiously happens that, instead of flowers, the scape is surmounted by from one to three compacted heads of minute bulbs, possessing the structure and characters of those at the base of the plant, and endowed with such a power of vitality as to be in most cases *viviparous*, that is, growing or sending out leaves before they fall from the parent stem. These are sometimes, but very rarely, mixed with flowers; and as they readily and singly separate from the parent as its stem becomes dry, they become scattered around, and take possession of the soil. Thus a whole colony in one season results from a single plant. The power of propagation it possesses may be gathered from three examples, collected during July, 1856:—

Example 1.	Bulbels on the flower-stem	..	..	219
"	2. ditto ditto	..	..	237
"	3. ditto ditto	..	..	264
				—
Total				.. 720
Example 1.	Bulblets to the root	..	..	3
"	2. ditto ditto	..	..	4
"	3. ditto ditto	..	..	5
				—
Total				.. 12
				—
Increase for three plants				.. 732

Here, then, we see that the crow garlic, if allowed to seed, has a prodigious method of increase, and we must recollect that its increase is not, like the majority of weed-plants, by seeds which are agreeable to birds and insects, by which means many much more productive plants are kept in check, but on the contrary, it would appear to be avoided by all classes of these creatures, whilst the bulbels themselves, which are seldom abortive, possess such wonderful powers of vitality that they may be kept, like onions or the ordinary flowering bulbs, for months, and perhaps even years, and still maintain their germinating power.

The farmer, who is not aware of the essential circumstance that the principal multiplication of the crow-garlic is through the bulbs, often, in his ignorance, allows a whole progeny of this pest to be matured. An acquaintance with botany in its application to weeding can be no unimportant acquisition when the cost of the operation upon arable land varies from 5s. to 20s. for each acre every year: a sum which almost amounts to a second rent, and which is probably heavier for low-rented lands than for those of higher value. When a farm gets out of order, weeds are not only an increased charge for years, but they sometimes take such strong hold that the cultivator is obliged to defer

defer many of his operations both in time of working and cropping, and the ground can hardly be said to be his own until he is enabled to get rid of the intruders which deprive him of the beneficial possession of the soil.

The examples we have adduced point to a conclusion which is seldom sufficiently heeded in practice—the importance of extirpating weeds in their infancy, not only to prevent the existing growth from drawing the nutriment from the earth, but also to hinder the rapid and often unsuspected multiplication from the parent plant. The old rural rhyme says that—

‘ One year’s seeding
Is seven years’ weeding.’

The truth of this maxim will be rendered more apparent by the following table, which gives the number of seeds produced in some of the commonest weeds which are met with in the fields or by the wayside. The catalogue is drawn up from several hundred observations made during the last five years over different parts of England, under the most varied conditions of geological formation and methods of farming.

TABLE OF THE FECUNDITY OF WEED-PLANTS.

Trivial Names.	Botanical Names.	Number of Seeds to a Single Plant.	When Gathered.
Black mustard	<i>Sinapis nigra</i>	8,000	Aug. 17
Charlock	<i>Sinapis arvensis</i>	4,000	Sept. 18
Shepherd's purse	<i>Capsella bursa-pastoris</i>	4,500	Sept. 9
Hedge mustard	<i>Sisymbrium officinale</i>	5,400	Oct. 13
Cow parsnip	<i>Heraclium spondylium</i>	5,000	Aug. 17
Fool's parsley	<i>Æthusa cynapium</i>	6,000	Aug. 17
Red bartsia	<i>Bartsia odontites</i>	4,800	Oct. 1
Dandelion	<i>Leontodon taraxacum</i>	2,040	Oct. 1
Hardhead scabious	<i>Centaurea scabiosa</i>	4,000	Sept. 10
Nipple wort	<i>Lapsana communis</i>	8,400	Sept. 23
Stinking chamomile	<i>Anthemis cotula</i>	40,650	Sept. 23
May weed	<i>Anthemis arvensis</i>	45,000	Oct. 14
Burdock	<i>Arcium lappa</i>	24,520	Oct. 1
Sow thistle	<i>Sonchus oleraceus</i>	19,000	Oct. 1
Groundsel	<i>Senecio vulgaris</i>	6,500	Sept. 10
Musk thistle	<i>Carduus nutans</i>	3,750	Oct. 13
Corn cockle	<i>Agrostemma githago</i>	2,940	Sept. 8
Common campion	<i>Lychnis dioica</i>	3,425	Oct. 1
Common dock	<i>Rumex</i>	13,640	Sept. 15
Red poppy	<i>Papaver rhæus</i>	50,000	Oct. 19

No one can fail to be astonished at the enormous fecundity of some of the commoner kinds of wild plants; and though it is well known that this increase is a wise provision for the continuance of the species, on account of the many accidents to

which seeds of all kinds are liable, yet there may be circumstances under which the greater part of them may develop new individuals. The pulverising of the soil and the subsequent harrowings are just the conditions which favour weed-seeds no less than the seeds of the crop that is being cultivated, with this advantage in favour of the tares, that they usually grow faster than the wheat. If weeding be deferred till the seed is matured, it gets scattered in the process, and as there is everything to assist its germination, we eradicate one plant and substitute thousands. The careful farmer must be ever watchful not to neglect a single root; and as the habits of weeds are so various, and as each has its season, so also the times and methods of their destruction must be varied accordingly. It is still, however, too much the custom to perform all operations according to the maxims of a traditional ignorance, which are often the more enduring from being embodied in jingling verse. Thus we have some rustic lines upon the nettle, which, crude as they are, have yet more rhyme than reason:—

‘If nettles be cut in April,
They appear in a little while;
If in May,
They peep out the next day;
If cut in June,
They reappear very soon;
If in July,
They’ll hardly die;
But if cut in August,
Die they must.’

Now it is quite true that the earlier cuttings have the effect described in this poetical receipt. The nettles reappear, though in a weak and attenuated form. After the August cutting it is equally true that they are seen no more; but it is solely because the heads would shortly have died of themselves. Though they make no fresh shoots during the brief remainder of the season, the roots retain their vitality, and the nettles will spring up as strong as ever the next year. To destroy them they must be cut not merely in August, but during all the months mentioned. Then their leaves are never permitted to perfect themselves, and the plant quickly perishes.

With many weeds the branches may appear in vigorous growth, and be still sending out new flowers at their ends, whilst the earlier flowers have ripened their seeds. This will appear from a table of six common weeds of this kind which were gathered in April 1856, in a field in the county of Gloucester, which had been partly horse-hoed:—

TABLE

TABLE OF THE RIPENING OF WEED-SEEDS.

Trivial Names.	Botanical Names.	Number of Flowers to each Plant.	Number of Seeds to each Flower.	Total of Seeds.	Of these last were Ripe in April.
Grey speedwell ..	<i>Veronica polita</i> ..	150	$\times 3 =$	450	150
Ivy-leaved speedwell ..	<i>Veronica hederifolia</i> ..	250	$\times 3 =$	750	250
Shepherd's purse ..	<i>Capsella bursa-pastoris</i> ..	150	$\times 30 =$	4,500	1,200
Hairy bitter cress ..	<i>Cardamine hirsuta</i> ..	150	$\times 25 =$	3,750	1,375
Chickweed ..	<i>Stellaria media</i> ..	500	$\times 10 =$	5,000	500
Groundsel ..	<i>Senecio vulgaris</i> ..	150	$\times 50 =$	7,500	2,500
				21,950	6,025

Here the very process of hoeing would be apt to scatter these 6025 seeds under the best possible circumstances to ensure their growth. Yet the farmer would commonly think such a hoeing abundantly early, and would certainly not dream that the 6025 seeds were the offspring of six plants alone. If the hoeing was deferred, or was not done at all, these six plants might produce the enormous sum of 21,950 seeds, which in the next season would be sufficient to take complete possession of the soil. In weeding, as in other things, delays are dangerous.

This is not the only way in which the agriculturist is a conservator instead of an exterminator of weeds. Professor Buckman in his Prize Essay mentions three other methods by which the farmer becomes his own weed-grower, and that very often on an enlarged scale:—1st, from the neglect of waysides and waste places; 2nd, from permitting weeds to be thrown on the manure-heap; and 3rd, from sowing weed-seeds with the seeds for the crop. That waysides and waste places are so many nurseries of weeds, all may observe who will only take the trouble to examine the parts of a farm which lie nearest to them. Thus a coltsfoot bank by the roadside will soon cause this pest to show itself in the neighbouring fields. Dandelions and thistles spread principally in the direction of the prevailing wind, and as they have downy seeds they take a wider range than those of other kinds; but it is surprising the distances that even ordinary seeds may be carried. The prejudicial effects of a neglected road are now so well recognised by all good farmers that they willingly undergo the expense of keeping it clean; and, as Professor Buckman suggests, it would be a boon to agriculture if road-surveyors were compelled to perform the same duty in the roads under their charge. The worst of the matter is, that one careless cultivator who neglects banks, ditches, and waste-corners, keeps up a supply of seeds which are disseminated over the

the adjoining lands. The occupiers are put to a serious and continuous expense in consequence. If it was only from justice to good tenants, landlords should exclude every weed-grower from a district. He is not only a bad farmer, but a bad neighbour also.

Professor Buckman says that a neglected manure-heap often produces enough weed-seeds to stock a farm. In an article in Morton's 'Cyclopædia of Agriculture' we have these just observations on the subject:—

'It is too much the custom to conceive that weeds, even in seed, may safely be added to swell the manure-heap, and hence they are frequently carried thereto in order that they may rot. Now, although they really do decay in this situation to a greater or less extent, yet it should be borne in mind that, even under the most favourable circumstances, much must escape decomposition; and though the herbage may decay, yet in most instances the seed is so curiously and beautifully contrived, with its firm envelopes, as to enable it to resist accidents which destroy all other parts of the plant. Who has not noticed on old dungheaps an enormous amount of rank vegetation? Here the seeds have vegetated, because they were near the surface, and were consequently exposed to the influence of the atmosphere; we turn it over and expose a fresh surface, and this also becomes covered with weeds; we spread it on the land and the same kind is propagated. Indeed all the crops to which we put manures are the foulest, and the inference, therefore, is plain that the manure-heap is a fertile source of weed propagation. The seeds get mixed with litter and refuse matter of all kinds, but more especially with farmyard-sweepings. The refuse of winnowing, for example, is given to the fowls, under the mistaken idea that they will digest all the seeds, and destroy them; those that they do not eat or digest are carried off to the dung-heap. It is, therefore, no wonder that weeding is ever doing, and yet has ever to be done. It cannot be too often repeated, that all weeds should be burned; their ashes make the best of manure; and tail and seed refuse should be crushed before it is used.'

In the summer of 1858 we observed in a blank spot, twelve yards long and three wide, where the turf had been removed for a former manure-heap, thirty species of the commoner weeds, not one of which was to be found in the surrounding turf. Amongst them were goosefoot, knot-grasses, dock, sow-thistles, poppies, thistles, and many of the smaller weeds, each of which would doubtless have been found spread over the field to which the manure was applied. We once saw a field of turnips which were perfectly white with the flowers of the stinking-chamomile, though not a specimen of it was to be seen in the neighbouring lands. The flowers were so regularly disposed that there could be no doubt but that the intruder had been brought in with the manure, and spread along with it over the ground. When it is remembered

remembered that a single plant may produce 40,650 seeds, we can have no difficulty in conceiving how an entire field may be thickly sown from a single manure-heap.

The third source of weeds is that they are sown with the seed for the crop. It has been demonstrated that almost every common article of sale is sophisticated by dishonest dealers. It was not, therefore, to be supposed that agricultural seeds would escape. The unsuspecting farmer long went on buying them with scarce a question as to their purity, notwithstanding that weeds were constantly seen to spring up in fields where they had been previously unknown. He is somewhat warier now, but both rogues and dupes are likely to exist as long as weeds themselves. All that is required for the detection of the fraud is a pair of sharp eyes, and the occasional aid of a lens, conjoined with some little patience to separate the trash which is often mixed with the seeds. A Leeds buyer of cloth is never without his pocket-microscope for the examination of the wares in which he deals; and though an old-fashioned farmer would stare at the notion of looking at a sample of seeds with what he calls a 'multiplying-glass,' he may become reconciled to the test when he reads in such lists as that which follows what noxious stuff he buys in the place of grass and clover, and observes how the original imposition inflicts upon him in its consequences an ever-multiplying injury :—

TABLE OF WEED-SEEDS TO THE BUSHEL OF THE FOLLOWING CROP-SEEDS.

Name.	Weed-seeds to the Bushel.	Remarks.
Italian rye-grass	204,800	} Imported seeds are usually dirtier than home grown.
Ditto imported	450,560	
Perennial rye-grass	245,360	
Ditto imported	433,080	
Mixed seeds, rye-grass and clovers	312,320	} Mixed seeds are generally very foul.
Ditto	537,600	
Meadow foxtail-grass	84,480	} Grass-seeds are usually mixed with weed-grasses, which weigh heavier than the genuine seed.
Cocksfoot	768,800	
Sheep's fescue	167,680	
Hard fescue	294,401	
Sweet vernal	102,400	
Crested dogstail	409,600	
Linseed	304,640	} Both for sowing and cake finds its way into the market in a very foul state.
Mean of six examples of cow-grass clover	401,066	
Ditto of red clover	728,333	} We have seen clover-seed in which half the weight was made up of weeds and bits of stone and dirt.
Ditto of Dutch clover	2,768,106	

It is no wonder that we should be told, in a paper read before the Croydon Farmers' Club, in 1847, by Mr. Wood, that 'Weeds are increasing rather than diminishing, and that thistles are much more numerous than they were.' Even if the seeds first sown do not, from some accidental cause, increase and multiply, the original growth will often be sufficient to stock the land. Take this table for an example :—

TABLE OF WEEDS SOWN WITH ORDINARY CROP-SEED.

Name.	Number of Weeds in a Pint Imperial.	Pints sown to an Acre.	Number of Weeds sown to an Acre.	Number of Weeds to a Square Yard.
Broad clover	7,840	× 13 =	100,920	21.
Ditto	8,400	× 13 =	109,200	22
Cow-grass clover	6,400	× 13 =	83,200	17
Ditto	12,000	× 13 =	156,000	32
White Dutch clover	26,500	× 12 =	318,720	66
Ditto	70,400	× 12 =	844,800	174

This is more than enough in most cases to crop the entire ground ; for a single individual of some of the weeds which are commonly met with in clovers would, if left alone, occupy several square feet of soil.

It must be admitted that such small plants as clovers are very difficult to keep free from weeds, and the process entails considerable expense. But instead of the care being proportioned to the need for it, it more frequently happens that a particularly dirty patch of mixed clovers and grasses will be put up for seed. Though so mongrel a growth would make bad hay, it may yield a heavier weight of seed than when pure. It is true that when offered for sale, the remark may be made that 'it is not very bright ;' but the answer, 'I don't ask a heavy price,' silences criticism ; and for the sake of saving a few pence per bushel in the first outlay, the buyer becomes a perpetual cultivator of weeds. Having paid for his enemies, and carefully sown them, he imagines on their coming up that they are *natural to the soil*.

The more deliberate adulterations are endless. We have found as many as 1,920,000 seeds of the heavy and easily-grown narrow-leaved plantain in a bushel of red-clover ; and 23,040 seeds of the false-burnet (*Poterium sanguisorba*) in a single bushel of saintfoin. The false-burnet grows so much faster than the saintfoin that it completely smothers it when in such enormous proportions. But perhaps the most gigantic fraud committed upon the farmer is one in which he is himself the agent. Every one knows the common *charlock*, *herlock*, or *kedlock* of our arable fields. It is a species

species of mustard—the *Sinapis arvensis* of the botanist—and is often so abundant as to render the fields a complete blaze of yellow. Its seeds are just the size of those of the turnip; for both belong to closely allied species, and it is difficult to distinguish one from the other. The charlock-seeds are separated from the corn in the process of winnowing; and as there is a ready market for this refuse, at from 2s. 6d. to 3s. the bushel, the farmer is only too glad to sell it. A portion of it is crushed and mixed with rape or linseed. The hot and stimulating mustard is a poison to the bullocks which are fed upon the mixture. It produces inflammation of the bowels, and many a fine head of cattle has been killed from its use. Several samples of both linseed and rape-cake, which had been attended by these fatal results, were subjected to the examination of Professor Voelcker of the Royal Agricultural Society, and in all of them the mustard was detected by its pungency. The transaction in this form is clearly not to the advantage of the farmer. But the greater part of this charlock is used for the adulteration of turnip-seed. It is previously subjected to a high temperature, which destroys its vitality, and prevents the suspicion which might arise if it came up in the rows when drilled. Still detection is easy; for if turnip-seed be bruised and mixed in water, the charlock will soon betray itself by emitting the pungent odour of mustard. In both instances the farmer has his weed returned upon his hands, in the one case at the expense of his fattening bullock, and in the other he buys back what he sold for a trifle at the rate of from 9d. to 1s. per lb. As it does not germinate when it is sown, an extravagant expenditure of seed becomes permanently necessary, to allow for the chance of much of it never coming up at all. Where the seeds are not killed the case is worse. An instance of this is given in the 'Agricultural Gazette' for Nov. 7, 1857, and many could add others from their own experience:—

'Some few years since we commenced the growth of flax. Our first crop introduced to the field a large growth of *Sinapis nigra*, or black mustard, a plant to which the field was before a stranger. The seed of this flax was afterwards sown in another part of the farm, thus introducing the black mustard in a new place in an aggravated degree. Afterwards some of the linseed was threshed at the farm buildings, and in various ways its weeds got to a manure-heap, which was traced to a field of beans. The black mustard occupied a large strip in the middle, the boundary lines circumscribing the growth of the weed. This is now the general charlock of the farm, it having nearly expelled the common *Sinapis arvensis*—a circumstance which we think partly accounted for by the greater fecundity of the former, for the *Sinapis arvensis* has only 4000 seeds to a plant, and the *Sinapis nigra* has 8000. The manner in which weeds are spread over some farms may be observed

observed in the increase of exotic species from the use of foreign seeds, a circumstance which accounts for the additions to our English flora within the last few years. However, these, as being wholly foreigners, seldom make rapid progress.

Not content with home-grown adulterations, a still further supply is imported from abroad. The following extract from the letter of a French dealer in London, addressed to the well-known seed establishment of the Messrs. Sutton, of Reading, will show how systematically this fraudulent trade is carried on:—

‘I have sold this day some India rape-seed for mixing with turnip-seed, and enclose a sample. If you will have some at 56s. per quarter, in the docks, you can have it, if unsold, to your answer. I have some East India radish-seed at 9s. per bushel. If you want some for mixing, I shall be very happy to serve you.’

India rape-seed at the price of turnip-seed leaves a tolerable margin for profit; and East India radish-seed to be re-sold at the garden price of 2*d.* the ounce is certainly a temptation to the dishonest dealer. The remedy is with the farmer. He should neither sell weed-seed nor buy it. There is little doubt that seeds can be got absolutely free from weeds if he will pay such a price as will remunerate the seed-grower, and it is with seed adulterations as with all other kinds of sophistications, that the balance is ever against the purchaser.

Trivial as the subject will appear to some, it is not only a question of private profit but of national importance. If all the weeds which occupy the place of plants that serve for the sustenance of man were in a single parish collected together, we should be astonished to perceive how great was the loss of food to the community at large. What the weed eats is so much taken from human subsistence, and the aggregate amount which is thus consumed is enormous. With the general improvement of agriculture farmers have become far more alive to the importance of keeping their land clean and preventing as much as possible the growth of weeds, instead of leaving them to overshadow the proper crop till they threaten to drive it from the field. But much still remains to be done before docks and thistles will be replaced by a proportionate quantity of bread and beef and beer, to the mutual advantage of the individual farmer and the population who enjoy abundance, or pine in scarcity, according to the increase which the earth is made to yield.

ART. VIII.—*The Orchard House.* By Thomas Rivers, of the Nurseries, Sawbridgeworth, Herts. *Fifth Edition.* London, 1858.

‘ORCHARD-HOUSES,’ says Mr. Rivers, ‘are now familiar things: hundreds are rising up all over the face of the country: no garden structures have ever so rapidly advanced in popularity.’ Mr. Rivers, who originated this excellent method of cultivating fruit-trees, naturally hears much of the extension of his plan, which leads him to imagine that it is more widely diffused than is really the case. By far the majority of educated people do not even know of the existence of the system, and we believe we shall do a service in calling their attention to it. Hitherto houses for fruit have been a luxury confined to the rich; and are only found in descriptions of aristocratic residences. Their enjoyment predicated ‘a first-rate’ gardener, and plenty of coals for the flues. The next step is the ‘well-stocked wall,’ and from thence we sink down into the ordinary garden fenced with paling or hedges. The out-of-door wall is very uncertain, and it is always doubtful, spite of nets, bunting, and other protectors, whether the spring frosts will not ruin the crop. Moreover, as the fruit only grows on the wood of the preceding year, much skill and some foresight are requisite to keep the walls covered with new shoots, so that they may be preserved for bearing blossoms in the following spring. Hence the mystery of pruning, a subject which is usually treated empirically, and is understood by few. Even at Montreuil, near Paris, where there are miles of low peach-walls, we have been told that almost every separate cultivator has his own scheme of pruning. On all these points orchard-houses possess a decided advantage. They are cheaper than forcing houses, are more certain in their produce than wall-trained fruit-trees, and owing to the greater simplicity of the pruning, an amateur who possesses Mr. Rivers’s guide may boldly undertake the management himself, or may depute it to any gardener of ordinary intelligence. To be sure, during the great spring frost of this year the orchard-houses did not always save the apricots, peaches, and pears from destruction, though where the precaution was adopted of throwing a mat over the glass, or of burning a pan of charcoal, or candles, in the house, the fruit was mostly saved. On the 1st of April the thermometer at Chiswick was 13 degrees below the freezing point, on the 18th it had dropped to 10 degrees. Such a combination of early hot weather, which brought everything unseasonably forward, with subsequent severe frost, is not likely to occur in half a century.

Sir Robert Peel had the sagacity to perceive the importance of
repealing

repealing the duty on glass. Without this happy and timely change, we should have had no Crystal Palaces, no grand railway station resembling that at Paddington, and, what is more to our present purpose, we should have had no cheap orchard-houses. Not only has the cost of the manufacture greatly diminished, so that what formerly cost shillings may be got for pence, but the quality is vastly improved. The gardener must always look back with interest to a measure which has been attended with such important results to his art. Mr. Ellis, in his Report on the Exhibition of 1851, states that during half a century prior to the removal of the duty, notwithstanding the augmentation of the population, there was actually a decrease in the quantity of glass manufactured. It has increased so much since, that our exports in glass, which in 1847 were under 300,000*l.*, amounted in 1857 to 659,000*l.* So great at the same time has been the advance in quality for common consumption, that *rolled-plate* is now largely used for hot-houses and conservatories. For this purpose, says M. Bontemps, in his Report on the Paris Exhibition of 1855, it possesses the advantage of not producing on the plants the effects of a burning-glass, which is sometimes the case with certain portions of sheet-glass.

The orchard-house is simply a 'glass-roofed shed.' It should have boarded sides about four or five feet high, and upon these sides rest a ridged glazed roof. It is essential that the house should be kept low, 'for the nearer the glass,' says Mr. Rivers, 'the finer the fruit.' A path runs down the middle, and on each side of it is a border composed of earth, manure, and any loose material, such as road-sand, or lime rubbish from old buildings, to keep the soil porous. The trees are grown in pots, and the pots are set on the borders. The roots pass through the hole at the bottom into the soil below, which furnishes additional nourishment to the plant during the growing season. In the autumn the roots which have passed through the pots are pruned away, and the growth of the plant is arrested. This has the effect of dwarfing the tree and inducing the production of fruit-bearing branches, instead of leafy luxuriant shoots. In former days it was considered to take nearly half a century to obtain a good crop of fruit from a pear, the old saying being—

*' Plant pears
For your heirs.'*

By the present process a pear may be made to produce fruit as quickly as an apple. The operation is assisted by grafting the faster-growing fruit on a slow-growing stock. Pears are grafted on quince stock, apples on the Paradise apple from the East.
These

These stocks make numerous surface fibrous roots, which, from their being more exposed to the influence of sun and air, induce a less rapid and more healthy growth than crabstocks, which strike root deeply in the ground.

The protection which the orchard-house affords the trees from the effects of the frost in spring is hardly more important than the protection it affords them from the wet in autumn and winter.

'The principal office of the root,' observes Dr. Lindley, 'is to attract food from the ground, and there is no period of the year when the roots become altogether inactive except when they are actually frozen. At all other times during the winter they are perpetually attracting food, and conveying it into the interior of the plant, where it is at that season stored up till it is required by the young shoots of the succeeding year. The whole tissue of a plant will thus become distended with fluid food by the return of spring, and the degree of distension will be in proportion to the mildness and length of the previous winter. As the new shoots of spring are vigorous or feeble in proportion to the quantity of food that may be prepared for them, it follows that the longer the period of rest from growth the more vigorous the vegetation of the plant will become when once renewed, if that period is not unnecessarily protracted.'

It is necessary, therefore, to stop the growth of the tree in the autumn to enable it to store up sap for the spring and summer campaign. For this purpose it must be sheltered from the rains, and then it is early put to rest. The additional heat afforded by the glass at the same time ripens the wood which has been already formed—an indispensable condition for its bearing in perfection.

The glass-roof of the common orchard-house is not made to slide or to open. Ventilation is effected by having one of the boards on each side hung upon a hinge. By letting down any or all of these boards a current of air is kept up. In the summer season this cannot be too abundant, and no fruit-tree will thrive without it.

'In the warmer parts of England,' says Mr. Rivers, 'I have heard of two or three failures in growing peaches and nectarines, owing entirely to the attacks of the red spider, brought on by the unskilful management of servants, calling themselves gardeners, who would persist in shutting up their houses at four o'clock in the afternoon in hot weather, and not opening them till nine in the morning. The poor trees were thus suffocated, and so enfeebled as not to be able to resist the attacks of this persevering enemy. Now, let me advise any one who has such a servant to open all the shutters about the first week in July, and have them nailed so that they cannot be closed. Thus they may remain till the 1st of September. The shutters should be open by day all through the spring and early summer months, and open night and day

day as soon as the peaches begin to colour, unless the house be in an exposed place and the weather cold and windy, when they should be only partially open.'

An orchard-house 30 feet long, 14 feet wide, 4 feet high at the sides, and 8 feet high to the ridge in the middle, costs 27*l.* 10*s.* 'This,' says Mr. Rivers, 'will hold from twenty-five to thirty trees. Thirty trees will give sixty dozen and upwards of fruit when in full bearing. A small bush of the Pitmaston orange nectarine, four years old, produced, one season, four dozen of fruit, and brought them all to perfection. Still this is too many, as some of the fruit were small.' Mr. Rivers lays great stress on the trees not being placed closer than three feet between stem and stem. If they are crowded or partially shaded, the fruit may be abundant, but the flavour will be poor.

A well-skilled horticulturist, who has built a house on a grander scale, gives the following account of it:—

'I am more than ever convinced of the superiority of fruit-houses, especially in this island (Ireland), over walls. I have adopted the opinion that glass and timber are cheaper than brick and stone, that is to say, that a given quantity of the superior fruits can be produced in a fruit-house, costing a less sum than walls producing the same quantity, even without taking into consideration the much greater certainty of crops from the trees being protected, but assuming the walls to give fair average crops. My new house is all timber and glass, with a triple span roof 84 feet long and 60 wide; the centre span $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot higher than the two side ones. In this centre division is a bed 19 feet wide, and here I have planted my pyramidal pears, most of which are now 10 feet high—splendid trees and full of bloom. They are 6 feet apart. Altogether there are 60 of these in the house, and about 100 peach, nectarine, plum, and apricot-trees. The effect is very beautiful, all being now in bloom; some of the pears are magnificent. The sides of the house are glazed down to the ground, the sashes being hung on central pivots and all readily opened. I have more light than I ever saw in any other house, and the ventilation appears all I could wish; and these I take to be two cardinal points for producing good fruit. I propose to grow vines to all the pillars inside—strawberries in the side borders—and I know not what else I may try, for I still have much room to spare. I am keeping an account of the temperature, to compare with that of the open air. In February the mean height was 3 degrees above the outside, and in March $5\frac{1}{2}$; and it will doubtless be greater during summer and autumn. One reason that induced me to erect so large a structure was an almost uniform want of success with the pears, for, although I took great care in protecting them when in bloom, yet late frosts almost always caused the fruit to drop, so that scarcely one tree in ten gave a fair crop. My house is handsome and well finished; indeed rather too well, for it has cost about 500*l.* There is a good deal of extra work, which might be saved, and I have little doubt the same-sized

same-sized building might be erected for 1s. 9d. per square foot of ground covered.'

Structures like these are as much for ornament and pleasure as for the cultivation of fruit. The dry air of a spacious orchard-house is most agreeable in the autumn, winter, and spring months for invalids. An hour's sunshine sends the thermometer up to 60. Early spring and winter blossoming shrubs may be introduced, but not evergreens, for to keep the latter in health they must be liberally watered, and this destroys the elasticity and dryness of the air which makes it so agreeable to breathe. Some plants of *Chimonanthus fragrans* in large pots will give their sweet flowers in January. *Jasminum nudiflorum* and *Forsythia viridissima*, although quite leafless when in bloom, have a gay appearance. The flowers are yellow. Those of the Tartarian Honeysuckle (*Lonicera Tartarica*) have white or bright red flowers, and show in the orchard-house in February. Banksian roses, the Mezereon, the early Dutch honeysuckle, and many other plants may be grown in pots and will bloom freely from January to March, with only a very small quantity of water. In the latter month the apricots commence to bloom, followed by peaches and nectarines, and these for many weeks make the orchard-house all that can be wished for as a promenade. The late Lord Braybrooke in his declining health found it one of the most agreeable and beneficial places of exercise. In such dry and sunny counties as Surrey and Hampshire orchard-house Sanatoriums will one day be formed, and a fine dry air will be secured, more healthy and grateful than can be found in continental Europe—the air of Nice without its cutting winds. Such places should be built on the southern side of a hill, as appendages to lodging-houses for invalids; but they should not be too large, or they will be difficult to ventilate thoroughly in warm weather.

The number of trees which can be grown in an orchard-house as compared with what are grown against a garden-wall allows a larger range of early and late kinds, and materially extends the season for peaches. This may be further prolonged by taking the pots from the house before the fruit is quite ripe and putting them out of doors in a sheltered spot. It is the same with apricots:—

'That very fine sort, the Peach-Apricot, generally ripens in the orchard-house about the first week in August, but by a simple method it may be had in perfection till the middle of October. The end of June some trees full of fruit should be selected, and those that are to be very late should be placed under a north wall till the first week in September, and then removed to the orchard-house to ripen their fruit. Those that

that are to ripen in September should be placed in a sunny exposed place till the end of August, and then be removed to the orchard-house. The fruit from those trees that are much retarded will not always prove good, unless the weather be fine and warm; but that from trees set out of doors in a sunny place and then ripened in the house will be most excellent. Half-standard apricots may be made charming ornamental trees for the summer decoration of the flower garden; for this purpose trees with nice straight stems about three feet in height should be selected, and planted in pots or tubs. They should be grown in the orchard-house, and about the middle of July be removed to the lawn or any part of the garden where such trees would be desirable. They can be pruned into round heads and employed for summer ornaments just as orange trees are in many gardens: they will be found equally ornamental and more useful, because their fruit is valuable. They will come in nearly at the same season as those on walls; for it must be understood that fruits in thoroughly ventilated orchard-houses are not much forwarded unless the season happens to be very sunny. It is not an *early* but a *certain* crop that must be expected. I have not named in my list any later kind than the Peach-Apricot because it is so easily retarded and is always of the highest excellence; it is also the most abundant bearer of all.'—*Rivers's Orchard-House*, p. 32.

Mr. Rivers occasionally grows his trees in the form of a single stem from three to five feet high; this he terms 'cordon verticale,' or cylindrical growth. As the plants are pruned very close, they may be set only two feet apart, and a small house twenty-four feet long and fourteen feet wide, with a path of two feet in the middle, will well hold seventy-two trees. We have lately seen some which were trained in this manner bearing a full crop from the top to the bottom.

There is some doubt whether the fruit produced in the orchard-house has as good a flavour as that grown against walls. As regards pears, we think that the flavour is at least equal to the very best which are matured out of doors. As regards peaches and nectarines, the flavour of some of the early varieties of fruit against a south wall in a fine season may *perhaps* be superior; but in cases of supposed inferiority it is still probable that the fault may rest with the cultivator, and not be inherent in the mode of cultivation. Overcrowding, deficient ventilation, or too large a crop, all deteriorate the quality of the fruit. It is notorious that when a crop is excessive, the flavour is weakened in the same proportion. Mr. Rivers has always found the fruit of the orchard-house delicious when the conditions necessary to success had been complied with, and our experience coincides with his.

Mr. Rivers has a chapter on tropical orchard-houses, showing how delightful it would be to grow varieties of tropical fruits, such as the Mangosteen, the Chérimoya (a fruit represented as spiritualised

spiritualised strawberries and cream), the Lee Chee, the Grenadilla Mango, dwarf plantain, &c. All this may be very delightful; but the indulgence in such luxuries requires, in addition to the superintendence of a skilled gardener, a considerable outlay for the house, the heating apparatus, and coals to supply the artificial sun. The orchard-house proper is a luxury 'for the million.' From actual experience we have found it even less costly than it is represented in the estimates of Mr. Rivers. An orchard-house capable of containing 50 trees may be built for under 30*l.*, and one sufficient for 100 trees for 60*l.* We have more than once heard of failures, but, on inquiry, we have invariably found the causes to be either prejudice on the part of the gardener against the admission of any novelty, or the departure from some essential rule of management. One half the care bestowed on an orchard-house which is shown in the cultivation of the cucumber or melon will ensure an ample crop of fine fruit to any one who makes the experiment.

For the details of pruning and cultivation we refer to the valuable little work of Mr. Rivers. He was originally led to publish it that he might devote the profits to the restoration of his parish church, which 'was in a fearfully dilapidated state.' The pious feeling which prompted the action is visible in the charming conclusion of his book, in which he points out the advantages and pleasures which he has himself derived from the orchard-house:—'Each bud, leaf, and blossom, is brought close under the eye of the cultivator. All the minute and beautiful operations of Nature can be closely watched in a genial climate. The silvery covering of the peach's blossom-bud, the beauty of its fully-developed flowers (how fresh and happy they always look!), the anthers shedding their pollen, the germs gently swelling, the downy, ruddy, luscious-looking coat of its charming fruit,—are all calculated to give pleasure to the healthful, cheerful mind; for the varied works of Nature's laboratory are brought near to the eye, near to the mind, near to the heart, which is instinctively lifted in thankfulness to the Giver of all such good and beautiful things.'

ART. IX.—1. *A Bill to extend the Right of Voting for Members of Parliament, and to amend the Laws relating to the Representation of the People in Parliament.* Prepared and brought in by Lord John Russell, Sir George Grey, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir Charles Wood), and ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 12th February, 1852.

2. *A Bill further to amend the Law relating to the Representation*
Vol. 106.—No. 212. 2 N of

- of the People in England and Wales.* Prepared and brought in by Lord John Russell and Sir James Graham, and ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 16th February, 1854.
3. *A Bill to amend the Laws relating to the Representation of the People in England and Wales, and to facilitate the Registration and Voting of Electors.* Prepared and brought in by the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Disraeli), Lord Stanley, and General Peel, and ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 28th February, 1859.
4. *Information for Reformers respecting the Cities and Boroughs of the United Kingdom, Classified according to the Schedules of the Reform Bill proposed by John Bright, Esq., M.P.* Prepared, at the request of the London Parliamentary Committee, and also showing the Results of the Government Reform Bill, by Duncan Mc Cluer.

IN his speech at Aberdeen, Lord John Russell assigned it as a reason for discussing the principles upon which a Reform Bill should be framed, that we were now in the autumnal time, free from the heat of the House of Commons' debates. It is, indeed, most desirable that the public should arrive at some definite conclusions upon this momentous question, and not leave it to be settled according to the accidental combinations and interests which may sway the House of Commons at the moment. If the good sense of the country is brought to bear upon the subject, we have no fear of the result. The danger is in the apathy which abandons legislation upon this vital topic to a few hundred persons, who will act according to their particular predilections and interests without any effectual control from the community. We cannot but think that the mere fact, that three such bills as those mentioned at the head of this article have been brought into Parliament, by three different Administrations, within the short period of nine years, should furnish food for grave and serious reflection. Nor will the gravity and seriousness of that reflection be at all diminished, rather, we should say, it will be immensely increased, by a careful consideration of the fourth document—the Information for Reformers—published under the authority of Mr. Bright.

A quarter of a century has scarcely passed away since the Reform Bill of 1832 became the law of the land. According to the opinions of those who framed it, the measure was both decisive and extensive in its character; more decisive and more extensive than it otherwise would have been, in order that it might rest, so far at least as its principles were concerned, on something like a permanent foundation. Lord Althorp, as the leader of the Government

Government in the House of Commons, observed that, 'He had every reason to hope, from the satisfaction it had already given, that the change that they had proposed would be permanent ;'* and he added on another occasion :—

'It appears to me that the good sense of the people of England will be satisfied when they see that the crying evil of the present system will be then got rid of, and that they will have their proper influence in the representation of the country. *I am sure that the people of this country are not so fickle as to give reason to apprehend that when they have no practical evil to complain of, they will still wish for change, for the sake of change itself.* It has been truly said that what this country requires is quiet, and a cessation from anxiety and agitation ; and I consider this Bill as the most effectual means for attaining that object.†

During the discussions which followed in the House of Lords, Lord Grey remarked :—

'It has been said that a measure of a more contracted nature than this would have satisfied the people. I doubt whether, in such a state of things, this could have been reasonably expected. It seemed to me that permanent contentment could only be produced by a decisive and extensive measure ; and the object which the King's Government had in view was to produce such a settlement of this long-agitated question as might prevent its being brought into renewed discussion in those seasons of distress and difficulty when experience has shown that it has constantly revived, calling into action all the elements of political division and discontent. *It surely was desirable, if this question was to be entered into at all, it should be done in such a manner as to afford a hope that it might be effectually and permanently adjusted.*'

These opinions, thus strongly expressed, were the declarations of statesmen who had the good of their country at heart. They knew full well that this was the *first* and *only* time in the history of this country when an attempt was made to remodel and define our representative system by statutory enactment. They believed that the real justification for such an attempt was the existence of defects or the growth of abuses, clearly acknowledged and practically felt, which could only be remedied by actual legislation. They proceeded—as our forefathers have always proceeded—not by theorizing on the best form of government, but by making that which they thankfully enjoyed suitable to the wants and wishes of the community. Therefore they concluded, most wisely and most justly, that when they were dealing with a prescriptive Constitution, the grafting into it of any new and untried project must always be uncertain and often dangerous ; that the policy of England has ever been to observe

* Parliamentary Debate, Sept. 21, 1831.

† Ibid., March 19, 1832.

whether a practical evil exists, and, having applied a practical, not a fanciful remedy, to discourage that morbid and restless desire for change which indicates a state of feverish excitement rather than a sound and healthy condition. The declarations made by, Lord Althorp and Earl Grey were plainly the result of some such reasoning as this; and, if they were alive, they would probably consider that the reopening of the question of Parliamentary Reform, except so far as it may at any time be necessary to redress some practical grievance, would be little less than a severe reflection on their want of foresight or their want of honesty: their want of foresight in not being able to frame a measure which would last beyond a quarter of a century—their want of honesty in not avowing the whole of their intentions, or not abiding by them when they were avowed. In saying this, we do no more than repeat what Lord John Russell has himself urged: for in his memorable Letter to the electors of Stroud, he announced to the country his mature conviction that if, after the declaration made by the heads of Lord Grey's Cabinet, any member of it were to propose to begin the whole question anew, the obvious remark would be, 'You have either so egregiously deceived us that we cannot trust to your public engagements, or you have so blindly deceived yourselves that we cannot believe in the solidity of your new scheme.' *

We refer to these facts not with the view of throwing out taunts or casting reproaches, but to recall to the recollection of our present statesmen the leading principles upon which alone they can venture to touch our representative system with prudence. There is need of this caution. With three Bills proposed by three different Administrations within the last decade—that is to say, from 1850 to 1860; with the prospect of a fourth from a fourth Administration before that decade is brought to a close; with various schemes propounded by others, especially those of Mr. Roebuck and Mr. Bright; with different principles embodied in each of them, some of which are positively at variance with, and some of which are altogether unknown to, the Constitution, not merely in its practice, but also in its theory; and with no demand for what is called Reform, which has yet assumed a tangible shape from any large section of the intelligent part of the community, we own we feel not a little apprehensive lest we should soon arrive at that state which Sir James Graham once described as the very worst in which Parliament could find itself—the state where everybody says that something must be done, but nobody knows what that something is to be. The fact

* See the Letter, p. 27.

is, that the moment Parliament shall really find itself in that condition, it can only be likened to those 'unhappy persons who live, if they can be said to live, in the statical chair—who are ever feeling their pulse, and who do not judge of health by the aptitude of the body to perform its functions, but by their ideas of what ought to be the true balance between the several secretions.'*

The healthy action, however, of the body politic, like the healthy action of the natural body, is not kept in order by such quackery as this. Our history is a remarkable one; and there is nothing for which it is more remarkable, than for the sound judgment and the resolute good sense with which the nation, as a whole, has always set to work to remove or to cure any positive malady that might disturb its functions. At the same time, it has never troubled itself with imaginary evils, nor sought to make itself speculatively better, when the result would probably only be to make itself practically worse. From the earliest times down to the present—from our Saxon institutions to the Great Charter, from the Great Charter to the Reformation, from the Reformation to the Revolution, from the Revolution to the Act of Settlement, from the Act of Settlement to the Reform Act—the two most significant features in our political annals unquestionably are—first, that whenever a movement has been made for the purpose of demanding a change in the laws, or, at least, in the administration of them, that movement has always been directed against some palpable wrong, some tangible grievance, some proved abuse; and secondly, that the demand for which this movement was commenced has always been urged in a Conservative spirit. So much has this been the case, that it has generally been confined to a declaration of rights which have been called in question, or to a restoration of rights which have been abused, or to an extension of right which, owing to new and accidental circumstances, a part of the community have ceased to enjoy. The plain reason for all this is that the constitution of England is a prescriptive constitution which has grown up with us, and adapted itself to our wants and wishes. It is not a constitution which has been made by Parliamentary enactment. It is not the creature of positive law, and never ought to be. It is based on long, constant, immemorial usage, which implies the choice, not of one day or of one set of people, but the choice of a nation; the deliberate choice of successive ages founded on reason, justified by experience, and confirmed by enjoyment. Any attempt to alter what may be called its

* Burke.

primary and most essential characteristic would be fatal to its freedom as well as to its power. Experience, not experiment, has hitherto been our guide. May it never be said, by those at least who profess to be our rulers, that experiment, not experience, is hereafter to be our motto.

And yet there is some danger lest this should happen. In these days the House of Commons is too much regarded as a mere machine for making laws; whereas its original and principal functions were rather to see that the laws were observed than that the laws are changed; that is to say, to provide by means of the existing Institutions that the rights of the people should be steadily maintained, their interests protected, and their grievances redressed. As incident to these functions the House of Commons is a Legislative as well as a Representative body. But even the statutes which it makes in that character may be chiefly considered as the declaration of laws already existing when their requirements have been invaded, the expansion of those laws where the judicial power without the interposition of a higher authority would hesitate to extend them, and the adaptation of those laws to all the new wants and exigencies of society. It will generally be found that the correction of our laws has been confined to the instances in which the principles upon which they are established have either been perverted or misapplied. If any one will take the trouble to examine the huge volumes of Statutes which are issued yearly under the authority of Parliament he will soon discover that, with the exception of those Acts which empower the Crown to carry on the government of the country (and which cannot be passed until the House of Commons has had the opportunity of seeing that the wants of the people are attended to, and their grievances are redressed), the remainder are almost if not altogether employed in dealing with former Acts. The policy of this country ought clearly to be what it always has been in the best periods of our history, which is to look upon our institutions 'as the subjects of prudent and honest use, and thankful enjoyment, and not of captious criticism and rash experiment.' We should be slow to legislate until the necessity for it is clearly made out; and as soon as that necessity is established, we should be wise and circumspect in adapting the remedy to the malady to be cured.

There are very few occasions in which Parliament has thought it necessary to touch the constitution of the House of Commons; none whatever, until the Reform Act, in which it has been attempted on a large scale to remodel and define our representative system. On all such occasions there was almost invariably a substantial ground of complaint with reference to
which

which some legislative action was required. On all such occasions also the Parliament acted, or at least professed to act, on the acknowledged principles of the Constitution. On none did it hunt after new experiments, such as dividing the country into electoral districts—apportioning the representatives among the constituencies according to mathematical or arithmetical calculations—basing the franchise on a personal right, or assuming that every one should be personally represented. What Parliament insisted on, was that its proceedings should not be unduly interrupted by the authority of the Crown; that the existence of the House of Commons should not be prolonged so as to make it independent of public opinion; that all classes and all interests should there have a voice; that as new classes and new interests sprang up, the same privileges should be conferred on them which had been enjoyed by others; that the preferable way of accomplishing this object was to have recourse to known communities which possess something like a common tie, rather than to the mere aggregation of numbers which have nothing to connect and bind them together; and that thus, by removing proved abuses or by supplying ascertained defects, 'the representative body should be the image of the represented,' not in the sense of making it the mere mirror of popular clamour, passion, or caprice, but in the sense that it should be an 'assembly united with the people by the closest sympathies.'* The design was that it should reflect not indeed every misty cloud that may pass over its disk, but the clear judgment and the matured opinions, the property and the industry, the virtues and the intelligence, of a free community.

Let us recall to our recollection for a few moments the only occasions in which Parliament has substantially interfered as regards its own functions or composition, and let us see how carefully it has adapted its remedies to the actual disorder or to the country's wants.

In the first place, when encroachments had been made by Edward I. for obtaining the 'aids, tasks, and prises given to him aforetime for his wars and other business,' Parliament felt that it was necessary to prevent such encroachments from growing into a custom or 'bondage' to the people. Wherefore, in his celebrated confirmation of the Charter, which he made in the 21st year of his reign, he granted for himself and for his heirs 'that for no business from thenceforth would they take such aids, tasks, and prises, but *by the common consent of all the realm and for the common profit thereof*,' saving the ancient

* Mr. Pitt's phrase.

aids and prises due and accustomed. This was simply a declaration of rights coeval with the Constitution.

In the next place, when the proceedings of Parliament were inconveniently interrupted by the neglect of the Crown to convene the two Houses, it was enacted first in the reign of Edward II.,* that 'forasmuch as many people be aggrieved by the King's ministers against right, in respect of which grievance no one can recover without a common Parliament,' and secondly, in the reign of Edward III.,† that 'for the redress of divers mischiefs and inconveniences which *daily* happened,' Parliament should be holden every year once, and 'oftener, if need be.' This was simply the taking security against an actual abuse. It required that Parliaments should be frequently held, not that the House of Commons should be frequently chosen.

The next instance is a very remarkable one, for it is the only case in which Parliament has put a limit on the County franchise. Down to the year A.D. 1429, the elections for counties were made *in pleno comitatu*, that is to say, in the presence and with the concurrence of all men of free condition who owed suit and service in the County Court.‡ But vast confusion is said to have occurred: for it was found, according to the recital in the 8 Hen. VI., c. 27, that the elections were made by very great, outrageous, and excessive number of people, of which the most part was of small substance or of no value, whereby manslaughter, riots, batteries, and divisions among the gentlemen and other people of the same county were very likely to arise. Therefore it was enacted § that the knights of the shire should be chosen by people dwelling and resident in the same counties, whereof every one of them shall have free land or tenement, to the value of forty shillings by the year at the least, above all charges.

There is no other example of any importance in which Parliament interfered by legislative acts with reference to itself until we arrive at the end of the reign of Charles I. The old statute of Edward III. had fallen into desuetude during the wars of the Roses, and it had not been acted upon in the reign of the Tudors. There were long intermissions in the meetings of Parliament; 'the mischiefs and inconveniences' which had been apprehended 'daily happened.' Wherefore, in the reign of Charles I., provision was made for convening Parliament at least once in every three years; and though that statute was

* 5 Edward II. c. 29.

† 4 Edward III. c. 14.

‡ This has been sometimes doubted, but see Hallam's 'Middle Ages,' vol. iii., pp. 22, 29. The better opinion is that stated in the text.

§ 8 Henry VI. c. 7.

repealed after the Restoration at the special request of the King, yet, in the great declaration of our rights, it was specified as one that, 'for the redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the laws, Parliament ought to be held frequently.'

The next occasion on which Parliament legislated with respect to itself was to limit the duration of its own existence. When once chosen under any king's writs, it was in reality chosen for the life of that king, unless he should think fit to put an end to it by dissolution. One Parliament had been convened for eleven years in the reign of Elizabeth, another for seventeen years in the reign of Charles II. This evil was strongly felt, for the representatives were placed by the security of a long but still uncertain tenure beyond the reach of that public opinion which alone could control it, and within the influence of the only power upon which it depended for its vital breath. Hence it was that the Triennial Bill became the law of the land in 1694; but it was soon found that the shortness of the period increased the animosity and expenses of elections, and weakened the authority of Parliament itself. There was imminent danger, too, at a particular crisis of our history, that the ordinary Triennial dissolution would be taken advantage of by the adherents of the Pretender to throw the country into confusion, and endanger at once our English constitution and our Protestant faith. Therefore the Septennial Act was passed. According to the opinion of Mr. Speaker Onslow (no mean judge in such matters as these), 'The passing of the Septennial Bill formed the era of the emancipation of the House of Commons from dependence on the Crown and the House of Lords.'

The next instance in which Parliament interfered with reference to the condition of its members, was to introduce what may be called a novelty in the Constitution—the requirement that the English representatives should possess an estate of specified value. It is true, indeed, that, in the encroaching times of Henry V. and Henry VI., residence, property, and gentle birth were attempted to be made the conditions for membership, at least in the counties. But the feeling of the country was so much opposed to this kind of restriction, that it does not appear to have ever been acted on; and with regard to one of those statutes, it was judicially determined,* in 1681, that 'little regard was to be had to it, because the common practice of the kingdom had been ever since to the contrary.' In the 9th of Queen Anne, however, under the pretence of 'securing the freedom of Parliament,' and the

* Onslow v. Ripley, King's Bench.

independence of its members, but really for the purpose of checking the efforts of the commercial classes to raise themselves into an equality with the territorial aristocracy,* a landed qualification of 600*l.* a-year in counties, and 300*l.* a-year in boroughs, was for the first time required. A qualification arising out of personal property,† as well as a qualification out of landed estates, was afterwards allowed, but both were repealed, and the old law was restored in 1858.

These are the only important instances in which Parliament has interfered by legislative action, either as regards its own functions or composition, up to the time of the Reform Act. And what is the inference to be drawn from this? Is it not that our Government, as a Representative Government, was complete in its theory from its very inception, and that all our efforts have been always directed to make the practice and the theory accord? This completeness it owed to the fact that the Constitution was a prescriptive Constitution, and had grown out of 'the peculiar circumstances, occasions, tempers, dispositions, and moral, civil, and social habitudes of the people, which declare themselves only in a long space of time. It was a vestment which had accommodated itself to the body.' Such is the language of Edmund Burke. We doubt much whether a vestment taken from any other country, even from our Anglo-Saxon brethren on the other side of the Atlantic, would be so well suited to the English frame, or the peculiar requirements of our political atmosphere. Let them enjoy their institutions, while we enjoy ours. The best parts of their laws they derive from ourselves, and where they deviate we question the improvement.

But when we say that the English Constitution was complete in its inception, and that this was owing to the fortunate circumstance that it was a prescriptive, and not a written Constitution, and that it is, therefore, a vestment which has accommodated itself to the principal requirements of the body politic, we are aware that we are entering more or less into the field of controversy. The controversy, however, is not so much with those great Statesmen who, in all the improvements made in our laws, have endeavoured to keep up a connexion with the past, by basing alterations on former experience and traditional associations, as with that new party which is fond of going to the other side of the Atlantic for their notions of Government and Representative Institutions. By exaggerating the faults and depreciating the advantages of everything they possess, and by magnifying the *m* and glossing over the defects of that

* See Hallam

† 1 and 2 Vict. c. 48.

which

which they only see at a distance, they draw a comparison to the detriment of the one, and in favour of the other. And yet this new party is too often confounded with those from whom we are entitled to look for better things, merely because they happen to sit on the same side of the House, and assume for themselves the common name of Liberals. The difference, however, between those who call themselves by that name is really enormous. Mr. Disraeli, with great justice, described the House of Commons as now made up of two classes of Reformers. The one, he said, consisted of those who would adapt the Constitution of 1832 to the England of 1859, and would act in the spirit and according to the genius of the existing Institutions. The 'other considered that the chief, if not the sole object of representation was to realize the opinion of the majority.' Their standard, he added, is population. It is necessary to keep this distinction in mind; for it would be absurd to include and confound two classes of politicians in the same category, merely because they choose to adopt a common name, and appear to unfurl a common banner.

Whatever may have been our opinion of the Reform Act at the time it was proposed, one thing is certain, that the authors of that measure supposed they were acting according to the acknowledged principles of the Constitution. This was the view of the old class of reformers. Whether they were justified in that supposition by the measure itself, or whether they succeeded in settling the question of parliamentary reform, either permanently or satisfactorily, we still take leave to doubt. But we cannot deny to them the high merit of avowing, boldly and distinctly, the only sound principles upon which they could act; nor shall we be slow to give them credit for the manner in which, by adhering to those principles, they endeavoured to make the practice of our Constitution accord better with its original theory. Undoubtedly owing to time and accidents the constitution of the House of Commons had declined from its original foundation, and therefore it demanded both propping and repair. In the first place, according to the true theory upon which the Constitution was framed, every part of the country with a definite community of interest was entitled to be heard in the great council of the nation; and in the second place, every person of free condition who contributed directly either to the burdens of the State, or to those of the place in which he dwelt, was entitled to have a voice in choosing the Member whom he wished to represent him. There can hardly be a question that this was the fact; for as soon as Parliament assumed its present shape the writs of the Crown required two knights to be returned
for

for each county or shire, and two burgesses for every city or borough within the same. There was therefore, at that time, no part of the country which had a known community of interests without its representative. At the same time also there was no man of free condition without his vote, if he contributed any thing to the direct burdens either of the State or of the place in which he dwelt. In the counties the knights were elected down to the reign of Henry VI. by all the freeholders who did suit and service in the county courts, without regard to their holding by military or soccage tenure, and without reference to their being or not being immediate tenants of the Crown.* In the towns and boroughs not only did the freeholder, the burgage tenant, and the member of the corporation possess the electoral franchise, but every person who became a resident householder in a borough, and was capable of paying scot (*i. e.* his share of local taxation), and of bearing lot (*i. e.* of discharging in turn the local offices),† was sworn and enrolled at the borough leet and became a burgess. In both these respects the original building had swerved from its perpendicular.

With respect to the places entitled to representation, the sheriffs, either from negligence or partiality, had omitted towns that had previously received writs; and the Crown, out of gratitude for services rendered, or to obtain dependants in the House of Commons, created new boroughs without regard to their wealth or importance. The first of these evils ceased with the Tudors; for none of the cities and towns which returned members at the accession of Henry VIII. intermitted their privilege down to 1832; and in the reigns of James and Charles I. thirty-six places which had lost their privilege had the right restored to them. But the second evil had greatly increased by an undue addition to the smaller boroughs, while no counter-acting remedy was offered by any attempt to include the larger towns. From the reign of Henry VIII. to the accession of Charles I. the House of Commons received an addition of 156 members. In Cornwall alone twelve members were added by Edward VI., four by Mary, and ten by Elizabeth. The last occasion on which the Crown thus exerted its prerogative was in the reign of Charles II. Had it only been possible to renew its exercise by depriving those places which had fallen into decay of the right to return members, while it transferred that right to the flourishing communities which had since sprung up, the reason alleged for a great portion of the Reform Act would never have arisen.

* See Creasy's little work on the 'Rise and Progress of the Constitution,' p. 193.

† Creasy, p. 261.

Next as to the franchise. If other kinds of property (besides the freehold) which was the subject of local as well as imperial taxation, had not been subsequently brought into existence, the county franchise might reasonably have rested on its original basis. But that was not so. Copyholders and leaseholders had acquired substantial rights of property which were not recognised or even known in the earlier periods of our history. In the cities, towns, and boroughs, the corporations themselves, as well as the Crown, had made encroachments on the electoral franchise by limiting it in such a manner as to answer better their own ends than the public good. The corporations, acting by their corporate seal, and as an aggregate body, monopolized authority wherever they could, retained that authority among a small number of persons, and exercised the power of selecting burgesses from those who were non-residents, often to the exclusion of the great body of the inhabitants who had property in the place. The Crown at the same time began to grant Charters of Incorporation, with clauses* which gave exclusive powers to certain officers or to certain select bodies. Thus the electoral as well as the municipal system had widely declined in most of our boroughs from its original state; and it cannot be doubted that the restoration of its primitive characteristics, at the time of the Reform Act, was one of the main objects contemplated by its authors. This is clear, both from the preamble of the Statute, and from the language which the King himself was recommended to use in his speech from the throne.

Now, however much politicians or parties may be inclined to differ with reference to the Act, either as regards its necessity or expediency, or as regards the particular mode in which the intentions of its authors were reduced into practice, no one can entertain a moment's doubt as to what their objects were, nor can he disapprove of the avowed principles upon which it was sought to carry them into effect. There was a practical grievance and an actual injustice. The practical grievance was the non-representation of those large manufacturing and commercial towns, which had grown into a mighty existence since the Crown had exercised the power of creating any new boroughs. The actual injustice was the exclusion of many persons from the exercise of the franchise who by their position, intelligence, and independence were justly entitled to it; and this wrong was occasioned either by the encroachments made through the close corporations and Royal Charters, or by the omission to extend the privilege to those new kinds of property which had become as important in the

* See Creasy, p. 263.

course of time as the original freehold. To remedy the practical grievance forty-two new boroughs were created, twenty-two of which return two members and ten return one member each, including in the country at large such places as Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, Sheffield, Sunderland, Wolverhampton, Devonport, Bolton, Bradford, Blackburn, Halifax, Stroud, Macclesfield, Oldham, Stockport, Stoke-upon-Trent, Ashton-under-Lyne, Bury, Dudley, Frome, Gateshead, Huddersfield, Whitehaven, Whitby; and in the metropolis and its adjacent districts Marylebone, Lambeth, Finsbury, Greenwich, and the Tower Hamlets. In addition to this, and partly as a counterpoise to the large influence which was thus acquired by the town constituencies, the county members were increased from 95 to 159. To remedy the actual injustice, copyholders and leaseholders, with specified interests, were admitted for the first time to the county franchise, while the occupation of a house and premises of 10*l.* annual value, with other conditions as to registry, residence, and the payment of rates and assessed taxes, was made to constitute the main foundation upon which the borough franchise has since rested.

It can hardly be denied, in point of principle, that this was a restoration rather than an alteration of our representative system. But, without renewing those fierce controversies which naturally took place in the discussion of such a measure, it may be questioned whether this principle was carried into operation in the manner which was best calculated to bring the theory and practice of the Constitution into harmony with each other. It may be questioned, for example, whether it would not have been wiser, both in the creation of new, and in the extension of the area of the old boroughs, to make them identical with some distinct community of interest; so that their members should have been the representatives of known societies, where the inhabitants were bound and connected together by something like a common tie, instead of being what they are now in too many instances—the representatives of a population rather than the representatives of a people. Had this been done, we should not have heard that nonsense talked at public meetings which ignorantly assumes that the mere aggregation of numbers is the people, or that the people is the particular assemblage which the orator addresses, or that the people can mean anything else than the whole collective body of the nation in its fullest sense, or, in its more limited sense, those communities within the nation which are allied to each other by an agreement of laws or a communion of interests. ‘*Res publica—res populi. Populus autem non omnis hominum cœtus quoquo modo congregatus, sed cœtus multitudinis, juris consensu atque utilitatis communione sociatus.*’

sociatus.* In this sense, but in no other, can we justly talk of the people of England—the people of Huddersfield, the people of Manchester, the people of Yorkshire, or the people of Kent. It may also be questioned whether it would not have been wiser, in settling the franchise, to place it on a foundation more certain, more varied, and, we will add, more durable than a 10*l.* occupation value. For what is a 10*l.* occupation value? It represents a totally different class of persons in different parts of the country. It is one thing in one place, and another thing in another. It furnishes no reason why one man should have a vote when he is just able to reach the mark, while his next door neighbour is not to enjoy it because the supposed value of his tenement falls below that mark by a few shillings. Neither does such a franchise, in spite of its inequalities, provide that variety of qualifications which is necessary to satisfy the variety of interests that have since grown up and become a part of our social system. Lord John Russell himself admitted in 1852 the force of the last objection. ‘By taking,’ he said, ‘an uniform 10*l.* value franchise in 1832, and by abolishing all those intricate franchises which then existed, Lord Grey’s Government’ (he ought to have said Lord Grey’s Administration, for it was the King’s Government, and not Lord Grey’s) ‘confined themselves too much to one species of franchise and did not make it sufficiently various, and therefore it was not sufficiently comprehensive.’

It is clear, then, that, in the minds of our ablest statesmen, the word Reform, down to the time when the Reform Act was passed, has never meant the demolition of one system and the reconstruction of another. With them it meant the continuance of a system which experience and reason had equally approved of, and which only required reparation, expansion, and adaptation, that it might comprehend the old as well as the new requirements of a growing community. They may have been wrong in their mode of action, but we have already pointed out that in the principle of action they were undoubtedly right, and had nothing in common with those who are now confounded with them under the same name of Reformers or Liberals. The distinction was palpable. Sir Robert Peel and the Conservatives had wisely acquiesced in the Settlement of 1832. Lord John Russell and the Whigs with equal wisdom had determined to abide by it. Both indeed would be willing to rectify any actual grievance; but as the settlement had been recently made, both would be slow to disturb it hastily, and both

* Cicero de Republica, lib. i., c. xxv.

would

would refuse to change the basis upon which our Constitutional and Representative System has always rested. But with the new party which has now risen up everything is to be treated in a different manner. The spirit of change seems to have taken such possession of their minds that the more sweeping it is, the better the Reform; the wilder the promises, the greater the Liberal. According to them the experience of the past is to be set aside—our connection with the past is to be severed, and we are to begin our history as it were *de novo*. Or if we are to refer to any previous period, it is for the purpose of holding up that Constitutional system, which has certainly blended authority and liberty more effectually than any State either ancient or modern, as little less than a gigantic fraud raised and fostered for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many. Hence, as an improvement forsooth, we are to have, instead of the present system, a redistribution of seats; a creation of constituencies which may or may not have any community of interest; an apportionment of Members among those constituencies by an arithmetical calculation; an extension of the franchise upon no intelligible principle, except the principle of mere numbers; such an alteration in the mode of voting as will neither enable us to detect fraud, nor ensure responsibility; and such a limitation of the duration of Parliament, as would probably destroy its authority and efficiency. The germ of these propositions was authentically recorded in the Journals of the House of Commons, when Mr. Hume submitted to it the following motion on the 5th of June, 1849: ‘That leave be given to bring in a Bill to amend the national representation, by extending the elective franchise so as to include all householders; by enacting that votes shall be taken by ballot; that the duration of Parliament shall not exceed three years; and that the appointment of Representatives be rendered more equal to the population.’* The growth of these propositions is more fully developed in a series of resolutions passed by the Committees of Parliamentary Reformers at the King’s Arms Tavern, Palace Yard, with Mr. Roebuck in the chair;† and the application of these propositions,

* Hansard, vol. cv., 3rd Series, p. 1171.

† The following statement was issued by the Committee of Parliamentary Reformers:—

‘Fellow-countrymen,—We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, disclaiming all right or desire to dictate, but anxious to elicit a definite expression of your will, and waiving abstract rights, recommend you to insist upon the following leading features of Parliamentary Reform, as calculated to unite in support of them the largest number of voices, as capable of being attained by resolute and united efforts, and as promising, if adopted, to secure a real and effective representation of your political interests:

‘1. The

sitions, or at least of one of them, is manifested in those extraordinary 'schedules of the Reform Bill proposed by John Bright, Esq., M.P., and prepared at the request of the London Parliamentary Reform Committee.' According to this plan, twenty-three places are to return three members each, for no earthly reason except that they possess a few hundred inhabitants more than some others; thirteen places, namely, London, Sheffield, Bristol, Edinburgh, Leeds, Southwark, Birmingham, Westminster, Lambeth, Dublin, Tower Hamlets Division A! and Tower Hamlets Division B!! are to return four Members each, as if they were all equal in wealth and importance; while five places, namely, Manchester, Finsbury, Glasgow, Marylebone, and Liverpool, are to be so much regarded as the cream of all the constituencies in the kingdom, that no less than six Members are to be allotted to each of them! Can Mr. Bright be really serious when he submits to the country propositions like these?

In such a state of things, it might be thought that the course to be taken by our parliamentary leaders was plain and simple. Mr. Hume's motion had divided the House upon this subject into two classes—those who sought to build up for themselves a representative system on an entirely new model, and those who were resolved to adhere to the existing system, but were willing at the same time to correct any errors in it, supply deficiencies, and remedy abuses. The former proceeded upon mere theory, partly founded on inventions of their own, and partly drawn from the other side of the Atlantic. The latter insisted on past experience, historical proofs, and constitutional practice. The former were a small, compact, and active body, but they did not include

' 1. The extension of the borough franchise in England and Wales to every male person of full age, and not subject to any legal incapacity, who shall occupy as owner or tenant in part or whole any premises within the borough which are rated to the relief of the poor.

' 2. The extension of the county franchise in England and Wales to all 10l. occupiers at least; and the assimilation, as far as possible, of the franchise in Scotland and Ireland to those of England and Wales.

' 3. Protection to the voter by the ballot on a plan similar to that adopted in the Australian colonies.

' 4. A reappointment of seats, that shall make such an approach to an equalisation of constituencies as shall give in the United Kingdom a majority of members to a majority of electors.

' 5. Abolition of property qualification for members.

' 6. The calling of a new parliament every three years.

' Fellow-countrymen,—If this broad outline of parliamentary reform meets your view—if, in your judgment, it is adapted to the occasion—if it comprehends as much as you can hope to get, and as little as you could be satisfied to accept—it is for you to say so, and to say so in time. This business is yours, and if you wish it done you must do it yourselves. On our part we are ready to aid you, as best we may, in placing this sketch of reform, properly filled in, upon the statute book of the realm.

more than four men of any parliamentary note—Mr. Hume, Mr. Roebuck, Mr. Bright, and Mr. Cobden. The latter were much more numerous, and were certainly not inferior to them in political knowledge and public virtue. They comprehended, in fact, the first men of the day; but as they came out of two rival camps, arrayed and marshalled each against each on other questions, and struggling for power, they had upon this subject no bond of union which could keep them together beyond a division or two. The small but active party persevered in its attack, while it was ready to accept as much as it could get from either of the others. The others, for fear of losing popularity in their race for power, began to consider how far they could go without compromising their credit. To this cause we must trace the three bills at the head of this article. To the same cause, also, we may trace their failure. The framers of these measures knew full well that they did not intend to concede to this new and, we must call it, this revolutionary party, the only demands which it really cares for. At the same time, we grieve to say events had brought things to that pass that they could not afford to lose its support. That party, therefore, is apparently in the ascendant: it has gained for a time this advantageous position, that it can accept anything by way of instalment, but it will accept nothing by way of settlement. And thus we have reached the wretched state of things so graphically described by Sir James Graham as the very worst in which Parliament can find itself, namely, the state where every body says that something must be done, but nobody knows what that something is to be.

Under such circumstances there is only one way by which Parliament can extricate itself from its present difficulties, and that is, carefully to consider what ought to be admitted according to established principles, and steadily to resist any other demand. If there be a grievance, let it be redressed; if there be an injustice, let it be remedied; if there be a want, let it be supplied. But make no assumptions. The moment it is assumed, for instance, that seats should be distributed according to number, or that a man should have a vote because he is of full age, irrespective altogether of other considerations, these positions must necessarily carry with them electoral districts and universal suffrage. Nobody who reflects can doubt this for a moment. And yet it is almost demonstrable that ideas of this kind have largely influenced the framers of the three Bills at the head of our article, and they must have been uppermost in the thoughts of Mr. Bright when he prepared his Schedules. Let us only take a few examples. In the first of these bills several places were added to boroughs, with which they

they have no connexion whatever, merely for the purpose, as far as we can judge, of increasing the constituencies.* In the second of these Bills nineteen boroughs were altogether disfranchised, and thirty-three boroughs were deprived of one member, principally with the view of adding a *third* representative to certain counties and divisions of counties, and to such towns as Birmingham, Bristol, Bradford, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, Sheffield, and Wolverhampton. But the framers of that Bill seemed so conscious of the objections that must have been instantly taken to such a proposition, that, according to another clause, no one was to vote for more than two candidates in any of these places. In the third of these Bills, among much that was sound, there was an unfortunate attempt to add to the number of county electors, by assimilating the county and the borough franchises, there was the strange creation of a variety of franchises, some of them nicknamed not inaptly as fancy franchises, and all of them unconnected with the places in which they would have to be exercised, except by a miserable twelvemonths' residence. There was also an entire alteration of all the old franchises, by not deducting from the value of the property composing the franchise the annual charges which rested upon it; so that the elector might have had any or no interest at the time when he registered or exercised his vote. Now no one can look at the foregoing propositions in any of these Bills, without concluding that even our best and ablest Statesmen are too much carried away by mere statistics and arithmetical calculations, when they begin to touch and try to reduce within the plausible symmetry of positive law, the varied requirements and the numberless complexities of a moral, social, and political system. If we turn to the schedules of Mr. Bright, we cannot discover that he is guided by any higher consideration than the mere standard of population; for though he gives us the comparative income supposed to be enjoyed by the inhabitants of each borough, as well as the direct taxes payable by them, we are at a loss to perceive upon what principle he proceeds, except upon the principle of proportionate numbers. It is impossible to comprehend why eighty-six places are disfranchised altogether, and why twenty-three places are to have three representatives, twelve places four, and five places six, unless he takes the standard of population as his rule or measure. The disfranchising line seems to be a population of 8000; the privileged lines apparently include for three members a population of more than 54,000 (why 54?), and less than 120,000; for four members, a population of more than 120,000,

* See Section 18 and Schedule B, and the maps which accompanied that Bill.

and less than 300,000, and for six members a population of 300,000 and upwards. What is all this but making constitutions for a moral, social, and intellectual being like man, not by reference to all those agencies, habitudes, and associations, by which such a being must necessarily be governed, but rather by reference to the first four rules in arithmetic, with a partial smattering in the rules of proportion?

But it will be said, If you thus find fault with others, what do you recommend yourselves? It is easy to criticise, difficult to prescribe. Will you have any or no changes? If you have any, what are they to be? If none, how will you redeem the pledges given, not by individuals, but by Parliament itself, that this is a subject which must be taken into immediate consideration? The appeal is a fair one, and we will fairly reply to it.

We think it is now too late to refuse to entertain the question. It might have been wiser not to have re-opened it. But four Administrations have advised the Queen to recommend from the throne the further consideration of it. Lord John Russell began this course in 1852; Lord Aberdeen continued it in 1854; Lord Palmerston acquiesced in 1857; and Lord Derby, feeling the immense inconvenience of leaving such a subject dangling in the air, endeavoured to bring it to a direct decision in 1859. On these occasions the recommendation from the Throne has always been agreed to without amendment. The Queen is pledged; Parliament is pledged; every party in the State is pledged. But to what are they pledged? The answer is on record. In 1852 they were pledged calmly to consider 'whether it may not be advisable to make such amendments in the Act of the late reign relating to the Representation of the Commons in Parliament, *as may be deemed calculated to carry into more complete effect the principles upon which that law is founded.*'* In 1854 they were pledged to nearly the same effect, 'and they thanked Her Majesty,' at the same time, for assuring Parliament 'that, in recommending the subject of Reform to their consideration, her desire was to *remove every cause of just complaint, to increase general confidence in the Legislature, and to give additional stability to the settled institutions of the State.*'† In 1857 they were pledged 'to direct their earnest attention to the laws which regulate the representation of the people in Parliament,‡ *with a view to consider what amendments may be safely and beneficially made therein.*' And in 1859 they were pledged to give to this great

* Hansard's Speeches, vol. cxviii., p. 75.

† Ibid., vol. cxxx., pp. 114-118.

‡ Ibid., vol. cxlviii., p. 98.

subject 'that degree of calm and impartial consideration which is proportionate to the magnitude of the interests involved in the result of their discussions.'* The pledges thus given are therefore general and specific: general, as to the necessity of considering the subject with a view to such safe and beneficial amendments as may be made in the Reform Act; specific, as to the duty of maintaining and promoting the *principles* of the Act. 1st, by removing every just cause of complaint; 2nd, by increasing general confidence in the Legislature; and 3rd, by giving additional stability to the settled institutions of the State. These are the tests by which any measure must properly be tried.

If these tests are applied to the demands made for Parliamentary Reform by those who have renewed the agitation on this subject, it will at once be seen that they are totally at variance with their schemes. Their demands are the nearest approximation to manhood suffrage which circumstances will admit; a redistribution of seats, so as to bring the places to be represented and the members who shall represent them in closer proportion relatively to each other; the substitution of secret for an open system of voting, and of triennial for septennial Parliaments. Can any one pretend that the refusal of these demands constitutes with the working and intelligent part of the community a just cause of complaint? Will any one assert that the concession of these demands would really increase general confidence in the Legislature? Does any one believe that such a concession would give additional stability to the settled institutions of the State? The idea is preposterous. But if we put these demands into a different shape, it may be reasonable to consider—1st, whether there are not some classes of persons and some kinds of property to which the franchise may properly be extended; 2nd, whether there are still any unrepresented places to which representation might advantageously be given; 3rd, whether the present system of voting may not be improved, so as to ensure as much as possible its freedom, without intimidation and without corruption; 4th, whether the existing duration of Parliament is upon the whole the best which can be devised; and 5th, as a corollary from these propositions, whether the supposed advantages to accrue from a change would or would not in all or any of them be more than counterbalanced by the inconveniences attending it? These questions we propose to discuss fully and frankly in our next Number. When the time for the assembling of Parliament approaches, the details of the question are likely to receive more

* Hansard, 3rd Series, vol. clii., p. 67.

attention than at present ; and if our Statesmen will only agree that this vital subject shall not be made the mere battle-field for Place and Power, we believe that a fair adjustment may be contrived which will satisfy nearly all persons—high and low, rich and poor—who really desire on the one hand to remove practical grievances, and on the other to resist wild and purposeless changes, which hold out no prospect of good, and may inflict an enormous amount of evil.

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